

Byzantine Epirus
A Topography of Transformation

The Medieval Mediterranean

Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500

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Byzantine Epirus A Topography of Transformation

Settlements of the Seventh-Twelfth Centuries
in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania, Greece

By
Myrto Veikou



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To my family

*I do not yearn for security as this has never been a condition of human life;
On the contrary, such conditions have been the
either successful or unsuccessful management of danger.*

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PREFACE

The investigation of settlement in Middle Byzantine *Epirus* was the project of my Doctoral Studies at the Universities of Athens and Paris. Yet in fact it has been quite a long venture, starting in the year 2000 and ending in this book. It sprang from an idea that came to me at just the right moment in my specialization in Byzantine Studies.

My interest in the subject stemmed from my undergraduate studies in History and Archaeology at the University of Athens from 1990–1994. And the idea took shape during my specialization in Byzantine Archaeology at the Universities of Birmingham in the UK, of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne in France and of Athens, Greece, and periods spent at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris between 1996 and 2007. A great deal of this experience has been incorporated in this book, yet it was above all the inspiration and support offered to me by certain people during my studies and I would like to express my gratitude to them here.

I would like to thank the Greek State Scholarships Foundation for its long-term financial support of my postgraduate and postdoctoral studies as well as my supervisor, Professor Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, University of Athens. I am also grateful to Professor Jean-Pierre Sodini, who co-supervised part of the project. I am most indebted to Dr Archibald W. Dunn for his thorough and profitable revision of my manuscript; Dr Dunn has also been for me an intuitive teacher who not only first stimulated my interest in critical approaches and alternative interpretations of Byzantine culture at the CBOMGS of the University of Birmingham in 1996–1998 but also indicated the potential for archaeological research in Epirus. I thank Professor N. Spyrellis for microscopic examinations of archaeological evidence performed at the School of Chemical Engineers of the National Technological University of Athens. I wish to also thank Maria Panayotidi, John Haldon, Evangelos Chrysos, Olga Gratziou, Constantinos Tsouris, Platon Petridis, Stavros Mamaloukos, Athanassios Paliouras, Vassiliki Foskolou, Kostandinos Moustakas, Nikolaos Kaponis, Peter Soustal, Petros Themelis, James Wiseman, Anna Lambropoulou, Yannis Pikoulas, Yannis Nerantzis, Babis Charalambopoulos, Tina Gerolymou, Efi Syngelou, Litsa Diamandi, Yannis Delimaris, Angeliki Stassinopoulou-Skiada, Tassoula Vervenioti, Anna Psari, and Maria Siadima for making productive contributions to this project by offering information, help or advice at different stages.

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I would like to express my gratitude to Ms Valerie Nunn for her careful proofreading of my demanding manuscript. My wholehearted thanks to Ms Sophia Michou who was in charge of graphics, she designed the maps and edited the plans and figures. The occasional unsatisfactory quality of a few illustrations due to their origin from old publications could not be avoided since their inclusion in this book has been considered necessary for the readers' personal ability to evaluate specific archaeological arguments. The following institutions have allowed the photography of archaeological sites or the reproduction of figures and plans for this work: Google Earth, Pr. P. Vocotopoulos, Dr Anastasios Portelanos, Pr. Jost Knauss, Pr. N. Moutsopoulos, 18th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Arta and Preveza, 24th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine antiquities of Aetoloacarnania, 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania, TAPA – Greek Ministry of Culture, École Française d'Athènes, University of Ioannina, Danish Institute at Athens, Trustees of the American School of Classical studies in Athens, Albanian Academy of Sciences, Archaeological Society at Athens, Christian Archaeological Society, Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio, Etaireia Nafpaktiakon Meleton, Etaireia Lefkadikon Meleton, Skoufas Association in Arta, Center of Byzantine Research – Thessaloniki, Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, Metropolis of Ioannina, Patriarchiko Idryma Paterikon Meleton, and Lambrakis Foundation.

Finally, I am indebted to my family whose life-long support has enabled me to complete this lengthy project: Theophilos Veikos, Christina Veikou, Nikos Spyrellis, Mariangela Veikou, Ruth and Karin Brinck. Last but not least, I am most grateful to my life-partner, Thibault Brink, who not only gave me his wholehearted moral support in this 10-year venture but also courageously participated in its realization in action on the mountains of Western Greece! May they all find here an expression of my profound gratitude.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

anc.	ancient
Ave.	avenue
b.	bay
c.	cape
f.	former
g.	gulf
ha	hectare
Ag.	Agios / Agia / Agioi (Gr. "Saint[s]")
isl.	island
km	kilometer
l.	lake
L.	Line
m	metre
mon.	monastery
mt.	mountain
r.	river
St	Saint
St.	Street

TRANSCRIPTION OF GREEK NAMES

The main principle, on which the transcription of Modern Greek names in Latin characters was based, was to easily connect the reader with the original. Therefore the transcription followed the phoneticising system of transliteration except in cases where the names are well established otherwise in previous literature (e.g. Athens, Thebes, krites, strategos).

The transcription of Byzantine Greek names followed the classicising system of transliteration, normally applied by Byzantinists.

USE OF ITALICS

When printed in italics the name Epirus refers to the corresponding Byzantine province and/or geographical region. Equally, when in italics, the names Nikopolis, Kephallenia, Hellas, Peloponnese and Thessaloniki refer to the corresponding Middle Byzantine Themes.

PART ONE

STUDY OF A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

CHAPTER ONE

ON THE REMAINS OF MIDDLE BYZANTINE *EPİRUS*

To write a book one needs to have a story, yet bare events are not enough for the reader: s/he also needs to have the story placed within a specific spatial and temporal context. Perhaps that is why Kant considered space and time as *a priori* conceptual representations conditioning our ability to understand the world around us.¹ The long history of modern philosophical debate on the nature of space and time has involved the investigation of distinctive ways of comprehending their function in human life not only as absolute but also as relative and relational concepts.² Space seems to have been attributed an even more complex involvement in historical development than time; it has been suggested that social space is constituted as a concept by the integration not only of the triad of aspects mentioned above (absolute, relative, and relational space) but also involving another: materially sensed, conceptualized and lived space.³ This involution is, in practical terms, very noticeable in everyday life: it is remarkable how many aspects of our culture are reflected in our constant use, re-use, forming and transforming of the spaces we exist in and how our ways of life are in turn, partly yet fundamentally, formed and transformed by them. Therefore, the investigation of this transformation and uses of space constitutes an excellent source of information not only as regards modern but also historical cultures and societies, such as the Byzantine.

The history of settlement reflects exactly those different understandings of the ways in which space interacts with human agency, the opportunities it can provide and the limitations it can set on this agency.⁴ At a time

¹ Kant 1781.

² Harvey 2009, 133–140.

³ Lefebvre 1991; Harvey 2009, 133–134, 141–144. See also n. 4 below.

⁴ As discussed in detail in Part 3 – Chapter 2, in this work spatiality is understood according to E. Soja's definition, as "simultaneously a social product (or outcome) and a shaping force (or medium) in social life. This involves an effort to restore the meaningful existential spatiality of being and human consciousness, and to compose a social ontology in which space matters from the very beginning" (1999, 7). This idea is based on H. Lefebvre's idea that "(social) space is a (social) product. [...] The space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action [...] in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power." (1991, 25). Thus "space"

when ecology is under the spotlight not only in archaeology but on the world stage, we are particularly aware that a profound understanding of this diachronic interaction between space and human agency is essential in evolving environmentally friendly lifestyles. Finding the right methods to interpret this interaction correctly could prove a great help in creating an-Other way of living. I shall be discussing examples of Byzantine settlement to show that a combination of various methodological tools, offered not only by landscape archaeology and topography but also by geology, geography, modern history and critical social theory, supported by a counter-modern interdisciplinary theoretical approach, can contribute to that end. One of my main focuses is on proposing ways in which to make the most of a specific type of archaeological survey with a view to developing a historical interpretation of habitation. This type of survey, when used in combination with a thorough investigation of historical sources and earlier literature, allows cultural features of settlement to be detected in a specific historical context.⁵

The interaction between space and human agency in the domain of settlement, that I chose to reconstruct using this type of research, was that between the Western Greek mainland and its inhabitants during the Middle Ages (seventh to twelfth centuries).⁶ This area is nowadays a diverse but beautiful landscape, ranging from the inhospitable to the highly fertile and accessible. Trying to investigate what was going on in this area in the Byzantine period has been very challenging for several reasons. Located on the western borders of the Byzantine Empire, *Epirus* was important for defence purposes and for maintaining communications with the Central and Western Mediterranean. For these very reasons, it was constantly threatened by enemy attack from the seventh to the twelfth centuries – and even later.

As explained in the title, I have used topography, associated with relevant contemporary texts and archaeology, in order to examine the changes in settlement. I define these changes with the term “transformation” which, I think, accurately describes the notion of constant and

is used here, in accordance with the comprehensive definition by D. Harvey, as a concept constituted by an integration of absolute, relative, relational, materially sensed, conceptualized and lived space (Harvey 2009, 133–144). “Agency” is used to designate human initiative for/and independent action; see precise definitions and discussions of the use of the term in historical theory by Fulbrook (2002, 122–129) and Brown (2005, 134–138).

⁵ This issue is further explained on pages 8–18 of this section and in Part 3 – Chapter 2 below.

⁶ For the precise definition of the investigated area see Chapter 2 below.

dynamic change through time. I take this chance to explain why I have avoided using “transition” in this book, a term commonly assigned to relevant developments of the earlier centuries concerned with in this study (seventh–ninth).⁷ There are several reasons for this absence. The first two reasons are rather technical. First of all, transition designates a passage from one specific phenomenon to another; however, both late antiquity and the Middle Ages involved processes of multilevel change at different paces as well as great variety. Secondly, the use of the term “transition” requires defining a starting and an ending point of such a process; those points are impossible to define, since slow or rapid change was constant both before the seventh century and after the ninth. The third reason, however, for avoiding the term “transition” in this study is more intrinsic having to do with its theoretical background. The term, deriving from grand narratives of development and progress, implies a linear course of historical progress where later developments have emerged as consequences of earlier ones.⁸ Taking that as a prerequisite, we often end up evaluating features of the material culture of one period by comparison to features of a different period, i.e. with features which have not real relevance to that culture. For example, as a rule, bad quality in material culture is usually associated with a convincing historical context of economic recession and decline – significantly called the Byzantine “Dark Ages” – as compared with good quality production during earlier and later periods of growth in the Byzantine Empire. However, there may be a better way to deal with that material, since what may be the most important conditions behind the production of some – indeed lower-quality – material culture might in fact be experimentation, invention, novelty and a variety of solutions to common problems, instead of decline. Therefore, considering a sequence of events *per se*, in its own terms, and not seeing historical development as a linear course towards progress, may help us focus on a more just understanding of traits that different periods have instead of those they don’t have. My effort was to consider material culture from seventh–twelfth-century *Epirus* with the latter prospect in mind.

Apart from all the aforementioned theoretical concerns, the reader will notice that a large part of this book is dedicated to the analysis and interpretation of archaeological material, which formed the basis of any

⁷ See for example Christie, Loseby 1996 and Poulter 2007. For a more extensive discussion of the context of these uses see also Veikou 2009, 47; Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

⁸ See relevant discussion in: Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

reflections on settlement. Extensive analysis of this material was required due to one particular – and unexpected – gap in the information available on this important Byzantine region: almost nothing was previously known about settlement during the Middle Byzantine period (seventh–twelfth centuries inclusive). Given that this period was a time of profound social transformation, widely reflected in habitation patterns, this gap was both intriguing and astonishing. But the truth is that it has not been uncommon in earlier research to neglect modest finds and Middle Byzantine *Epirus* is a typical case of such neglect.

STATE OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Thus Middle Byzantine *Epirus* has as yet been very much a ‘grey area’ in research. Historians would simply analyze the historical evidence, carefully avoiding any links with the material remains, while most archaeologists simply glossed over it, concentrating instead on the Early Byzantine era of Nikopolis and the Late Byzantine Independent State of Epirus (also known as the ‘Despotate’) – shedding little light on the period in between. The reason for this seems to have been that the archaeological evidence for the seventh to the twelfth centuries was limited, dispersed and mostly rather small-scale, while researchers appear to have been looking for highly visible structures and impressive minor objects. The lack of these led to some – ongoing – arguments in the literature, suggesting the abandonment or depopulation of this area during the period in question due to enemy attacks. The relevant literature mentioned no traces of settlement or economic and social activity, apart from a handful of churches labeled ‘modest provincial monuments’. The fate of the prolific site of Nikopolis, the large late antique city which became the capital of the province of *Epirus Vetus*, remained a mystery.

And yet, there are plenty of earlier studies on Byzantine *Epirus*. When it comes to the historical topography of the area seven archaeological surveys have taken place in the area of which only three – two intensive and one extensive – have so far been fully published: by the Austrian Academy of Letters, the Danish Archaeological Institute and the University of Utrecht respectively.⁹ As regards the survey project on Southern Epirus recently conducted by the University of Boston and the Greek Archaeological

⁹ Koder, Soustal 1981; Dietz et al. 1998, 2000; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987.

Service, so far only the geological research has been published.¹⁰ Of the remaining three projects, conducted by the German Archaeological Institute and the University of Ioannina, only brief reports are available so far.¹¹ Other archaeological studies by Greek researchers have been of smaller scope yet very essential.¹² N. Hammond's work always contains very useful information, but it involves only brief descriptions of archaeological remains of all periods.¹³ Equally useful, though focused on the history of Epirus in antiquity, is the similar work by W.M. Murray.¹⁴

When it comes to the historical geography of Byzantine *Epirus*, this has been very successfully reconstructed in the third volume of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, entitled *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*, published by the Austrian Academy of Letters.¹⁵ This major work is particularly useful for its global approach, its evaluation of historical evidence and the recording (by extensive survey during the 1970s) of sites, many of which are now lost. However, the archaeological evidence in that volume needs to be updated, since almost thirty years have elapsed since its publication.

As far as the archaeology of Byzantine *Epirus* is concerned, it has been investigated in several projects. The Greek Archaeological Service has been conducting research in Epirus and Aetoloacarnania for many decades. For reasons unrelated to archaeology this research has consisted mainly of small-scale operations, usually involving salvage or preservation projects by the ephorates rather than extensive projects involving a large number of sites; an exception was the Nikopolis Excavation Project and the aforementioned Nikopolis Survey Project.¹⁶ Other institutions have conducted a number of systematic excavations: the German Archaeological Institute at Stratiki and Paleros, the University of Athens at Oeniades and the University of Ioannina at Ag. Triada Mavrika near Agrinio, at Kato Vassiliki and at the Ag. Nikolaos monastery-cave on Mt Varassova.¹⁷

¹⁰ Wiseman, Zachos 2003.

¹¹ Lang 2004; Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004.

¹² Such as those by V. Katsaros and D. Triantaphyllopoulos.

¹³ Hammond 1967.

¹⁴ Murray 1984.

¹⁵ Koder, Soustal 1981.

¹⁶ See the results of the Excavation Project in the volume *Nikopolis B* (Zachos 2007) and of the Survey project in Wiseman, Zachos 2003. For the works carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service see the Inventory in Part 5.

¹⁷ See the references in the relevant entries of the Inventory in Part 5.

Religious monuments are the only sites which have received more careful and relatively exhaustive investigation.¹⁸ By contrast Byzantine fortifications have been more or less totally neglected by Byzantinists; only a handful of brief accounts can be found in the literature.¹⁹ On the other hand two cases of Byzantine fortifications have been investigated by classicists, because they had been built as superstructures of antique fortifications.²⁰ There is only one instance, the Byzantine city walls of Nikopolis, where fortifications have undergone systematic excavation.²¹

Last but not least, the history of Byzantine *Epirus* has been the subject of more thorough investigation by P. Soustal, E. Chrysos, G. Prinzing, D. Nicol and several other scholars.²²

THE PROJECT

I first encountered the challenge of bringing together the large amounts of earlier, diverse, as yet un-contextualized data with new evidence in order to investigate the problem of settlement in *Epirus* during the Middle Byzantine period while working on my doctorate.²³ The main aim was to investigate settlement patterns and the ways in which those patterns were being transformed during these six centuries.²⁴ In order to carry out an in-depth investigation of this issue it was necessary to restrict the geographical area to be examined quite drastically. Therefore a smaller zone within Byzantine *Epirus* was selected for investigation. This zone (Map 16), about 8,000 km², included the greater part of the Prefectures of Preveza and Arta, the entire Prefecture of Aetoloacarnania, a very small part of the district of Dorida (Phocida Prefecture) and three islands: Lefkada and Kalamos in the Ionian Sea and Kefalos in the Ambracian Gulf. The exact

¹⁸ E.g. Vokotopoulos 1992; Paliouras 2004a; Papadopoulou 2002a, with earlier literature. All references may be found in the relevant entries of the Inventory in Part 5.

¹⁹ Such brief accounts on the Castles of Rogoi, Nafpaktos, Vonitsa, Lefkada and Arta are found for example in Orlandos 1936; Sotiriou 1927; Koder, Soustal 1981; Papadopoulou 1997a; Smyris 2001 and 2004.

²⁰ Portelanos 1998; Dakaris 1977.

²¹ See the references in the relevant entries of the Inventory in Part 5.

²² See for example Koder, Soustal 1981; Chrysos 1997b; Prinzing 1997a–b and the unpublished PhD thesis by P. Soustal, *Die griechischen Quellen zur mittelalterlichen historischen Geographie von Epirus* (Ungedruckte Diss./Unpublished thesis.) Vienna 1975. Further literature may be found in the Inventory in Part 5 and in Part 1 – Chapter 2 below.

²³ The geographical area selected for investigation is defined in Chapter 2 below.

²⁴ The research was conducted in the University of Athens, Greece, between 2000 and 2006 and partly financed by the Greek State Fellowships Foundation.

boundaries of the investigated area as well as the criteria for their selection are explained in Chapter 2 below.

Specific Research Aims

The project developed around two main axes:

- i) examination of the archaeological evidence, both original and previously published, consisting of architectural remains, pottery, metalwork, glass, sculpture, seals, coins and inscriptions (discussed in Part 2 below),
- ii) contextualization of the archaeological evidence by correlating it with historical evidence concerning the same area and timeframe (discussed in Parts 3, 4 and 5 below).

The research general aims relate mainly to specific aspects of settlement within the period in question and include the following issues, which much of the fieldwork was intended to address:

1. What can current archaeology reveal about activity in this area in the seventh–twelfth century?
2. Which sites were settled and what are their attributes?
3. How can this activity best be interpreted to show human-land relationships and the corresponding changes over time?
4. What was the density of sites and the significance of their geographical locations within this historical context?
5. In what ways have human-land relationships affected habitation and transformed settlement patterns?
6. What is the meaning of this interaction within this historical context? What can the research contribute to questions of demography, the economy and other aspects of the history of this area during the seventh–twelfth centuries?

Methodologies

The research planning initially required a methodology to be selected from the fields of geology, geography, Byzantine archaeology, history and historical topography. So, first of all, published data on the geological history of the region was assembled, so as to investigate the geography of the landscape in the seventh–twelfth centuries as well as the geological phenomena which might have interacted with medieval habitation (discussed in Part 1, Chapter 2). Secondly, the geography of the region

was examined, so as to understand the different qualities and limitations of various locations within the region (see Part 5). Common practices in Byzantine Studies were used to investigate archaeological evidence and evaluate historical texts.

Finally, as regards the overall strategy involved in the assembling of original archaeological evidence, a particular type of survey was selected from the different types of archaeological survey: I shall call it the ‘extensive non-systematic survey making optimal use of privileging local descriptions’. I have appropriated the first part of this definition from T. Tartaron, as this type of survey seems to be very close to what he has recently defined as an “*extensive non-systematic survey*, involving scouting and geomorphological evaluation coupled with archaeological testing”.²⁵ This type of work, including geographical and archaeological recording, was carried out at a number of sites which were selected because recorded archaeological remains or place names or historical references identified them as possible settlement locations in the seventh–twelfth centuries.²⁶

Furthermore, this procedure was enhanced by a method introduced by Y.A. Pikoulas in 1995, based on what he called the ‘principle of locality’.²⁷ According to this principle, “the best expert on a place is its indigenous inhabitant, not only because he is in close contact with it all his life and all year long but also because he is the vehicle of oral tradition”.²⁸ This is what the anthropologist, C. Geertz, first defined as ‘local knowledge’ in 1973.²⁹

Pikoulas has proposed a number of stratagems which develop this local knowledge:³⁰

- preparatory consultations so as to identify the right local people to consult through the local authorities or other agencies,
- being accompanied by indigenous guides during surveying
- the so-called ‘work-at-the-*kafeneio*’, *kafeneia* being local coffee-shops where male members of the local community gather and where a comparative evaluation of the diverse information regarding village lands can be made – assuming that one can enter the discussions.³¹

²⁵ Tartaron 2003, 32.

²⁶ The names of the participants in the survey are mentioned in the Preface.

²⁷ In Greek ‘αρχή της εντοπιότητας’, see Pikoulas 1995, 9–13.

²⁸ Pikoulas 1995, 9–13.

²⁹ Geertz 1973.

³⁰ Pikoulas 1995, 9–13. I take the opportunity to thank Prof. Y. Pikoulas for teaching me his methods on historical topography during the 1990s.

³¹ Pikoulas 1995, 11.

All the above methods were used to increase the efficiency of the extensive surveying method together with research into local publications, found by visiting municipal or other local libraries.

The methodological diversity made it possible to overcome several problems. The most important of these was the general scarcity of published evidence and the lack of systematic archaeological investigation. Another confusing and time-consuming aspect of the research was that several archaeological sites were referred to in the literature by a variety of place names (being identified with more than one nearby village, name and/or location etc.): in these cases the number and exact location of finds had to be identified as well as their association with older references to archaeological investigations. Finally, it allowed safer evaluation of the importance and dating of different sites, which had often been incompletely documented and dated in the past.

Theoretical Framework and Interpretation

Postmodern and critical theories used in the Humanities and Social Sciences have been employed to create the framework for this study. In order to explain this framework in more detail, I will now describe my approach to various different concepts.

Postmodern theories have had a big impact on both historical and archaeological studies. My understanding of history is best described by the definition given by G. Leondaritis and G. Kokkinos: "History is a multiplicity of processes involving space and time. (...) The different interpretations of several moments in historical time are subjected to the same process of analysis, since they are themselves derivatives of historical processes".³² Counter-modern thought in historical studies, which privileges the notion that human discourse (or the human mind) cannot explain the past, has been founded on the works of H. White from the 1970s onwards.³³ Their key position has recently been described by Brown as follows:

All History-writing, all History research, everything the professional historian and the student of History are doing, is morally charged. History is never neutral. We are informed by our concerns with moral issues, political and ideological issues, and the here and now. History-writing is the

³² Kokinos 1998, 21.

³³ E.g. White 1973; White 1985.

history-record of the present – of its contemporary disputes, its passions, its obsessions.³⁴

With the consciousness of this position, I considered that the purpose of an investigation of settlement in Byzantine *Epirus* could not confine to a proposed reconstruction of settlement patterns and buildings with the help of archaeology and texts. Instead such an investigation also ought to contribute some ideas on the development, perception and interpretation of settlement, which might be meaningful and useful nowadays. The theoretical and methodological framework for this kind of work was offered by ‘post-processualist’ or ‘counter-processualist’³⁵ or ‘counter modern archaeological approaches’.³⁶ By ‘post-processualism’ or ‘counter-processualism’³⁷ or ‘counter modern archaeology’ I mean those archaeological theories which favour ‘borrowing’ useful tools from other fields of scholarship and adjusting them so as to offer interpretations (‘bridges’) in archaeological situations. However, while borrowing tools from other fields was not new as it had been practiced for decades by processualist archaeologists, counter-processualist theories suggested a radical annulment of established, and pre-considered as given, dichotomies among different fields. Also, in contrast to processualist approaches, they have questioned the concept of cultural evolutionism in which set historical processes lead to a specific outcome within a system. Instead, they have introduced a discussion of archaeological situations focusing on a series of relationships: between general rules and individuals, processes and structures, material and spiritual, object and subject. In other words they have switched the focus from socio-economic history to cultural history.³⁸

Yet the most important change that counter-processual archaeologies have introduced and which was fully adopted in this study, was that they did not adopt an one-size-fits-all approach nor did they suggest developing an agreed methodology. Instead they evolved through a critique of earlier research, building on it, while changing direction completely: though questioning holistic approaches towards the past, they came to realize that the process of reconstructing and representing it required

³⁴ Brown 2005, 147.

³⁵ Hodder 1991, 181; Ashmore, Knapp 1999; Yamin, Metheny 1996.

³⁶ Thomas 2004, 223 ff.

³⁷ Hodder 1991, 181; Ashmore, Knapp 1999; Yamin, Metheny 1996.

³⁸ From the extensive literature on post-processual archaeologies see e.g. White 1975; Hodder 1991; Shanks, Tilley 1992; Hodder, Shanks 1993; Yamin, Metheny 1996; Kokinos 1998; Ashmore, Knapp 1999; Warren 1999; Melas 2003, 23–59; Thomas 2004.

both archaeology and history. That is why they were characterized by debates and uncertainty over fundamental issues which had never before been questioned. Counter-processual archaeologies involve diversity and lack of consensus; they focus on asking questions rather than providing answers.³⁹

When it comes to critical theories in historical studies, I refer to those theories which were developed as a critique of postmodernism, known as the New Historicism, Historical Criticism, Positive Postmodernism or Historical and Contextual Focus.⁴⁰ These theories took the postmodern legacy one step further by suggesting that the human mind does not have to explain the past but it does have to explain what has been written about the past. This development marked a return to positivist opinions, according to which the human past is something which must be recorded, described, evaluated and comprehended. According to J. Warren, the new approaches: “attacked the postmodern contention that the objective historian writing about the real past and doing so in a way which is ‘truthful’ is a modernist myth”.⁴¹

One may agree or disagree with a rejection of traditional history-writing and its claims to historical knowledge, yet these critical theories evolved as a reaction to over-generalizing, postmodern explanatory models and some of their ideas have been now been universally acknowledged. One of the most fundamental ideas was the necessity for contextualization against postmodern theoretically “unlimited freedom” in practice: historical phenomena must always be inscribed in their context – thus allowing the appropriate criteria for explaining the causes of the phenomena to be identified.⁴² Going against modernist ideas, these theories prioritize theory over traditional empirical and positivist approaches, since the aim of such research is to reveal those mechanisms through which the present constructs historical versions of the past that meet its own needs.⁴³ Finally, they continued postmodern efforts to meet the need for theoretical and methodological pluralism.⁴⁴

³⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁰ Fulbrook 2002; Brown 2005, 158–179, esp. 160–161; Thomas 2004, 121–149; Kokinos 1998, 289–294; Ashmore, Knapp 1996.

⁴¹ Warren 1999, 121.

⁴² Kokinos 1998, 292.

⁴³ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁴ On critical theories see, inter alia, Palmer 1990; Norris 1990; Evans 1997; Kokinos 1998; Warren 1999; Fulbrook 2002; Melas 2003, 272–319, 347–402; Thomas 2004; Brown 2005.

In the same way that modern, postmodern and new-positivist histories grew out of learning more about social theory and processual and postprocessual archaeologies grew out of learning more about anthropological theory,⁴⁵ landscape archaeologists are, in my opinion, also bound to look over their shoulders at theoretical developments in related fields of social studies, principally geography.⁴⁶ Counter-modern thought had a similar impact on geography as it did on historical studies, encouraging the abandonment of the positivist insistence on defining general rules about spatial organization. Instead the corresponding research has stressed the diversity and uniqueness of places, the non-homogeneity and multiculturalism of space and the need for it to be studied in an interdisciplinary fashion.⁴⁷ Counter-modern geography rejected meta-narratives in favour of local narratives; it rejected structural causality in favour of alternative approaches to socio-spatial interaction. New methodologies indicated that landscape analysis had passed from 'spatial production' to 'spatial representation'. This 'cultural about-turn' provoked a shift of focus from 'spaces' to 'places where history, monuments and cultures co-exist through time'; the main question became 'how' and 'why' cultural identities are constructed in a particular space.⁴⁸

Counter-modern theories also changed the understanding of the notion of space in geography. Space is no longer perceived as the external framework for human relations but as an integral part of them: it is now considered a vital element in human communications and interaction.⁴⁹ Social relationships are also spatial relationships and vice versa; spaces are produced by societies and they produce social relationships in a 'circular motion' which is better comprehensible to researchers adopting interdisciplinary approaches. 'Landscape' is understood as a 'cultural place', i.e. as a product of human agency, a place which produces culture and is produced by it.⁵⁰ Thus, in the study of social life the focus shifted from 'communities' to 'networks'.⁵¹ Critical approaches to postmodernism, on the other hand, called for the rejection of deterministic ways of

⁴⁵ Trigger 2006, 480–483.

⁴⁶ Leontidou (2005) and Kourliouros (2001) have discussed recent theoretical developments in geography in relation to modern Greek and Mediterranean contexts.

⁴⁷ From the extensive literature see Leontidou 1992, 103–128; *Eadem* 2005, 263; Lee, Wills 1997; Soja 1998; Sayer 1998; Kourliouros 2001, 103–105.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ Soja 1999.

⁵⁰ Lafazani 1997; Leontidou 2005, 285.

⁵¹ Leontidou 2005, 286.

understanding relationships between the spatial and the social. Instead they proposed an investigation of ‘how’ and ‘to what extent’ the spatial can be social and vice versa.⁵²

Specific Theoretical Concerns of the Research

The theoretical framework outlined above has set the following axes in the aims and strategy of this work, thus distinguishing it from previous archaeological fieldwork in the area (details for which are given in the section *State of Research*, above).

1. It has “legitimized” the combination of a wide variety of tools, offered not only by history, archaeology, landscape archaeology, historical geography, and historical topography, but also by geology, modern geography, modern history and critical social theory, which is otherwise uncommon in works of historical topography. This methodology has consequently determined the range of questions and aims of the work.
2. This framework has meant that the principal orientation of the research has been towards discerning average chronologies of habitation as well as networks and relations among settlements, based on the investigation of archaeological and textual evidence (see Parts 2 and 5 below). Yet not only being aware of the fragmentary nature of this (or any) remaining evidence but also sharing postmodern concerns about historical subjectivism and relativism, I have avoided any attempt at a general or “final” reconstruction of historical processes in Byzantine *Epirus* from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. Instead of holistic interpretations, I have shifted the emphasis onto defining local narratives on different qualities of medieval lived spaces and on cultural traits of recurrent settlement practices. I have considered the specific Byzantine territory as an absolute, relative and relational space (by providing detailed descriptions and historical reconstructions of medieval sites and landscapes and their relation with the modern ones, in Part 1 – Chapter 2, as well as in Parts 3 and 5 below) and I have treated it as a materially sensed, conceptualized and lived space by discussing Byzantine practices in settlement and land-use (in Parts 2 and 3 of this work).

⁵² Massey 1995.

3. Part of this emphasis on spatial considerations is represented by my main focus on proposing ways in which to make the most of this specific type of ‘non-systematic extensive archaeological survey’ with a view to developing a historical interpretation of habitation. This type of survey, when used in combination with a thorough investigation of historical sources and earlier literature, allows a whole range of features characterizing settlement in a specific historical context to be identified. These features relate, for example, to cultural aspects of a historical society, such as the perception and use of space, its construction and transformation or its emerging as an agent of the historical development, as explained below in Part 3, Chapter 2.
4. Finally, I have tried not to let the fragmentary state of the available evidence or the lacunae and uncertainties caused by the old, incomplete information on – now lost – material remains stop me from asking questions just because I might not be able to come up with any answers. I have therefore tried to patch my several local narratives into the extensive discussion of medieval habitation by shifting my focus onto the small pictures that we do have rather than looking for the bigger detailed picture that we don’t as yet have.

Furthermore, the aforementioned theoretical orientation emerged really through an interaction with the scientific problem, the material, and the methods used in research. In practice, an interdisciplinary approach, combining without hesitation different tools provided by research in fields, which traditionally are not directly linked to historical studies, has been the main expression of this theoretical background. Similarly, the interpretation of the results has also allowed new, flexible or ‘open’ (non-final) analytical categories and interpretative schemes to be used. The main aim was to find ways of broadening the scope of work in landscape archaeology and medieval Mediterranean history even further. As regards archaeological theory in particular, the aim of this study was to look more closely into ways of developing counter-processual and critical approaches to landscape archaeology.⁵³

The archaeological method of ‘extensive non-systematic survey privileging local descriptions’ in fact provided many opportunities for such developments. It allowed several observations about the use (and re-use) of space, spatial diversity and similarities among sites belonging to a

⁵³ Barker 1991; Barker, Mattingly 1999, iii–ix; Ashmore, Knapp 1999; Thomas 2001.

specific historical context. Covering extensive geographical areas largely on foot offered opportunities to 'feel' the landscape in a different way from that in which modern travellers usually experience it. In some ways, a researcher during survey is attempting to understand the practical potential for space management in particular historical periods. In other words a researcher experiences the limitations that a certain landscape imposes on human beings acting within something approaching a 'pre-industrial' context. This can help to distinguish many qualities in natural space: firstly, qualities of the landscape as a whole and secondly, qualities of the specific places where the archaeological sites are located as compared to their surroundings.

Hence the scope of the interpretation of the archaeological evidence on settlement was broadened in order to include reflections not only on the use of space but also on the historicity of space in a particular geographical area and period of time, i.e. on the ways and to what extent space can be identified as a factor in historical development as far as settlement is concerned.⁵⁴ Aspects of the relationship between human agency, structure, natural environment and the archaeological record are also featured in the work.⁵⁵ A set of hypotheses are constructed and tested against relevant historical evidence, as shown below in Part 3, Chapter 2.

Contextualization of evidence is indispensable to its correct interpretation, thus the archaeological evidence has been put into context in Part 2. A discussion of all archaeological, geological and historical evidence within the specific geographical area is included in Part 3, Chapter 1 while a discussion of it in the context of medieval settlement in the Mediterranean is included in Part 3, Chapter 3.

A consistent approach has determined several details in this book, such as issues of terminology. Terminology has been kept as simple and limited as possible, in an effort not to introduce dichotomies unless absolutely necessary. The term 'Middle Byzantine', for example, has been used to refer to the period from the seventh to the twelfth century, which accords with some opinions in the literature but not others.⁵⁶ This periodization minimizes the ruptures in a long and complex period of transformation while at the same time acknowledging the profound change that occurred

⁵⁴ See relevant discussion on Part 3 – Chapter 2.

⁵⁵ On the theoretical background to this issue see Barrett 2001.

⁵⁶ Issues of dating have been tormenting Byzantine archaeologists for many decades, causing ambiguities and confusion, but they will not be discussed here. For the background see e.g. Sanders 2004.

around the seventh century in all aspects of Byzantine culture.⁵⁷ There is no similar cut-off point at the end of the twelfth century, yet the rupture here is political. From the early thirteenth century the course of life in Epirus underwent changes due to the fact that it was ruled by a different political entity, the Independent State of Epirus. While, at first glance habitation in the thirteenth century seems to have been not so very different from that in the twelfth, methodological reasons suggest that the institutional discontinuity should be acknowledged. In any case, the exact ways in which the extensive political change affected habitation from 1204 onwards could be a very interesting subject for another study dealing with the material remains of the mixed demographic and the interaction between multiple identities in Byzantium during the thirteenth century.

⁵⁷ In fact, this change seems to have occurred from the mid-sixth to the eighth century with variations depending on the geographical area and local conditions. See Sodini 1993.

CHAPTER TWO

A GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE OF BYZANTINE *EPIRUS* (SEVENTH–TWELFTH CENTURIES)

2.I. DEFINITION, POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND RELEVANT TOPONYMY

The Greek name "Ἠπειρος or "Ἀπειρος i.e. without end or infinite land and hence 'continent', but also barren land)¹ and later the Latin *Epirus* were names used from antiquity to modern times – probably without interruption – to signify the Western Greek mainland.² Under Trajan it became the name of a Roman province called *Epirus Vetus* (Παλαιά "Ἠπειρος, i.e. Old Epirus) while under Diocletian it also gave its name to a second one, *Epirus Nova* (Νέα "Ἠπειρος, i.e. New Epirus); later these became Early Byzantine provinces.

During the ninth-century re-establishment of Byzantine control in Western Greek mainland, the name *Epirus* denoting an administrative unit of the state was replaced by the names of Themes, i.e. of the new main administrative divisions of that area, which were introduced during that time. Still, during the period from the seventh to the twelfth century and until today, *Epirus* has remained in use as the geographical name of the province corresponding to modern mainland Western Greece, as have the names Aetolia and Acarnania (referring to a part of this province).³ During the ninth-twelfth centuries, the administration of *Epirus* was organized within the framework of the Themes of *Nikopolis*, *Kephallenia*,

¹ The tenth-century *Suidae Lexikon* (p. 519) provides the following definition: "Ἠπειρος: χέρσος γῆ· οἶον ἄπειρος τις οὐσα. ἡπειρος δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἡ γῆ καταχρηστικῶς, κυρίως δὲ ἐκβάλλουσα, ὡς Εὐριπίδης· ἡπειρον εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκβαλλῶν πόδα. καὶ ἡπειρωτὴ θάλασσα.

² For a precise delimitation of the area see Chapter 2.II. below.

³ 'Epirus' is found in the Miracles of St Demetrios (Lemerle 1979b, 175ff; Chrysos 1997b, 183–184, and 450, note 16), in the Chronicle of Monemvasia (Ms. Iviron l. 35–38; in: Charanis 1950, 147; Toynbee 1973, 645), in a letter from Pope Honorius (Chrysos 1997b, 184), in the *Cecaumeni Strategicon* (74.23), in the *Compendium Historiarum* by Georgios Cedrenos (I 550–551) (Chrysos 1981, 78), and in the chronography by Theodoros Scutariotes (*Synopsis Chronika*, 45; Koder, Soustal 1981, 56; Karayanni-Charalambopoulou 1998–1999, 37).

'Aetolia' seems also to have been used together with the names 'Epirus' and 'Nikopolis' to denote the geographical area corresponding to modern mainland Western Greece, on the basis of its appearance in the Episcopal Lists (Darrouzès 1981, 284, 291, 304, 327, 417,

Dyrrachion and possibly *Vagenetia* (Νικόπολις, Κεφαλληνία/Κεφαληνία, Δυρράχιον, Βαγενετία).⁴ *Epirus* was part of the broader subdivision called Δύσις (i.e. West) within the Byzantine Empire.⁵

The Themes of *Nikopolis* and *Kephallenia* have been estimated to have covered approximately the same territory as the earlier province of *Epirus Vetus*, still their precise chronological/territorial details remain to be further investigated as several ambiguities arise. For example, *Epirus Vetus* (Παλαιὰ Ἡπειρος) is mentioned in Constantine VII's tenth century *De Thematribus* (9.9) as a province of *Nikopolis*;⁶ the latter now also included Aetolia which had previously belonged first to *Achaia* and then to *Hellas*.⁷ Also, *Kephallenia* seems to have been considered by Constantine VII as a part of the Peloponnese rather than of *Epirus*.⁸ When it comes to the Ionian Islands, the evidence of the Episcopal lists indicates that those of *Kephallenia* and *Zakynthos* were also considered part of the Peloponnese and under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Corinth. By contrast, the islands of *Leucas* (modern Lefkada) and *Kerkyra* (modern Corfu) were considered part of *Epirus* but they remained autocephalous archbishoprics independent of *Nikopolis*.⁹ *Leucas* is a good example of the ambiguity in relation to the borders and relationships between the aforementioned geographical or administrative subdivisions. It is mentioned in the Episcopal lists as a bishopric belonging to the Theme of *Kephallenia* and by *Eustathios of Thessaloniki* (twelfth century) as a town or city of *Epirus* («πόλις τῆς Ἡπείρου»).¹⁰

421), in Synodal Acts (Le Quien 1740, 197–198), and in later texts by Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Nikephoros Gregoras and the Chronicle of Ioannina (Paliouras 2004a, 23).

'Acarnania', by contrast, was used to denote a limited and well-defined geographical area extending between the Acheloos river and Arta, which is similar to its modern connotation (Paliouras 2004a, 23).

⁴ For the historical problems regarding the Theme of *Vagenetia*/*Bagenetia*, see Koder, Soustal 1981, 119–120; Asdracha, Asdrachas 1992.

⁵ *Dysis* (Greek 'West') included the Westernmost territory of the Empire, extending from modern Macedonia (within Greece and the Balkans) up to Dalmatia and down to Sicily. Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos identifies it with Europe (Εὐρώπη), see Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II, 328–329. *Dysis* is also found in a 9th-c. Episcopal List (Darrouzès 1981, 268, notitia no. 6).

⁶ Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II, 348, 472.

⁷ Le Quien 1740, 197–200.

⁸ Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II, 394–5.

⁹ Darrouzès 1981, 273, 294, 345–346, 351, 377 (Notitiae nos. 7, 8, 11–13).

¹⁰ *Councils*, XVII 377d; *Notitiae*, II 83, III 98, VI 125, VIII 16, IX 86, σ. 551, 571, 592, 612, 630; Darrouzès 1981, 273, 294, 345, 351, 375, 377, 385, 389, 408, 410, 421; *Notitiae* no. 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21; *Eustathios of Thessaloniki*, *Odyssey* 356, 373; See also Inventory entry on Lefkada, Koulmos in Part 5 below.

The Independent State of Epirus – misleadingly named ‘Despotate of Epirus’ in the past – emerged soon after 1204 with no formal name other than Romania (Ῥωμανία) i.e. that of the pre-existing Byzantine Empire.¹¹ *Romania* is found in relation to *Epirus* in the sources from 1209 onwards, as is the name ‘Dysis’ which is used in contradistinction to ‘Anatoli’ meaning the Lascarid state of Nicaea. During the Late Byzantine period, ‘Aetolia’ and ‘Acarnania’ were also used in the sources as synonyms for *Epirus*.¹²

The Modern Greek administration has kept the name ‘Epirus’ only for the Northern part of the Western Greek mainland while a combination of the names ‘Aetolia’ and ‘Acarnania’ is used for the southern part (Aetoloacarnania).

2.II. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND SELECTION OF THE RESEARCH AREA

Physical Geography

When it comes to physical geography, the area of Byzantine *Epirus* corresponds to the Western Greek mainland (Greek Epirus and Aetoloacarnania) and Southern Albania (Albanian ‘Epir’). It is an almost exclusively mountainous landscape with an abundance of fluvial systems providing access from the inland areas to the surrounding seas: the Ionian Sea to the West, the Gulf of Patras and the Northern Corinthian Gulf to the South (map 16).

The approximate borders of the area corresponding to *Epirus Vetus* and to the Middle Byzantine Themes of *Nikopolis* and *Kephallenia* were investigated by Koder and Soustal.¹³ The Pindos Massif, starting from Mount Grammos, forms the Eastern border between Epirus and Macedonia (in the Byzantine period as now). The borders of the area then traversed the Eastern side of Mount Smolikias,¹⁴ Mount Lakmos and the Athamanika range and followed along the line of the Acheloos’ valley. To the S of Lake Kremaston, Mount Panaitoliko formed the border with the *Hellas* Theme; from there the border followed the courses of the Evinos and Kotsalos rivers, skirted the Eastern side of the Nafpaktia Mountains and ended at the mouth of the River Mornos in the Northern Gulf of Corinth, to the E of

¹¹ Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II, 523.

¹² Paliouras 2004a, 23.

¹³ Koder, Soustal 1981, 41–43.

¹⁴ Katara seems to have been the border between the Themes of *Nikopolis* and *Hellas* during the Middle Byzantine period, see Koder, Hild 1976.

Nafpaktos. This Gulf together with the Gulf of Patras formed the Southern border with the *Peloponnese* Theme. The Adriatic Sea formed the Western border of the Balkans during the period under consideration; its Southern part – the Ionian Sea and its islands – must have been part of the Theme of *Kephallenia*.

The geographical structure of this area indicates its division into separate units each of which constitutes a geographical entity. These units are the result of the parallel massifs dividing the area into several zones crossed by fluvial systems (Mornos, Evinos, Acheloos, Arachthos, Louros, Kokytos and Kalamas) rising in the Pindos mountains and discharging into the sea to the N, S and W (Ionian Sea, Ambracian Gulf, Gulf of Patras and Northern Gulf of Corinth). The wild mountainous character of the terrain and the difficulty of access to its parallel valleys also separate this region from the adjacent areas; that is why ever since antiquity *Epirus* has tended to be introvert and self-sufficient with a low standard of living. Nevertheless, it always had sufficient food being based on an almost exclusively pastoral economy (including fishing and hunting).¹⁵

The Investigated Area and the Criteria Used for its Selection

An initial attempt to investigate the history and archaeology of the whole area corresponding to Byzantine *Epirus* as described above resulted in an extremely large number of sites. Thus practical reasons imposed the selection of a more limited area to be more thoroughly investigated. The area selected corresponds to approximately half the total space.

There were also problems in defining appropriate criteria on the basis of which the region could be divided into parts so as to select from this a more limited area for investigation. One option was to use present-day administrative criteria so as to divide the region into Greek and Albanian parts or to subdivide the Greek territory into parts corresponding to the modern regions (prefectures of Thesprotia, Ioannina, Arta, Preveza, Aetoloakarnania, Lefkada, Kefalonia-Ithaka, Corfu, Zakynthos). Such criteria were considered inappropriate as they express a contemporary understanding and use of that space, based on its ethnic, political, economic or other features. Specifically, the current artificial division of Greek territory is based on the concept that pieces of land are entities and the seas are the borders between them. Thus *Epirus*, Aetoloakarnania and

¹⁵ Dakaris 1976; Hammond 1997, 24–26; Doorn, Bommeljé 1990, 82–85.

the Peloponnese are entities while the Ambracian Gulf and the Northern Gulf of Corinth separate them. This concept must be partially rooted in the fact that current technology allows access to all terrains no matter how wild or rough they may be.

This was not the case in medieval societies like Byzantium, where the basic communication routes were waterways (marine and fluvial), while land routes involved more time-consuming, laborious and hence more problematic means of communication.¹⁶ As regards Byzantine *Epirus* Chrysos confirmed that the big mountain ranges only allowed travellers to cross from N to S through three passes, while from E to W the passes were virtually inaccessible.¹⁷ These land routes, especially those used for economic activities (pasturage or hunting), were the natural passes formed by the relief and mainly those followed river courses.¹⁸ By comparison transport by water was much easier and faster, especially from the ninth century onwards.¹⁹ Solid evidence for the prevalence of navigation over land-based travel is the fact that, writing in the mid-tenth century, Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos uses two types of measurement in order to pinpoint a landmark in geographical space: the cardinal points and the distance of that landmark from the sea.²⁰ That practice was a classic rule which had been applied since antiquity and is still sometimes used today.

Furthermore, due to the territorial losses to the Arabs and the Slavs, many important older roads were at times dangerous or even out of use, such as the part of the Via Egnatia between Thessaloniki and Dyrrachion. That seems to have put the town of Nafpaktos on the map as a hub of sea routes which were now the only way to travel between East and West.²¹ Later, although in general overland communication networks were being reorganized by the state, the one in Epirus would have been made fairly insecure by extensive warfare.²² This said, it would not be misleading to

¹⁶ Dimitroukas 1998; Vryonis 1994, 358–359; Avramea 2002, 86. See also Part 3 – Chapter 1 below.

¹⁷ Chrysos 1997a, 151; Chrysos 1999, 20.

¹⁸ Dakaris 1976, 15.

¹⁹ Chrysos 1999, 20; Koder 2003, 455; Gagtsis et al. 1993, esp. 472, 478–9, 485–6; Taxidia 1997; Dimitroukas 1998, 7 vs. Bazaïou-Barabas 2003. See also the relevant historical evidence about 13th-century Epirus in Part 3, Chapter 1 below.

²⁰ Koutava-Delivoria 1993, I 109–110.

²¹ Gerolymatou 1997, 103; Gagtsis et al. 1993, 472; Kordosis 1981, 53–54. On Roman roads in Epirus see Pritchett 1980 and Axioti 1980b. On Nafpaktos see relevant Inventory entries in Part 5.

²² Dimitroukas 1998.

consider areas connected by water (providing easy and regular communication) as geographical entities; it would, in fact, appear more compatible with the conditions in Byzantium where water served as a unifying system but land could divide by blocking access to places.²³

That is why a specific geographical area for investigation was selected, based on the aforementioned geographical rather than current administrative criteria. I analysed the geomorphology of Epirus and used two criteria in order to divide the whole area into geographical units: those criteria were the relation of land to expanses of water and the limits imposed on communications by the big mountain ranges. Six such units were discerned of which three were selected as my research territory;²⁴ this roughly corresponded to the southern half of Byzantine *Epirus*. The area to be investigated includes the central and southern part of the western Greek mainland (Prefectures of Preveza, Arta and Aetoloacarnania as well as a part of Phokis) including two islands in the Ionian Sea (Lefkada and Kalamos) and one in the Ambracian Gulf (Kefalos).²⁵

²³ On the significance of overseas communications in Byzantium and the Mediterranean see Pryor 1997.

²⁴ The six units were the following. 1) The Aetolian plain, oriented towards the Northern Gulf of Corinth and offering the possibility of communication with the north through the valleys of the Acheloos and Evinos rivers. Its limits were the mountain ranges of Arakynthos and Xeromero. 2) The Acarnania and the Aetoloacarnanic hinterland plain, oriented towards the Ionian Sea but also communicating with the south land – through Acheloos river and Lakes Trichonida and Lysimacheia – and with the north – through Lakes Amvrakia and Ozeros and then through the Ambracian Gulf. Its limits are defined by the Xeromero range to the W, the Arakynthos to the E and Lysimacheia to the S. 3) The area around the Ambracian Gulf providing communication with the west through the Ionian Sea, with the south through the passages and lakes of Aetoloacarnania, with the north through Arachthos and Louros rivers but not so much with the east land. Its limits are set by the ranges of Xeromero to the S, Zalongo, Thesprotiko and Xerovouni to the N and Mounts Kanala and Valtos to the E. 4) The Thesprotian plain oriented towards the Ionian Sea via which it communicates with the west land and with access to the east through the Kalamas and Kokytos Rivers. Its limits are set by the Pindos range. 5) The Pindos range starting from the Ioannina plateau and including the southern part of Albania and part of western Macedonia. 6) The Ionian Islands communicating with all directions via the sea. The first three units were selected for thorough investigation.

²⁵ The unit of the Ionian Islands, even if some were located in the southern part of *Epirus*, was generally not included in this study for two reasons. First, it was felt that their location on the sea-route to the West gave them rather different features from the mainland, thus setting them apart as a separate group. Secondly, this factor meant that they had a rather different history to the mainland during the Middle Byzantine period. By contrast, the two Ionian Islands which were included in this study (Lefkada and Kalamos) were considered more closely linked to the nearby mainland than to the sea. They were located very close to the mainland coasts and their archaeological sites and ports were oriented towards these coasts. In the case of Lefkada, the island is even considered as a prolongation of the Acarnanian coast indeed, as it originally was; the reason for this is

2.III. LANDSCAPE EVOLUTION: GEOMORPHOLOGICAL LANDFORMS AND PROCESSES

Underlying assumptions that natural space has changed little since Byzantine times are quite often discernible by reading between the lines of archaeological and topographical research. Sometimes observations on current geomorphology are even projected onto the past and conclusions about the historical reality are drawn on the basis of such projections. Nevertheless, it is now a well established principle in archaeology that the researcher must be conscious of natural change which affects not only the process of localization of archaeological remains but is also involved in the historical processes.²⁶ Thus study of the selected area starts with an investigation of its geomorphological evolution as expressed by the physical transformation of areas inhabited in historical times.

It is true that within the area under consideration there are geographical areas whose relatively stable geomorphology has allowed prehistoric remains to remain located near the surface of the earth – though even these cannot be considered as unchanged landscapes.²⁷ Moreover this is not the case for the geomorphology in most parts of the Western Greek mainland, where instability makes it necessary to investigate how, exactly where and how much the landscape has changed as well as when these various changes have occurred. An account of the history of geological change will here serve as a basis for hypothetical reconstructions of Byzantine landscapes in the area and as an indication of the location of archaeological evidence for that period.

Geological Structure (map 1)

The main feature of the area under consideration is the intensity of the relief created by great mountain ranges oriented from NNW to SSE. The main part of these ranges belongs to the geotectonic unit²⁸ of the Ionian Zone (Subzone-A of the Aetolian-Flysch) while only a small part belongs

that the channel between them was often open for navigation but occasionally blocked by sand thus connecting the island with the mainland (see relevant Inventory entries in Part 5 below).

²⁶ See e.g. discussion of alluvial sedimentation by Athanassopoulos 1997, 84.

²⁷ This happened for example in the case of Kokkinopilos to the North of Preveza.

²⁸ A geotectonic unit is a large geological unit – created during the Alpine alluvial-fan-development sedimentary process dated 50–51 million years B.P. – with a special lithologic, paleogeographic and tectonic character. See geotectonic units of Greece in Katsikatos 1992, 45 and Karfakis et al. 1992–1993, 808.

to Subzone-A of the Gavrovo-Pindos-Flysch (the easternmost region of Mount Arakynthos and Nafpaktia). The mountainous terrain seen today consists of limestone-marlstone alterations while valleys and eroded regions are located in areas built up of schist-flysch alterations.²⁹ The hard limestone-marlstone ranges are almost dry and forest-free nowadays due to erosion. But the water draining through these mountains forms subterranean rivers which resurface through the numerous breakpoints between limestone and flysch. So the areas made up of flysch (such as wide areas to the east of the lower channel of the Arachthos river as well as in Eastern Aetolia, Nafpaktia and Valtos) are characterized by large expanses of water, an uneven distribution of clusters of hills covered by forests and narrow fertile valleys.³⁰ This contrast explains the constant alternations between wet and dry, highland and lowland landscapes in the area.

An important geological feature of this landscape is the ravine called Steno tis Kleissouras; this was formed due to the erosion caused by some large river (maybe the Acheloos)³¹ before the area to its north – called the Aetolian Lakes Basin – plunged to its present depth (100 m.).³² The basin forms a zone which includes the chain of Aetoloacarnanic lakes and interrupts the West Aetolian flysch. At the northern end of this basin the flysch is succeeded by the limestone of Mount Arakynthos. To the south, egress from the basin is blocked by a line of neogenic hills consisting of red sand aggregates, blue marls and ill-preserved fossils (the Angelokastron-Stamna region). Similar neogenic rocks are also found in the coastal area to the NW of Nikopolis.³³

Geological Phenomena Causing Geomorphological Change

The mountainous terrains consisting of solid rock are the most stable – they do not show much variability over time as there are few factors which can produce radical change (mainly erosion and earthquakes). By contrast, as mentioned above, the structure of the valleys is more unstable and will be discussed below in more detail.

²⁹ Fouache 1999, 134–5, fig. 36.

³⁰ Hammond 1997, 24.

³¹ Nerantzis 2003, 27; Fels 1951–1952.

³² Philippon, Kirsten 1950–1959, 344–6.

³³ Nerantzis 2003, 27.

Changes in Highlands and Lowlands Caused by Seismic Activity

The seismicity of the area under consideration is one of the highest on earth.³⁴ Extensive landslide phenomena have been studied near the NW coast of the Ambracian Gulf: around the highlands of the Preveza peninsula as well as around the line Stefani – Agios Georgios – ancient Kassopi.³⁵ The seismic activity which has produced the current uplift of the Preveza peninsula by 3–6 m as compared to the Roman period level was an important determining factor in the shoreline progradation into the NW part of the Ambracian embayment from prehistory to the present day.³⁶ The same activity must have destroyed several buildings in Nikopolis and neighbouring areas during the period of their occupation and later.³⁷ A very strong earthquake is mentioned in reference to the year 551/2; it destroyed buildings in the greater area of Central Greece including Nikopolis and also Nafpaktos where it caused faults in the city.³⁸

Changes in Lowlands Caused by Fluvial Sedimentation and their Importance in Archaeological Research

The predominant landforms of the area under consideration, which contribute to geological instability and change, are large fluvial systems and the sedimentary valleys created by them. These fluvial systems cause geological phenomena which interact with fluctuations in sea level to produce a long-term process of geomorphological change; some of these phenomena are of quite recent date and therefore have radically changed the landscape since Byzantine times.³⁹ In order to understand the radical and complex change the Western Greek mainland landscape has undergone since antiquity and the Middle Ages and the ways in which phenomena have affected specific regions and been expressed in geomorphological transformation a brief explanation of the interaction of these phenomena is available in Appendix III.

The ways in which fluvial systems phenomena have historically affected the paleoreliefs and therefore need to be taken into consideration in

³⁴ Papageorgiou, Steiros 1991, 235; Karfakis et al. 1992–1993, 810–2; Jing, Rapp 2003, 161, note 13 with earlier bibliography; Charalambopoulos 1986–1987.

³⁵ Fouache 1999, 143–8.

³⁶ Jing, Rapp 2003, 173.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Procopius, De Bello Gothico* IV 25, pp. 594–5; Chrysos 1981, 83; Savvides 1991, 247; Karfakis et al. 1992–1993, 811; Karayanni-Charalambopoulou 1998–1999, 30–31.

³⁹ Fouache 1999, 11.

archaeological research, have been analysed in Papageorgiou & Steiros's study on this geographical area as follows.⁴⁰ The transport and deposition of alluvium in fluvial basins first of all cause rapid covering-up of these areas; thus archaeological finds should be looked for at relatively deep underground levels. The rise of the sea level by itself causes a marine transgression covering coastal areas with water, in which case archaeological finds will be located underwater. Alluvial deposition by itself provokes a progradation of the shoreline, in which case the old shoreline and coastal areas, including any archaeological finds related to their habitation, should be looked for at the same level as the present shoreline but much farther inland. Finally, the combination of the two phenomena (rise of sea level and alluvial sedimentation) – which is most often the case in the western Greek mainland, as we shall see below – causes a gradual covering-up of archaeological finds not only at a great distance from the current coastline but also well below sea level.

A History of Fluvial Systems Phenomena in the Central and Southern Parts of the Western Greek Mainland (Map 14)

In the area under consideration, fluvial systems phenomena have been investigated by E. Fouache.⁴¹ Rivers here have very heavy flows as well as considerable bed widths and channel lengths – the Acheloos is 220 km long, the Arachthos 110 km, the Louros 80 km, and the Evinos 95 km – and during the Byzantine period they are referred to as navigable. They rise in areas with a high rainfall average, located within the flysch zone of Mt. Pindos meaning that the river discharge must have always been quite high.⁴² When it comes to the marine basins which receive the alluvium, the Ionian Sea to the west is a fairly open and deep sea and therefore has a considerable capacity for absorbing alluvium. Yet in the specific region into which the important fluvial system of the Acheloos discharges, the sea is full of little islands – the Echinades – which must have slowed down both the marine and incoming fluvial water's velocity. By contrast, the Northern Corinthian Gulf to the south and the Ambracian

⁴⁰ Papageorgiou, Steiros 1991, 239–241.

⁴¹ Fouache 1999.

⁴² In that respect the Louros river would have transported smaller quantities of alluvium since, though it rises in an area partly located in the flysch zone, it crosses areas consisting mostly of limestone which is less easily eroded. See Fouache 1999, 45.

Gulf to the north are small, enclosed gulfs. The Gulf of Patras is a semi-enclosed branch of the Ionian Sea. As far as the sea level is concerned, its rising course has been observed as follows. In the Ambracian Gulf the level is 1.50 m higher than that of the Byzantine period, as evident from the depth to which the Early Byzantine remains have now sunk.⁴³ On the Ionian coast the level-rise has been calculated at 3–3.5 m since antiquity and in the Patras Gulf at 2 m.⁴⁴ The difference in the sea-level rise at the Ambracian Gulf compared to the west and south coasts should probably be explained by the tectonic uplift of the land in this area, as discussed above.

The Ambracian Gulf is a special case of a fairly shallow and almost totally enclosed gulf – with only a narrow (700 m wide) outlet to the W. As the large Louros and Arachthos rivers drain into it, it is warmer and less saline than the Ionian Sea. It is also calm with a current flowing from the gulf into the sea. Its whole northern shore – where the rivers discharge – is broken by numerous marshes, large parts of which form an estuary system. This must have been formed as a result of a long sedimentation process caused by these two important fluvial systems. One may also assume that the island-complex of the Echinades located in the Ionian Sea around the mouth of the Acheloos River, would have affected the interaction between the marine and fluvial water bodies by enhancing sedimentation.

Some investigations into the history of the sedimentation process in the Western Greek Mainland and especially in the areas around the Acheloos, Arachthos and Louros rivers have shown the above assumptions to be correct.⁴⁵

⁴³ Hammond 1997, 26; Fouache 1999, 46–48; see also Inventory entries related to the sites of Kefalos, Lefkada, Vonitsa and Phidokastron in Part 5 below.

⁴⁴ For the Ionian coast see Papageorgiou, Steiros 1991, 238 and Weltje 1995, 181–202. For the Gulf of Patras see Petersen 2000, 274.

⁴⁵ Eric Fouache (1999) has made a historical investigation of alluvial phenomena in Western Greece and the Peloponnese and of the changes they caused to the relief. Z. Jing and G.R. Rapp (in Zachos, Wiseman 2003) have conducted a combined geological and archaeological survey (University of Boston & Greek Ministry of Culture 1992–1994) which produced a detailed analysis and dating of alluvial phenomena. Unfortunately, a) the investigated area of the Nikopolis Project is not very extensive (just the route of Louros river and the Preveza peninsula) and b) the publication is not yet complete. Moreover Jing and Rapp largely repeat Fouache's conclusions although they do not mention being aware of his research. Nevertheless, the fact that two independent investigations have come to similar conclusions tends to confirm the findings.

On the northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf the two rivers, Arachthos and Louros, have been contributing to a gradual sitting-up of the gulf since the formation of this particular drainage system in the Pliocene.⁴⁶ In antiquity the two rivers discharged at nearby locations: the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax (380–360 BC) mentions a distance of 40 *stadia* (approximately 7.4 km) distance between the two mouths.⁴⁷ Ancient river mouths have been located in the region of the current Tsoukalio and Logarou lagoons, under Mavrovouni Hill,⁴⁸ and they were protected by the fortifications at Phidokastro mentioned by Polybius (200–117 BC) as being located in an “area of lakes” suggesting a deltaic and floodplain environment.⁴⁹

The combination of the aforementioned geological phenomena (which must have been very intense here) had a variety of effects on the geomorphology and radically changed the relief around the Ambracian Gulf area (map 2, fig. 1).⁵⁰ Furthermore, from AD 500 onwards these effects seem to have been heightened. The explanation of this phenomenon seems to be related to an increase in erosion caused by the higher density of settlement in the area, owing to which the rate of alluvium discharge exceeded the corresponding rise in sea level.⁵¹

The first result of the combination of alluvial sedimentation and tectonic uplift of the peninsula was a long progradation of the shoreline. The whole of the inland Arta plain, up to the line of the Pandanassa church, has been formed by this sedimentation process – i.e. it was not there in the past.⁵² The same goes for the plains to the east of the Louros river, where the shoreline progradation resulting from erosion caused by the human factor dates from after AD 500, as mentioned above.⁵³

Therefore, a long time ago the coastline was somewhere along the line of the mountains of Arta and Rogoi⁵⁴ while Mt Vigla was an island – the beginning of the alluvial deposits which eventually transformed the area to the south of the Kastro Rogon into swamps has been dated to after

⁴⁶ The Arachthos more so than the Louros, see Fouache 1999, 45; Jing, Rapp 2003.

⁴⁷ *Scylax, Periplus*, 32; Dakaris 1971, 6.

⁴⁸ Fouache 1999, 44; Jing, Rapp 2003, 161.

⁴⁹ *Polybius, History* IV 61.7.

⁵⁰ Jing, Rapp 2003, 157–198.

⁵¹ Jing, Rapp 2003, 195.

⁵² For details of the formation process see: Fouache 1999, 44–48.

⁵³ Jing, Rapp 2003, 177–179; Fouache 1999, 37–54.

⁵⁴ There are historical descriptions of Rogoi as a port town. For details see the relevant Inventory entry (Kastro ton Rogon in Nea Kerassounda) in Part 5, below.

AD 500–750 (map 3).⁵⁵ By AD 1000 the sedimentation had moved the shore in line with Mavrovouni while from around AD 1100 onwards the sedimentation intensified.⁵⁶ Nikopolis used to be located much closer to the Ambracian Gulf coast – around AD 1500 the shoreline at the Mazoma Lagoon was about 400 m farther inland compared to its present location (map 3).⁵⁷

Nikopolis' three large ports are mentioned in the sources, of which only the Western one is visible today. The southern port was located at Vathy Bay, which was much larger than today – its sitting-up was initiated by intense erosion caused by high settlement density on the hills around the port after the Roman period (map 4).⁵⁸ The eastern port was located on the aforementioned coast at Mazoma which was gradually cut off from the Ambracian Gulf due to the formation of a sandy barrier to the E side of the Mazoma Lagoon (maps 3, 5) – the date of this barrier's formation remains unknown, though it is possible that it was not completely formed until around 1000 B.P. or even later.⁵⁹ Similar barriers at Salaora and Logarou lagoons were also the results of erosion and sediment deposition (map 2, fig. 1).⁶⁰

Another result of the combination of the phenomena described above is the constant change in the channel courses and positions of the river mouths of the Arachthos and Louros rivers – such changes have happened in historical times and continue to this day (map 2, fig. 1).⁶¹ These rivers are mentioned in historical sources as navigable, at least from antiquity to the fifteenth century – the aforementioned sedimentation phenomena are most probably partly to blame for their increasingly non-navigable state.⁶²

The results of the recent geological and archaeological survey along the course of the Louros River showed that these changes were sometimes the result of human intervention, possibly during an alluvial sedimentation crisis (see below) causing severe flooding. Thus the river channel

⁵⁵ Jing, Rapp 2003, 180, 184.

⁵⁶ Jing, Rapp 2003, 198, 186.

⁵⁷ Jing, Rapp 2003, 169.

⁵⁸ Jing, Rapp 2003, 174–7.

⁵⁹ Jing, Rapp 2003, 169.

⁶⁰ Jing, Rapp 2003, 161, 188.

⁶¹ Fouache 1999, 38–39.

⁶² Among the authors mentioning these rivers were Strabo and Cyriacus of Ancona. Find details in Inventory entries on the Castle of Arta and the Kastro ton Rogon in Nea Kerassounda, in Part 5 below.

was diverted and its mouth was relocated further to the west at some time between the tenth and fifteenth centuries⁶³ – maybe during the thirteenth-century crisis which will be discussed below. The intervention was intended either to avoid a further rapid formation of swamps, like the one already under way in the region between Kastro Rogon and the Mavrovounio in the period AD 750–1000, or to extend the available land suitable for agricultural purposes by draining the existing swamps and transforming them into arable land (map 6).⁶⁴ At least three ancient ports related to abandoned mouths of the Louros as well as several pro-delta formations in the Ambracian Gulf seabed allow us to follow the process of the river-mouth's gradual relocation from the east to the west coast. Remains of the three ancient ports have been located in the areas of the Tsoukalio, Rodia and Mazoma Lagoons.⁶⁵ The evidence for the abandoned channels of the Arachthos and Louros rivers is presented in Fouache's maps (maps 2, 5).

Last but not least, a third critical dimension of the aforementioned phenomena is their chronic instability. Fluctuations in their rhythm and intensity did not always allow a slow and regular progradation of the shore; on the contrary there have been periods characterized by alluvial sedimentation crises. These are periods when alluvial deposition presents a bulge and destabilization can be expressed in a wide variety of (geo-)physical ways due to the great number of factors involved in the phenomenon, e.g. the climatic environment of every region, the rate of rainfall, the size of the rivers, the presence of rocks liable to erosion and historical human intervention.⁶⁶ We know of two such crises in southern Epirus during the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries thanks to evidence provided by the investigation of two Byzantine monuments: Agios Vassilios Gefyras near Arta and the Pandanassa at Philippias.⁶⁷ The first one is in the middle of the alluvial plain of Arta while the second one is located on an alluvial plateau which borders the Louros channel.

The excavation of Agios Vassilios revealed Byzantine coinage at a depth of 2.95 m. An 0.80-m-high alluvial deposition over this Middle Byzantine phase of the monument was probably due to exceptional flooding from the Arachthos river which had not been anticipated by the thirteenth-century

⁶³ Jing, Rapp 2003, 182, 192, 198.

⁶⁴ Jing, Rapp 2003, 198, 158, 161, note 10.

⁶⁵ Jing, Rapp 2003, 158, 161.

⁶⁶ Fouache 1999, 196.

⁶⁷ Fouache 1999, 48–54.

renovators of the church.⁶⁸ It is most interesting that after the church had been restored from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, there followed a very rapid sedimentation process dating to between the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries and expressed in stratigraphy by the top 2.15-m levels revealed by the excavation (plan 1a). This process must have corresponded to periods of flooding much more frequent and intense than in earlier centuries. Thus these late alluvial deposits have covered most of what was in the plain prior to the eighteenth century. Most of the antique and medieval material remains have been moved to levels considerably lower than the current surface of the land and it seems probable that the Arachthos would have ceased to be navigable during this late period.⁶⁹ A similar development has been detected in the alluvial plain of the Louros. The core sampling examined in the context of the Nikopolis Project in order to document the subsurface stratigraphy and to allow a palaeographic reconstruction of the regions near Strongyli and to the north of Nikopolis, showed the existence of two periods of marine and alluvial transgression and regression, during which two different palaeosols were formed within a 7.5-m-deep layer.⁷⁰

By contrast the excavation of the Pandanassa church – which was evidently located away from the flood plains of the Louros – showed that here only a very thick layer (approx. 1 m) of colluvial deposits⁷¹ was being discharged during the same periods of the Arachthos' flood crises, i.e. from thirteenth century onwards and more especially from the eighteenth century (plan 1b). Both the thick concentration of colluvium and the alluvial sedimentation crisis have been linked by Fouache with the sudden development of a timber trade in the area from the end of the eighteenth

⁶⁸ The cause of this flood is as yet unknown. While record rainfall in the Eastern Mediterranean is recorded in the second half of the 12th century, the 13th c. seems to have been fairly dry according to Telelis (2000, 227, 229, 242–3).

⁶⁹ Evidence of this process is found in the ancient port of Arta discovered on the west coast of Arachthos (Fouache 1999, 45): the Byzantine church on the same coast revealed by chance in 1984 during works by the Electricity Company (previously covered by fluvial water), as well as Agios Nikolaos Rachis near Arta almost entirely covered by alluvial deposits. Find details in relevant Inventory entries in Part 5 below.

⁷⁰ Wiseman et al. 1992, 298.

⁷¹ Colluvium or colluvial deposits are unconsolidated and poorly sorted rocky material deposited by a mass-wasting process. Usually, these are rock-weathering products that accumulate at the base of a slope, i.e. they have not yet been washed into a river and become alluvium.

century; the rapid extensive deforestation caused by this development radically altered the rate at which the mountain ranges were eroded.⁷²

The timber trade is also responsible for the deforestation of Acarnania. The dominant feature here is the Acheloos, mentioned in ancient and medieval texts as the most powerful river in Greece.⁷³ The alluvial sedimentation the river has been producing since the Pliocene created the plains of Agrinio and Aetoliko (map 7, fig. 2).⁷⁴ The Acheloos channel, coming down from the Pindos mountains, makes a particularly wide sweep to the left in the area of Stratos and narrows down significantly as it leaves the Agrinio plain – this course is determined by the geological structure of the area, corresponding to the aforementioned Aetolian Lakes Basin. One result of these features of the Acheloos channel is that the great mass of the alluvium is discharged within the Agrinio plain while for the remaining 10km of its course from Palaeomanina until the river mouth the channel broadens out, creating characteristic sharp meanders and a very wide floodplain zone of calm water.

The fact that Lake Lysimacheia was once much larger than it is today – and in fact connected to Lake Trichonida and it eventually filled up with alluvial deposits proves that the Agrinio plain was once a deltaic environment. An ancient bank of Lake Lysimacheia, dated to the Paleolithic period on the basis of Levallois-flint evidence, has been discovered near the village of Gianouzi.⁷⁵ Research has not yet identified alluvial sedimentation crises in this geographical area but it has confirmed that in this particular part of the course of the Acheloos the alluvial ‘balance’ favours sedimentation.⁷⁶ Two examples confirm the existence of such crises in the past here too: the gradual abandonment of the ancient settlement of Oiniades in the Byzantine period and the complete covering over of the Byzantine church of Agia Triada Mavrika by alluvial deposits.

In antiquity Oiniades was an important port near the mouth of the Acheloos.⁷⁷ Some shipsheds remains have been excavated under Triardo

⁷² Fouache 1999, 53–54.

⁷³ References to the Acheloos are to be found in literature ranging from the Iliad and Theban mythology to Pausanias; it was deified and considered the “King of Rivers” because its power could only be compared with that of Zeus. See Kovani 2004; Sueref 2004. For references to the Acheloos (also known as *Aspros*) by Byzantine authors see Koder, Soustal 1981 (Acheloos Fluß) and relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

⁷⁴ Fouache 1999, 58.

⁷⁵ Papakonstandinou 1991, 24.

⁷⁶ Fouache 1999, 63.

⁷⁷ The port existed in 219 BC as mentioned by Polybius (*History*, 65, 11). On the reverse of the city coinage the Acheloos was personified as a head with horns: Serbeti 2004. It had

hill, an inland site nowadays.⁷⁸ Triardo was probably once one of the Echinades Islands mentioned since antiquity as being near the mouth of the Acheloos⁷⁹ – the shore progradation process gradually incorporated them into dry land, transforming the area in between them into an alluvial plain. The shore progradation seems to have already started in antiquity, since it is mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, Apollodoros and later authors, while the memory of these islands as an oral tradition mentioned by Pyrros Dionysios survived well into the nineteenth century.⁸⁰ This progradation was not only caused by the Acheloos but also by a second independent fluvial system to the NW, the Triardo river, which was almost totally silted up after 1852 (map 7).⁸¹ After the alluvial sedimentation of its port the city was no longer so important and it was gradually abandoned. This happened before the Byzantine period when this area is mentioned as being inland but near a lake.⁸² A further indication for the dating of alluvial sedimentation in the lower Acheloos is the abundant evidence of sea-shells together with ribbed pottery on the Agios Ilias hill further to the north of the river.⁸³ Yet at least some of the southernmost Echinades must have been islands until at least the eighteenth century, since they are shown as such on nautical charts (portulans).⁸⁴ Moreover the current channel of the Acheloos must date to quite recent times – its abandoned meanders indicate that it used to discharge into the lagoons to the east and south of Triardo, not directly into the Ionian Sea (map 7).⁸⁵ The discovery of a twelfth- to thirteenth-century cemetery on the current bank of the river near the village of Neochori confirms the fact that the river changed course after the thirteenth century.⁸⁶ Therefore these phenomena

also been suggested that Oiniades was a river port connected via the Acheloos to the sea but this was disproved by Fouache's geological research (1999, 71–73, 197).

⁷⁸ See relevant Inventory entry below in Part 5.

⁷⁹ For historical references to the Echinades see Horden, Purcell 2000, 312–314; Kovani 2004, 92.

⁸⁰ Pyrros mentions the Echinades Islands in his *Methodical Geography* in 1815, see Bitas 1975, 28. More details in the Triardo entry of the Inventory in Part 5 below.

⁸¹ This river has been described by Leake, is depicted on 19th-c. maps and is visible in aerial photographs used for archaeological teledetection. See Fouache 1999, 71–73, pl. III.

⁸² Tsandila 2004, 312.

⁸³ Details in relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

⁸⁴ The islands are mentioned as *Koutsolari* or *Koutselari* or *Kourtsolari* from 1443 until the 17th c. and then again as *Echinades* during the 17th and 18th c.: Moschona 1984, 188–189.

⁸⁵ Fouache 1999, 71, pl. XVI.

⁸⁶ Details in the relevant Inventory entry in Part 5, below.

must also have accelerated in later centuries and undoubtedly they significantly transformed the medieval relief.

The church of Agia Triada Mavrika is located at the centre of the aforementioned Agrinio alluvial plain very close to one bank of the Ermitsas, a tributary of Acheloos.⁸⁷ The excavation of the church revealed a 5m-thick (!) stratum of alluvial deposits later than the twelfth century and the fact that the church had burned down and subsequently been abandoned.⁸⁸

Similar phenomena also appear to have been caused by other fluvial systems in Aetoloacarnania, such as that of the Evinos – the Byzantine Ofidaris⁸⁹ River – which rises in the Aetolian Pindos mountains and discharges into the bay of Calydon in the Gulf of Patras. As in the case of the Evinos, the shore progradation in the nearby area of Kato Vassiliki, where the delta of the Arias River is located, seems once again to have been linked to a steady rise in sea level in the Gulf of Patras.⁹⁰ Moreover, marine transgression has also been observed here – the total rise in sea level in this Gulf has been estimated to be of the order of 2m. On the basis of this estimation, it has been suggested that the small bay of Vassiliki under Mount Varassova – an extremely shallow embayment for up to a 1–2 kms out from the shore – used to be dry land but was gradually covered by sea-water.⁹¹

At the narrow Rio-Andirio channel connecting the Northern Corinthian Gulf with the Gulf of Patras alluvial deposits are thick on the seabed: they are 30–50m thick on the northern side of the channel and 90–100m thick in the southern side.⁹² Their arrangement shows that at the time of their deposition (the Pleistocene) there were significant variations in the kind of deposits, in paleogeography and in tectonic structure due to intensive seismic activity in the area.⁹³ In relation to the city of Nafpaktos, historical sources mention a particular tidal phenomenon. This phenomenon

⁸⁷ Details in the relevant Inventory entry in Part 5, below.

⁸⁸ The publication of this excavation by Professor Paliouras is expected to further clarify the exact chronology of these strata. More details in relevant Inventory entry in Part 5, below.

⁸⁹ The name Ophidares mentioned by Liutprand of Cremona in 968 as well as in the Chronicle of the Tocci in 1414–1418 comes from the Greek word for snake (ὄφις). It seems likely to refer to the serpentine windings of its course. See Koder, Soustal 1981, 218 (Ophidares).

⁹⁰ Petersen 2000, 274–275.

⁹¹ Petersen 2000, 274–275. An ancient port has been located in the bay, see Inventory entry on Kato Vassiliki, Varassova, in Part 5 below.

⁹² Karfakis et al. 1992–1993, 814.

⁹³ Karfakis et al. 1992–1993, 813.

seems to have been a quite decisive factor in everyday life and commercial activity, alternately making the port accessible or inaccessible. The tide, combined with the alluvial deposition in the bay caused by the Mornos River, gradually made the port too shallow and narrow to continue its function.⁹⁴

Lefkada (anc. Leucas) must have had similar problems to Nafpaktos. Between modern Lefkada and Aetolocarnania there were once lagoons and sand-fields connecting the island to the Acarnanian coast: in the seventh century BC a canal (διόρυκτος) was dug here to allow navigation along Leucas's eastern coast. This canal linked the area between Leucas and Acarnania with the northern Ionian Sea and the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf, facilitating navigation by minimizing the dangers involved in circumnavigating the island and by significantly shortening the trip. A consequence of the canal opening was the development of the ancient and Byzantine settlement at Koulmos.⁹⁵ Historical evidence, though, indicates that after the sixth century AD the canal was sometimes navigable and sometimes not. This clearly indicates that the alluvial sedimentation phenomena, which had created the original estuary landscape, were still active. One result of this sedimentation process may have been the eventual change of location of the harbour facilities for the settlement at Koulmos port-facilities: the ancient port was at what is now Ag. Georgios beach (modern salterns) but the Byzantine facilities were constructed slightly to the south, on the main beach in the village of Lygia. The latter site was obviously well selected for a harbour since the region around it is considered one of the most geologically stable in the area.⁹⁶

The overall changes to the relief, caused by all the aforementioned alluvial phenomena and sea-level changes in Aetoloacarnania and Southern Epirus, are shown in map 14).

Conclusions

As a result of the specific geological structure of the southern and central Western Greek mainland, some very important geological phenomena have been observed. The particular nature and extent of these phenomena explain why they have continually affected paleoreliefs and dramatically transformed historical landscapes. This transformation dates in part

⁹⁴ See details in the Inventory entry on the Castle of Nafpaktos in Part 5, below.

⁹⁵ Andreou 1998, 148–149. See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

⁹⁶ Andreou 1998, 177.

to recent centuries, so today's landscape is very deceptive as to its resemblance to the medieval one. Many Byzantine archaeological remains in particular areas (e.g. those covered by alluvial or colluvial deposits or sea-water) have often totally disappeared due to geological change and only ever come to light by chance (map 17).

To place this picture in its historical and geographical context, similar expressions of analogical phenomena are proven to have occurred around the Mediterranean and in the Balkans during the Byzantine period: shore-line progradation events and the creation of alluvial plains have been attributed to the increase in the rate of erosion, caused by human intervention (e.g. by intensive habitation, land occupation, outbreaks of warfare and epidemics etc.).⁹⁷ After AD 500 and until the ninth–tenth centuries, seismic activity and climate change caused an intensification of alluvial sedimentation and floods, while the period from the middle of the tenth to the thirteenth century seems to have been warmer and more favourable to vegetation growth and increases in population.⁹⁸ It is important to bear in mind that human intervention increased dramatically during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as a consequence of the pressure caused by population increases; this intervention now involved the construction of dams and reservoirs as well as an extensive exploitation of the coasts. In interaction with the aforementioned continuously developing geological phenomena such human interventions have created perceptible changes in Aetoloacarnanian and Epirote landscapes and especially in the 'sensitive' deltaic areas.

Therefore, all of this needs to be taken into consideration not only in every attempt to interpret the distribution of archaeological remains in space but also in the effort to reconstruct the Byzantine landscapes – which one can now safely assume would have been quite different from the contemporary landscapes in that geographical area.

Thus one has to proceed with a dialectic estimation of the aforementioned conclusions and the historical and archaeological evidence, so as to be able to further investigate:

- the real extent of inhabitable space in the area during the seventh–twelfth centuries and

⁹⁷ Geyer 2002, 32–33, 37–43, esp. 39.

⁹⁸ Geyer 2002, 38–39, 41–43.

- the ways in which geological phenomena would have affected everyday life during the same period.

These parameters will be discussed in due course starting with a broad outline of the available historical evidence on human geography, land use and settlement in the area under investigation; this account will introduce the attempted contextualization of specific and detailed historical and archaeological evidence on settled sites in the seventh–twelfth centuries, which follows in Part 2 of this volume.

2.IV. HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Political Conditions and Economy

The historical evidence concerning Byzantine *Epirus* has been investigated, evaluated and interpreted, although the sources concerning the period from the seventh to the twelfth centuries are not very generous with information.⁹⁹ In particular the political, military and ecclesiastical history of Middle Byzantine *Epirus* has been studied extensively and will not be reconsidered here.¹⁰⁰ To sum up the known evidence, *Epirus* was a Byzantine province where life during the early Middle Byzantine period (end of sixth–ninth centuries) was characterized, firstly, by invasion and settlement by Slavic populations descending from the northern and north-eastern mainland and, secondly, by the Arab raids coming from the sea (to the S and SW of the province). Between the tenth and the twelfth century, Byzantine control was re-established over the whole area which now constituted the western border of the Empire. This border territory was often claimed by powerful foreign armies (e.g. Arab – also called Saracen¹⁰¹ –, Bulgarian, Oghuz and Frankish Norman) and *Epirus* became a constant theatre of military operations. Occasionally foreign forces would manage to detach certain territories from the Byzantines who, in turn, went on winning them back up to the twelfth century. Insecurity and the need to remain on a war footing must have characterized the Western borders communities during the Middle Byzantine period.

⁹⁹ For historical outlines of Middle Byzantine *Epirus* as well as for other relevant literature see, Koder, Soustal 1981; Chrysos 1997b; Prinzing 1997a–b.

¹⁰⁰ See Chrysos 1997b; Prinzing 1997a–b (with reviews of earlier literature).

¹⁰¹ On the name see Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II 107–108.

Thus insecurity and warfare must also have had extensive repercussions for the Epirote economy, thus probably delaying the economic development which was noticeable elsewhere in Byzantium during the Middle period.¹⁰² These conditions probably forced the inhabitants of the enclosed and threatened Epirote territory to be economically self-sufficient, as had been the case in previous stages of its history. However, this hypothesis needs further investigation.

Evidence concerning the Epirote economy in the seventh–twelfth centuries is scarce. Pastoral activities seem to have been the main occupations of local communities since antiquity due to the prevalence of mountainous landscapes in most parts of the region.¹⁰³ Most of the modern plains in contemporary Aetolia and Southern Epirus are recent alluvial formations, a large part of which did not exist in the Middle Ages, as discussed above. Thus there must have been a relative lack of land suitable for agriculture in Byzantine *Epirus*. John Apokaukos, the early-13th-century Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, described the terrain in his letters as mountainous, rough and rich in vegetation; during the same period breeding of cattle and other livestock is attested in the texts, as well as silkworm cultivation for the production of silk.¹⁰⁴ Relevant Late Byzantine sources refer to the high levels of stock-breeding and pisciculture.¹⁰⁵

A series of other agricultural activities are mentioned in relation to early-thirteenth-century Nafpaktos: horticulture, olive growing and oil production, apiculture, cereal crops, viticulture and viniculture, while a little later, in the fourteenth century, there were also high levels of salt production in Nafpaktos and Anatolikon.¹⁰⁶ Before 1198, in the most fertile regions, i.e. those of Arta, Acheloos and Anatolikon, there had been an unusually large number of private estates, the *episkepseis* mentioned in the *Partitio Romaniae*.¹⁰⁷ Among the great landowners of the Middle Byzantine period one should include the Church, which is attested as such in the early thirteenth-century sources.¹⁰⁸

That there was metalworking activity in the *Nikopolis* Theme in the tenth century can be inferred from the reference in Constantine VII

¹⁰² See Part 3, Chapter 3, below.

¹⁰³ On the pastoral character of antique economies see Dakaris 1976; Doorn, Bommeljé 1990.

¹⁰⁴ Katsaros 1989, 636–639, 652–655.

¹⁰⁵ Zachariadou 1992, 90–92; Katsaros 1989, 651–652.

¹⁰⁶ Katsaros 1989, 653–654.

¹⁰⁷ Prinzing 1997a, 189.

¹⁰⁸ Stavridou-Zafraka 1992, 319–320.

Porphyrogennitos' to the *strategos* of *Nikopolis* (together with those of *Thessaloniki* and the *Peloponnese*) agreeing to manufacture (ἐδέξατο καμῆν) 200.000 arrows (σαγίτες) and 3.000 pikes (μενάλια) in his territory as their contribution to equipping the fleet sent on the 911/912 military campaign to Crete.¹⁰⁹

Trade must have developed as a tertiary economic activity.¹¹⁰ Among the important commercial ports were Nafpaktos (tenth–twelfth centuries) as well as Vonditza and Arta from the twelfth century onwards.¹¹¹ Arta is mentioned at the beginning of the thirteenth century as a departure- and terminus-point for caravans, occasionally replacing the port of Dyrrachion (Durrës).¹¹²

Last but not least, piracy, an age-old occupation, had flourished in Aetolia since antiquity and revived from the twelfth century onwards, with Varassova serving as a pirate base.¹¹³

Demography

The demographic composition of and fluctuations in population numbers of *Epirus* in seventh–twelfth centuries are as yet unknown. There is, however, a fair amount of information on the inhabitants' varied ethnic or cultural backgrounds as well as on population transfers. Representatives of several ethnicities and cultures seem to have been present in these western Byzantine territories, while transfers of groups from and to this area are attested to have occurred on several occasions.

The most prominently attested ethnic group of inhabitants of Byzantine *Epirus* were the indigenous, Greek-speaking, Christian Orthodox called Ῥωμαῖοι (also Γραικοί or Ἕλληνες in thirteenth-century texts).¹¹⁴ In the tenth-century texts by Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos these terms were used as follows: Ῥωμαῖοι was a diachronic term for the commissioners of the Roman Empire; Ἕλληνες was used to denote the ancient Greeks as well as the indigenous people of “Greek origin”, that is people having

¹⁰⁹ *Constantine Porphyrogennitos De Cerimoniis* 697.13; Koutava-Delivoria 1993, I 214–215.

¹¹⁰ Katsaros 1989, 639.

¹¹¹ Katsaros 1989, 639; Zachariadou 1992, 88, 90. On Nafpaktos, Vonditza (Vonitsa) and Arta see relevant Inventory entries in Part 5 below.

¹¹² Papadopoulou 1997b, 345.

¹¹³ On piracy in Aetolia during antiquity see Bommeljé, Doorn 1990. On piracy in the 12th c. see the Inventory entry on the Castle of Nafpaktos and on Varassova see the relevant Inventory entries in Part 5, below.

¹¹⁴ Dimou 1992, 280–285.

settled down there from the sixth century onwards; finally Γραικοί was used for all local populations using the koine (κοινή) Greek language.¹¹⁵

Slavic populations settled in scattered locations all around the area in the period between AD 582 and 626 or 641.¹¹⁶ From *Epirus* they probably went on to the Peloponnese via the Rio-Antirio crossing.¹¹⁷ This conclusion is based on the toponymy of the area, which includes a remarkable concentration of Slavic place-names dated to the seventh and eighth centuries on the basis of linguistic criteria.¹¹⁸ The study of Slavic place-name distribution indicates that these Slavic populations settled mostly on the mainland, avoiding the Ionian coasts.¹¹⁹ It has also been suggested that the region of Vagenitia (Βαγενιτία – Βαγενετία) further to the north of *Epirus* – mentioned from the eighth century onwards – had probably originally been a *sclavenia* of the Baiunetes Slavs.¹²⁰ Slavs seem to have integrated into local Greek-speaking communities by the tenth century; still, they preserved some traditions and aspects of their culture, such as family law until at least as late as the early-thirteenth century, as is evident from a source on Late Byzantine Epirus.¹²¹

While Slavic populations were coming and settling, some local people seem to have taken the opposite route out of *Epirus* to other regions. One such population transfer, attested in relation to Thesprotia directly to the north of the investigated area, is probably linked to the eighth–ninth-century settlement of the northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf, as discussed below. To be specific, the inhabitants of the cities of Evroia and Fotiki are mentioned as having moved to a new location, Nea Evroia, later to Kassiopi on Corfu, in the years AD 591–604 and from there to Calabria.¹²² It is possible that a group of those people might have come back and been associated with the early history of the Middle Byzantine settlement

¹¹⁵ Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II 123, 130–131, 179–180.

¹¹⁶ Osswald 2007, 128.

¹¹⁷ Chrysos 1997, 184; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 2000, 28; Toynbee 1973, 627.

¹¹⁸ Chrysos 1999, 21; Vasmer 1941.

¹¹⁹ Koder 2005, 193; Toynbee 1973, 627–630.

¹²⁰ Koder, Soustal 1981, 119–120; Asdracha, Asdrachas 1992. The term *sclaveniae* (σκληβην(αι)) refers to 'Slavic clusters' created in the areas settled by these populations, each with its own tribal organization (Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 2000, 38). *Sclaveniae* are mentioned by Constantine VII in the 10th c. (Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II 551–552).

¹²¹ On Slavic settlement in Byzantine territories see Ferjančić 1984; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 2000; Malingoudis 1991; Toynbee 1973, 630. On 13th-c. evidence for Slav families in *Epirus* see the discussion of Demetrios Chomatianos by Ahrweiler, Laiou 1998, 165.

¹²² Triantaphyllopoulos 1994, 313; Chrysos 1981, 74–77; Follieri 1996. The new bishopric of Evroiaton (Εὐροιατῶν) in Calabria, mentioned in Nea Taktika, is associated with the town of Umbriatico on the Adriatic coast opposite Epirus.

at Arta.¹²³ A little later, during the eighth-century Arab raids, there are indeed mentions of such an exodus, with Greek-speaking families from Sicily seeking refuge in *Epirus* for greater security.¹²⁴ These families' transfer to *Epirus* seems also to be linked to the eighth-century settlement of the northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf.¹²⁵

Other population groups also seem to have been moving around the Ambracian Gulf during the Slavic settlement and the Arab raids. Just such a case is attested in a settlement on Kefalos, an example of a site used as island refuge for threatened populations possibly coming from Nikopolis or the coast of Vonitsa (Early Byzantine settlements at Vonitsa and Drymos).¹²⁶ Other such island refuges seem to have existed near the northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf and the Ionian coast.¹²⁷ Another indication of population movements is seen in the settlement of Ambrakia (Ἀμβρακία) in the ninth century. This is the name of the ancient settlement on the site of modern Arta; it is still found today as a place-name on both the northern and southern coasts of the Ambrakian Gulf where there is a distribution of medieval material remains. This makes the identification of the ninth-century settlement quite problematic.¹²⁸

Transfers of populations initiated by Byzantine emperors were also responsible for the presence of certain groups of inhabitants. Nicephoros I is mentioned by Theophanes as having settled the *sclaveniae* with Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox populations within the area of modern Greece in AD 809–810.¹²⁹ It is plausible that this action also involved the *sclaveniae* of *Epirus*, although there is no precise evidence for these events.¹³⁰ The military importance of the western border of the Empire for the containment of the Arab raids is not only evident in the establishment of the western Themes but also in the settlement of the western provinces with Mardaïtes. The latter were sent by the Emperor to *Nikopolis*, *Kephallenia*, *Kerkyra* and maybe even *Dyrrachion* some time before the tenth century probably in an effort to reinforce the local navy.¹³¹ Moutzali has suggested

¹²³ See relevant Inventory entries in Part 5, below.

¹²⁴ Chrysos 1999, 22.

¹²⁵ See Inventory entries relevant to Arta and Ambrakia in Part 5, below.

¹²⁶ See relevant Inventory entries in Part 5 and Part 3, Chapter 3, below.

¹²⁷ See the Inventory entries on Kefalos and Koronissia as well as the discussion of island refuge remains in Part 3, Chapters 1 and 3.

¹²⁸ See the Inventory entry on Ambrakia in Part 5, below.

¹²⁹ *Theophanes*, 1: 486.

¹³⁰ Lemerle 1963, 10; Niavis 1987, 79–91; Cheynet 2003, 54, 56.

¹³¹ Amandos 1932, 135; Toynbee 1973, 87, 102.

that earlier settlement of Mardaites in Kephallenia had already taken place during the first reign of Justinian II (AD 685–695).¹³² However, according to Constantine VII, the Mardaites of the Western Themes (τῶν θεμάτων τῆς Δύσεως) took part in the Byzantine military attempts to reclaim Crete in 911 and 949.¹³³

Representatives of other ethnicities settled in *Epirus* by choice. The tradition kept alive in the *Life of St Varvaros* has a Muslim Arab fighter living in the region of Acarnania, being Christianized and further integrated into the local community.¹³⁴ Hagarenes (ἡγαρηνοί) and Ishmaelites (ἰσμαηλίτες) are mentioned at a later period (early-thirteenth century) as having been allowed to live in *Epirus* on condition that they did not mix with the natives.¹³⁵

Vlachs seem also to have moved to *Epirus* according to the late tenth–eleventh-centuries texts Cecaumenus' *Strategikon* and John Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historiarum*.¹³⁶ These texts even reflect a distinction between Greek-speaking natives, Slav-speaking Bulgarians and Latin-speaking Vlachs. The Vlach issue has been discussed by several scholars. Chrysos and Du Nay have dated their settlement in *Epirus* earlier than the Slavic one and possibly as early as the Roman period.¹³⁷ By contrast Koder has dated the Vlachs' move towards Epirus and Aetolia to the same period as the Slavic settlement or even slightly later.¹³⁸

Jewish communities have lived all over Aetolia and in the regions of Lefkada and Arta, as confirmed by twelfth-century travellers such as al-Idrisi, Abraham ibn Daoud and Benjamin of Tudela.¹³⁹ The considerable number of Jewish communities living here is not surprising, if one considers their constant presence and extensive distribution along the opposite

¹³² Moutzali 2005, 18.

¹³³ *Constantine Porphyrogennitos, De Cerimoniis* II.44, 45, 654–660, 665. See also Amandos 1932, 135–136; Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II 161; Koder 2005, 196–197; Ahrweiler 1966, 33, 44, 50, 52, 84–85, 108, 100, 399–400.

¹³⁴ *Varvaros* means 'barbarian' in Greek. For the historical background see Chrysos 1999, 22. For the references to the *Life of St Varvaros* see the Inventory entries on Astakos, Ambrakia and Tryfos in Part 5 below.

¹³⁵ "Hagarenes" or "Ishmaelites" and Saracens (σαρακηνοί) were names used by the Byzantines to refer firstly to Hanif Arabs, then collectively to Islamic forces and finally they came to mean all Muslims.

¹³⁶ On the people referred to at this time by the name of Vlachs see Brezeanu 2000.

¹³⁷ Chrysos 1997b, 189; Chrysos 1999, 22–23; Dy Nay 1996.

¹³⁸ Koder 2005, 195.

¹³⁹ Prinzing 1997a, 195. For detailed references to Jewish communities see Inventory entries on Arta, Nafpaktos and Lefkada in Part 5, below.

coast of the Peloponnese throughout the Byzantine period.¹⁴⁰ However their exact origin is unclear.¹⁴¹ Demetrios Chomatianos, a source on early-thirteenth-century *Epirus*, confirms that Jews lived only in existing towns and never outside of them though they lived separately from the Christians and were strictly confined to their own quarter.¹⁴²

Indeed investigation of some very slightly later (early-thirteenth-century) sources indicates that there were even more ethnic groups living in *Epirus*, which were already settled there during the Middle Byzantine centuries.¹⁴³ According to these sources, native Greek-speaking populations had developed a strong ethnic identity – an awareness of ‘us’ against ‘them’, the other to whom they assigned collective features, distinguishing them as foreign and different.¹⁴⁴

One such ethnic group settled in *Epirus* was of Bulgarian origin. The Bulgarians are mentioned by Constantine VII as having first appeared around the end of the reign of Constantine Pogonatos (AD 652–685).¹⁴⁵ Their descent into the area in the tenth century is clearly attested by Georgios Cedrenos while, during their period of maximal spread (AD 893–1014), they are said to have got as far as the Aegean and the Adriatic Sea.¹⁴⁶ Slav-speaking Bulgarian populations settled in Byzantium are mentioned in the tenth-century *Strategikon* by Cecaumenus.¹⁴⁷ Evidently they had also settled in *Epirus* as well, since Bulgarians were preponderant among the thirteenth-century ethnic groups in the area and they had not integrated into the native population at all.¹⁴⁸ Surviving signs of their settlement are seen in the modern place-names of Vulgarelli (a village near Arta) and Vulgari (a lake in north-west Acarnania).¹⁴⁹

Finally, among the heteroglossic groups living in *Epirus* in the early thirteenth century there were also Armenians. They were evidently descendents of some group of refugees of Armenian origin, who must

¹⁴⁰ Moutzali 1995; Lambropoulou 1995.

¹⁴¹ Osswald 2007, 131.

¹⁴² Demetrios Chomatianos, letter dated ca. 1220–1234 (Document 18 in: Bowman 1985, 221); Dimou 1992, 299; Ahrweiler, Laiou 1998, 150.

¹⁴³ These sources are the texts by 13th-c. Epirote writers such as Demetrios Chomatianos, Ioannis Apocaukos, Georgios Vardanis and Georgios Acropolites. The evidence on the ethnic demography of *Epirus* is discussed by Dimou 1992.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁵ Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II 118.

¹⁴⁶ *Georgios Cedrenos*, II 529; Athanassiadis-Novas 1956, 291; Koder 2005, 195–196.

¹⁴⁷ Chrysos 1997b, 189.

¹⁴⁸ Dimou 1992, 290.

¹⁴⁹ Vasmer 1941, 56, 68; Toynbee 1973, 622, note 7.

have ended up in this area at some point. In the thirteenth century they were settled and lived confined to their own quarter, like the Jews.¹⁵⁰ They are also mentioned as having enjoyed special privileges.¹⁵¹

Habitation

An essential question is where and how were the aforementioned populations settled. Unfortunately the relevant sources of information are scarce.

First of all, a number of place-names related to Byzantine *Epirus* are mentioned in medieval texts; their correlation with archaeological sites – first attempted by Koder and Soustal for the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* in 1981 – is discussed in detail below in the Inventory (Part 5).

Secondly, as far as the distribution of people in space is concerned, one may in theory get a first impression by observing the fluctuation in the number and changing names of bishoprics mentioned in the sources such as the *Taktika* (lists of bishops) of the Patriarchate at Constantinople. However, in doing so one has to keep in mind the dating problems presented by several of these texts.

According to the extant references to bishoprics in Byzantine *Epirus* in the *Taktika* and other sources, there were eight bishoprics in Early Byzantine *Epirus Vetus* evidently including the bishoprics of Acarnania – albeit not the one of Nafpaktos in Aetolia, which belonged to the Province of Achaia and was subordinate to the Metropolitan of Corinth.¹⁵²

Of the eight Epirote dioceses only five are mentioned in the years 590–604 and four in 625.¹⁵³ No bishop from *Epirus Vetus* is mentioned to have attended the Councils in 681/682 and 692, while only Anastasios of Nikopolis (Ἀναστάσιος Νικοπόλεως) attended the one in 787. At the Eighth Ecumenical Council in 879 three bishops are mentioned: those of Vagenitia, Adrianoupolis and Ioannina (ἐπίσκοποι Βαγεντίας, Ἀδριανουπόλεως,

¹⁵⁰ Cheynet 2003, 57. The problem of the integration of Armenian populations into Byzantine society is discussed by Garsoïan (1998) in relation to efforts to control Monophysitism.

¹⁵¹ Dimou 1992, 298–299.

¹⁵² On the *Taktika* see Darrouzès 1981 (and see detailed references to bishoprics below in the relevant entries of the Inventory, Part 5). On Nafpaktos see also Le Quien 1740, 197–200; Chrysos 1981, 13; Paliouras 2004a, 25, 31. On the issue of the administrative affiliation of Nafpaktos with *Epirus Vetus* see Charalambopoulos 2000, 12ff.

¹⁵³ In the correspondence of the Popes Gregory I and Honorius dated to those years. For a detailed discussion of Early- and Middle Byzantine bishoprics in *Epirus* see Chrysos 1997b, 184–8.

Ἰωαννίνης).¹⁵⁴ However, in a ninth-century *Taktikon* the Metropolis of Nafpaktos is mentioned together with its eight subordinate dioceses: i.e. Vonditza, Aetos, Acheloos, Rogoi, Ioannina, Photiki-Vella, Adrianoupolis and Buthrotos (Βουνδίτζης, Ἀετοῦ, Ἀχελώου, Ῥογῶν, Ἰωαννίνων, Φωτικῆς ἡτοι Βελλᾶς, Ἀδριανουπόλεως, Βουθρωτοῦ); Vagenitia is not mentioned any more.¹⁵⁵

At the end of the ninth century the Bishop of Nikopolis is mentioned as having been brought in to serve in Ankara and the Metropolis of Nafpaktos changes its name to “Nafpaktos of Nikopolis” (μητρόπολις Ναυπάκτου Νικοπόλεως). We know that around this time Nafpaktos became the capital of the Theme of *Nikopolis*.¹⁵⁶

In a *Taktikon* dated to the late tenth century (972–976) a new diocese is added to the list under the Metropolis of Nafpaktos-Nikopolis, that of Chimara (Χειμάρρα).¹⁵⁷ During the eleventh century two new dioceses appear in the sources, those of Kozyli (Κοζύλης) and Arta (Ἄρτας); only much later are they mentioned as subordinate to Nafpaktos. Arta and its region seems to have been an *episkepsis* (as mentioned in 1204); whatever settlement, then, was related to this diocese of Arta must have developed significantly and flourished, since Arta replaced Nafpaktos as the capital of the Theme of *Nikopolis* in the end of the twelfth century.

An implicit or explicit underlying assumption, which has been broadly supported by scholars, is that behind these names of dioceses and metropolises there were Middle Byzantine settlements with the same names, which were ‘towns of the type of a polis-kastron’.¹⁵⁸ This assumption obviously springs from the following circumstances. First of all, some of the aforementioned dioceses’ names have survived as modern place-names referring to locations with medieval fortifications. Secondly, due to the conservative nature of both ecclesiastical administration and toponymy, many names of Byzantine dioceses have in general survived in modern Greece, in many cases relating to Byzantine fortified settlements which developed into Modern Greek towns and cities (e.g. Corinth, Athens, Thebes, Thessaloniki etc.).

¹⁵⁴ *Councils*, vol. XVIIA, 373, 376, 377.

¹⁵⁵ Darrouzès 1981, 284; notitia 7; Le Quien 1740, II, 1 ff.

¹⁵⁶ For a detailed account see the Inventory entries on Nafpaktos and Nikopolis in Part 5, below.

¹⁵⁷ Koder, Soustal 1981, 136–137.

¹⁵⁸ Chrysos 1997b, 188; Katsaros 1986; Katsaros 1988; Paliouras 2004a. For a discussion of the term ‘polis-kastron’ see Part 3, Chapter 3 below.

Thus an absolute link between a diocese and a town is often ‘mechanically’ applied to all cases. A good example is the case of the diocese of Acheloos, whose location in the form of a Byzantine town has been sought for many decades, though its name survives nowadays only as a river.

In this volume, the archaeological evidence for seventh–twelfth-century settlement will be correlated with the historical references to toponymy and settlement so as to clarify as far as possible the following issues:

Does the archaeological evidence support the aforementioned historical evidence on the kind of habitation and, if so, in what way?

What kind of habitation does the historically contextualized distribution of material remains indicate? Does this kind of habitation agree with the pre-existing general impression of the existence of towns and especially those of ‘the polis-kastron type’?

Furthermore, what can this study contribute to the investigation of the Byzantine conception of space, toponymy and settlement? Are our underlying assumptions correct or has modern archaeology sometimes ‘imposed’ unwarranted interpretations on the historical evidence?

PART TWO

MATERIAL CULTURE

CHAPTER ONE

ARCHITECTURE

1.I. BUILDING TYPOLOGY AND USE

A comprehensive study of the architecture of the buildings located during the survey is evidently the subject of a different research project. Due to the vast number of material remains and to the fact that, in most cases, the buildings have had multiple construction phases, only some general observations concerning issues of typology, use and chronology can be made at this point. This account is followed by a discussion of the buildings' construction and of the chronology of their morphological features in section 1.II.

Thus to begin with the buildings' typological features and apparent use, the architectural remains can be classified as:

1. fortifications (extensive enceintes, isolated towers);
2. religious buildings (churches, monasteries);
3. cemeteries;
4. secular buildings;
5. industrial buildings;
6. water supply facilities (cisterns, water pipes, aqueducts, wells);
7. roads;
8. harbour facilities.

The correlation between the buildings discussed and their description in the Inventory is presented in Tables 1–8.

1.I.1. *Fortifications (Table 1)*

The remains of fortifications located by survey can be distinguished according to their size, ranging from extensive enceintes to small, free-standing constructions, independent of other fortifications (i.e. isolated towers). According to their size and function, extensive enceintes may be further distinguished as greater enceintes associated with settlements and smaller monastic enceintes. The discussion here is confined to typological and constructional issues; as far as the fortifications' function is

Table 1. Fortifications.

C/N	1.1. Extensive Enceintes		1.2. Monastic Enceintes		1.3. Free-Standing Towers	
	Site Number	Name	Site Number	Name	Site Number	Name
1	5	Aetos, Castle	17	Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	8	Agios Ilias, tower*
2	12	Amfilochia, Castle	54	Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill	51	Katochi, tower
3	15	Angelokastro*	109	Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres	95	Platanos* (Ai-Lias)
4	23	Arta, Castle			105	Stratos, tower
5	37	Astakos, Castle			110	Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos
6	42	Embessos, Castle*				
7	46	Kalamos, Episkopi				
8	47	Kambos, Paliokastro*				
9	48	Kandila, Glosses, Castle				
10	62	Lefkada, Koulmos, Castle				
11	66	Ligovitsi, Castle*				
12	76	Nafpaktos, Castle*				
	77	Nafpaktos, Ag. Dimitrios				
13	84	Nea Kerassounda, Kastro Rogon				
14	88	Nikopolis				
15	93	Paravola, Castle*				
16	94	Phidokastro*				
17	100	Riza, Castle*				
18	106	Trigardo*, ancient Oeniades				
19	114	Vlochos, anc. Acropolis Glas				
20	116	Vonitsa, Castle*				

concerned, no further distinction is made at this point between urban defences, rural defences and military fortresses, since this issue is discussed below in Part 3.

Extensive Enceintes (Table 1.1, plans 2–5, 7–14, 16, figs. 12–15, 18, 34–37, 41–43, 57, 86, 88–99, 101–102, 219, 225, 226)

All extensive enceintes located by survey and probably associated with Byzantine settlements are nowadays called 'Kastro' (castle). They are normally built on top of ancient cities' fortifications and are usually limited to the area of the ancient acropolis (citadel).¹

The enceintes cover areas ranging from 1.66 km² to 100 ha.² However, the usual extent of such enceintes, measured in km², ranges from a few dozen³ to under ten.⁴ This variety in size is very usual in Byzantine fortifications and can be related to features specific to each site (e.g. the relief or the site's function/population etc.).⁵

Some of these enceintes consist of a single line of walls.⁶ Others consist of two lines of walls of which the inner one takes the form of a small inner citadel (*refugium*) while the outer surrounds both the citadel and the other buildings within the fortification walls.⁷ In some cases – namely the ones with several construction phases – the fortifications consist of three or more lines of walls: one or even two transverse walls (*diateichismata*) as well as the inner and outer walls.⁸ In Vonitsa (plan 16) and Nafpaktos (plan 10, figs. 224–225) it is clear that there were also sea-walls; in the case of Amfilochia, there is no medieval line of sea-walls but it is very probable that the ancient ones were still being used. In the Castle of Nafpaktos, five successive enclosures formed a keep, a citadel, a bailey and an inner ward with an outer ward enclosed within the sea walls.

The enceintes were reinforced by bastions of square, triangular, circular, semi-circular or horse-shoe plan, built at regular intervals.⁹ Bastions

¹ As in the castles of Lefkada (Koulmos), Rogoi, Arta, Aetos, Astakos, Trigardo, Nafpaktos, Amfilochia, Paravola, Phidokastro, Riza and Angelokastro.

² The smallest fortified area is in Angelokastro and the largest in the castle at Amfilochia.

³ Castles of Astakos, Aetos, Vonitsa, Rogoi, Arta and Phidokastro.

⁴ Castles of Koulmos, Embessos and Paravola.

⁵ See also Velenis 1999.

⁶ Castles at Nikopolis and Paravola.

⁷ Castles of Arta, Koulmos, Dervekista, Vlochos.

⁸ There was one *diateichisma* in the castles of Amfilochia and Astakos, two *diateichismata* in the Castle of Rogoi, and more than three lines of walls in total in the castles of Rogoi, Aetos, Vonitsa and Riza.

⁹ Bastions of square plan are found in the castles of Rogoi, Aetos, Vonitsa, Arta, Nafpaktos, Amfilochia, Embessos and Kalamos. There are triangular-plan ones in the Castles

flanked the entrance gates while strong fore-walls (προτειχίσματα in the sources)¹⁰ with *propyla* protected the entrances to the fortified areas of the Castle of Riza and the Monastery at Kato Vassiliki. Another such fore-wall of approximately the same period in *Epirus* seems to have been built at the Castle of Kassiopi in Corfu.¹¹

The inner citadel (*refugium*) usually comprises a large, strong building whose initial construction phase can be dated with certainty in quite a few cases to the Middle Byzantine period.¹² In almost all cases part of the inner ward is taken up by a church; this certainly applies to all cases of castles dated with certainty to the Middle Byzantine period.¹³ In some cases a church is also built at the foot of the castle mound, possibly outside the fortified area.¹⁴ The rest of the castle's inner ward is often taken up by other buildings such as cisterns and small constructions, often of a rectangular plan.¹⁵

The aforementioned features are no different from those of other known fortification works entirely or partly dated to the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁶ A special case of entrenchment work is seen in the fortified harbour wall of Phidokastro, discussed in chapter 1.I.8. below.

Monastic Enceintes (Table 1.2., fig. 4, plan 15)

Middle Byzantine fortification walls protecting monasteries have survived in five sites in the investigated area: in the cave monastery of Ag. Pateres on Mt. Varassova North-East, Ag. Nikolaos on Mt. Varassova South, in the monastery on Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki to the east of

of Arta and Vonitsa; such bastions in nearby Butrint have been dated to the ninth-tenth c. (Karaïskaj 1990, 30). A corner bastion of irregular circular plan was noted in Angelokastro. Semicircular and horse-shoe plan bastions were found in the Castles of Koulmos, Arta, Paravola, Kalamos and Vonitsa). The bastions of the castles at Glosses, Ligovitsi and Riza are of unknown plan.

¹⁰ See below Part 3, Chapter 2.

¹¹ Smyris 2001, 162.

¹² These are castles of Arta, Astakos and Nafpaktos. In the Castle of Aetos this building also seems to have had a keep in the shape of a donjon, as did also the castle at Embessos.

¹³ As in the castles of Rogoi, Arta, Vonitsa, Paravola, Astakos, Nafpaktos, Nikopolis, Angelokastro and maybe Amfilochia.

¹⁴ This is the case at the castles of Riza, Aetos, Koulmos and Vlochos.

¹⁵ Cisterns were located in the castles of Vonitsa, Astakos, Aetos, Koulmos, Amfilochia, Vlochos and Riza. Other buildings of simple rectangular plan were found within the outer walls of the castles of Vonitsa, Astakos, Aetos, Koulmos, Amfilochia, Nafpaktos, Ligovitsi and probably Nikopolis.

¹⁶ See e.g. general discussions by Foss 1991; Lawrence 1983, 188–200; Athanasoulis 2001, 38–39.

Mt. Varassova, in the Panagia Trimitou monastery on Mt. Arakynthos, and the monastery at Panagia Peninsula in the vicinity of Vonitsa.

At the Ag. Nikolaos cave a strongly fortified construction, which integrated all necessary buildings into a cohesive complex, served as the monastery's enceinte (fig. 4). The thickness of the outer wall was 1.20 m and its height varied between 8 and 10 m. There was also a smaller fore-wall of unspecified date.

At Panagia Trimitou Monastery a fair part of the W and S-W defensive walls survive to a height of 1 m approximately. As its outer face is entirely covered by earth, its thickness remains unspecified. The rubble masonry used in its construction is very similar to that used in the church, though in general the stone-blocks used in the enceinte are larger.

The inner enclosure of the monastery on the Ag. Triada Hill, formed by a fortifying and retaining wall, dates in my opinion to the Middle Byzantine period (plan 15).¹⁷ Here too its masonry is very similar to that of the monastery's Katholikon. It seems though that in the case of this monastery there was a double line of walls, since the enceinte of ancient Chalkis served as an outer line of walls. That enceinte had been repeatedly repaired not only during the Early Byzantine period, when a settlement had flourished there, but also again later during the active period of the Middle Byzantine Monastery.

Finally, as regards the other two monastic fortification-walls known in the area, that is the enclosure of the monastery on Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa and the rampart guarding the entrance to the Ag. Pateres cave monastery, no further plan or construction details are known.

Free-standing Towers (Table 1.3, Plan 6, figs. 100, 221, 228)

Byzantine free-standing towers have been located in the villages Ag. Ilias, Katochi and Platanos, in the cave monastery of Ag. Nikolaos on Mt. Varassova South, as well as within the area of the ancient city of Stratos.

In Ag. Ilias, the small tower-shaped construction is of trapezoidal plan (plan 6, fig. 100, 228). Its maximum dimensions are 3.50 × 4 m, maximum wall-thickness is 0.90 m and maximum surviving wall-height is 2 m. One might assume it was a small watch-tower (φρυκτωρία), given its extremely favourable position.

¹⁷ See below Chapter 1.II.2.

It is hard to verify this hypothesis judging only by the architecture, since Byzantine watch-towers did not really have a strictly defined architectural form. The tower in Ag. Ilias recalls a similar – somewhat smaller but equally strong – construction located on a small island near Istiaia in Euboia.¹⁸ The latter survives up to a greater height; it was built in masonry consisting of courses of roughly-dressed stones set in lime-mortar with small-scale rubble in the joints, while its inner façades are covered with mortar because at some point it was used as a cistern. The building was interpreted as a windmill.¹⁹ Judging from its shape and small dimensions, the tower in Ag. Ilias could also have had a non-military, industrial function; yet this is contradicted by the lack of other material remains from the Byzantine period in the vicinity, which could be associated with a settlement involved in economic-industrial activities (requiring a mill or pigeon-tower etc.). Given the possibility of exercising visual control over the lower part of the Acheloos offered by the tower's location, the watch-tower hypothesis is not unreasonable.

The existence of a three-storey watchtower in the N-W corner of the cave monastery of Ag. Nikolaos has been detected by excavation. The view from the first floor allowed oversight of the entrance to the monastery and its surroundings while also providing visual access to the Gulf of Patras.

The tower in Katochi is a square-plan construction with walls approximately 6.5 m long and 8 m high (fig. 221). As it stands on the Acheloos river-bank, its river side was surrounded by a small (0.95 m thick) fore-wall. The tower is located at the point of an important crossing of the Acheloos and in all probability it served as a control point for that crossing. The masonry though points to a rather later chronology (Late Byzantine period).²⁰ Although the possibility of earlier underlying constructions at the same place cannot be excluded, given the importance of the place at all-times to the land-route network, this cannot be verified without excavation.

As for the free-standing Byzantine towers at Ai-Lias near Platanos and within the ancient city of Stratos, no specific plan or construction details are known.

¹⁸ This construction on an island called Panagia Nissiotissa has been published by N. Gkioles (1998–2000).

¹⁹ Gkioles 1998–2000, 42–44.

²⁰ See below Chapter 1.II.2.

1.I.2. *Religious Buildings (Table 2)*

Religious buildings are the most widely investigated material remains in the area.²¹ Among the buildings of a religious character one can distinguish churches, other buildings in monastic complexes and cave monasteries. The construction techniques of religious buildings are discussed below in Chapter 1.II.

Many of the Middle Byzantine religious monuments in the area were built over Early Byzantine basilicas.²² In such cases the new churches were either constructed following exactly the same plan as the earlier building (if the earlier church's plan met the new community's requirements, especially during the early – i.e. seventh–ninth centuries)²³ or they were confined to a small part of the older church, usually the nave or sometimes an aisle or an annexe (mainly during the later – i.e. tenth–twelfth – centuries).²⁴ In other cases, when Early Byzantine basilicas were no longer used by local communities, they were transformed into burial places instead of being restored.²⁵

²¹ After the publications of monuments by A. Orlandos from the 1930s onwards came the first and best known collective study by Vocotopoulos (1978) republished in 1992. The relevant bibliography has been quite extensive ever since (see Inventory entries in Part 5).

²² The Middle Byzantine churches at the following sites were built over Early Byzantine basilicas, Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios; Ag. Ioannis Riganas/Episkopi, Mastro; Kefalos; Ag. Sophia, Mytikas; Panagia, Paravola; Ag. Stefanos, Nafpaktos; Panagia, Megali Chora; S-W portico of Basilica B, Nikopolis; Ag. Varvara, Stefani; Metamorphosis Monastery, Skala; Ag. Triada Mavrika, Agrinio; acropolis of Pleuron, Aetoliko; Sotira/Paleopanagia, Nea Koukoura, Efpalio; old church at Ag. Georgios Kissiotis, Ochthia; Panagia sto Kozili, Nea Sampsonda; Ag. Triada Hill, Kato Vassiliki; Panagia Trimitou, Mt. Arakynthos; Kryoneri; maybe also Panagia Panaxiotissa, Gavrolimni.

²³ E.g. Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios; Ag. Ioannis Riganas, Mastro; Ag. Varvara, Stefani (2nd phase); Ag. Sophia, Mytikas; Panagia, Paravola; Panagia, Megali Chora. The 8th-c. church on the site of Basilica B, Nikopolis was built in a part of the S-W portico.

²⁴ The following churches were built in the nave of earlier basilicas: Ag. Varvara, Stefani (3rd phase); church, Acropolis of Pleuron, Aetoliko; Church, Kefalos isl.; Sotira/Paleopanagia, Nea Koukoura, Efpalio; old church at Ag. Georgios Kissiotis, Ochthia; Panagia sto Kozili, Nea Sampsonda; church at Ag. Triada Hill, Kato Vassiliki; Ag. Stefanos, Nafpaktos. The 9th-c. church on the site of Basilica B, Nikopolis was built in a part of the S-W portico while a contemporary one at Mytikas occupied the S-E part of the Ag. Sophia basilica. The practice of limiting churches to the nave of older ones continued through the Late Byzantine period, as for example at Ag. Georgios, Ag. Stefanos; Ag. Ioannis Riganas/Episkopi, Mastro; Panagia, Megali Chora; Panagia, Paravola.

²⁵ See discussion in section 1.I.3. below.

Table 2. Religious Buildings.

2.1. CHURCHES	
C/N	Site Number – Name
1	2 – Aetoliko, Panagia Finikia
2	3 – Aetoliko, Finikia, Pleuron (Kastro Kyra-Rinis)
3	6 – Agia Sophia, Ag. Sophia
4	7 – Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios
5	9 – Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada
6	10 – Ambelia, Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou
7	15 – Angelokastro
8	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora
9	26 – Arta, Komenou Ave.
10	29 – Arta, New Bridge, church
11	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra
12	32 – Arta, Panda-Kopsia, Ag. Nikolaos
13	33 – Arta, Parigoritissa
14	37 – Astakos, Castle
15	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Ag. Ioannis and Metochi Paleopanagias
16	40 – Efpalio, Ag. Ioannis Theologos
17	44 – Evinochori, Calydon
18	45 – Gavrolimni, Panagia Panaxiotissa
19	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia
20	55 – Kefalos
21	56 – Kirkizates, Ag. Nicolaos tis Rodias
22	58 – Kordovitzia, Tryfou Loutra
23	63 – Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon
24	64 – Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki*
25	66 – Ligovitsi, Castle, churches*
26	67 – Louros, Ag. Varnavas
27	70 – Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi
28	71 – Matsouki, Ag. Dimitrios*
29	72 – Megali Chora, Koimisi
30	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros / Pandokratoras
31	74 – Myrtia, Myrtia Monastery
32	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle*
33	79 – Nafpaktos, Ag. Stefanos
34	84 – Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon
35	85 – Nea Sampsounda, Agiolitharo, Ag. Apostoloi
36	88 – Nikopolis, Basilicas ‘B’ and ‘Στ’
37	89 – Nikopolis, Analipsi, Basilica
38	90 – Ochthia, Ag. Georgios Kissiotis
39	93 – Paravola, Castle*, Panagia
40	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris
41	98 – Rachi, Ag. Nikolaos*
42	99 – Rivio, Ag. Stefanos

Table 2 (*cont.*)

2.1. CHURCHES	
C/N	Site Number – Name
43	101 – Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery (old church)*
44	102 – Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies
45	103 – Stamna, Ag. Theodoroi
46	104 – Stefani, Ag. Varvara
47	107 – Varassova E, Ag. Dimitrios
48	113 – Vlacherna, Vlacherna Monastery
49	115 – Vomvokou, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Monastery
50	116 – Vonitsa, Castle*, Ag. Sophia
51	117 – Vonitsa, Castle, quayside, Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani (old church)*
52	118 – Vonitsa, cemetery, Ag. Ioannis*
53	119 – Vonitsa, Panagia Alichnotissa
54	121 – Zalongo, Taxiarches
2.2. MONASTERIES	
C/N	SITE NUMBER / NAME
1	9 – Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada
2	16 – Arakynthos, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos
3	17 – Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou
4	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova (Koimesis Theotokou) Monastery
5	50 – Kandila, Ag. Eleoussa
6	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada hill
7	59 – Koronissia, Genethlio tis Theotokou
8	61 – Lefkada, Apolpena, Odigitria
9	68 – Lyssimachia, Ypsili Panagia
10	86 – Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili
11	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris
12	109 – Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres
13	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos
14	111 – Varassova W, Ag. Nikolaos
15	112 – Vigla, Rodia Monastery
16	115 – Vomvokou, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Monastery
17	120 – Vonitsa, Panagia Peninsula, Panagia

Churches (Table 2.1 Plans 3, 11, 16, Figs. 6–9, 18, 19, 44, 54–56, 65–69, 74, 76, 82–85)

Churches should be divided into two separate groups. The first group of buildings (A) presents construction phases dated with certainty to the Middle Byzantine period on the basis of construction criteria.²⁶ By contrast the second group (B) comprises churches which cannot as yet be securely dated to that period on the basis of the existing evidence, although other finds indicate that they were built on the sites of earlier Middle Byzantine churches.

*Group A*²⁷

The Middle Byzantine churches investigated present relative homogeneity in masonry and a limited variety of plans. The history of church construction in the area develops as follows. Only a single monument is attested to have been restored during the seventh century: the three-aisled basilica at Ag. Varvara at Stefani was restored following the existing plan but with some changes made in the apse and the colonnades perhaps for structural reasons.

During the eighth century, four Early Byzantine basilicas were restored or rebuilt from scratch following the older plan exactly: those at Ag. Georgios, Megali Chora, Mastro and Mytikas. The Early Byzantine church at Ag. Triada Mavrika was restored during the same period; it was probably of free-cross plan.

During the ninth century the way churches were built seems to change. First of all, three new churches are built as small single-aisled buildings, two of them on the site of older, ruined basilicas (which were not restored): one of them was built in the S corner of the S-W portico of Basilica 'B' in Nikopolis, a second one in the S-E part of the Ag. Sophia

²⁶ See discussion in section 1.II.2 below.

²⁷ The group includes the monuments at the following sites, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris, Plissioi; Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias, Kirkizates; Vlachernae Monastery (1st phase), Vlacherna; Ag. Nikolaos, Arta Panda-Kopsia; S-W of the Parigoritissa, Arta; Ag. Vassilios Stin Gefyra, Arta Old Bridge; Ag. Georgios (now Ag. Theodora) Arta; Ag. Theodoroi, Stamna; Dyo Ekklesies, Stamna; Ag. Stefanos, Rivio; Ag. Stefanos, Nafpaktos; Panagia, Megali Chora; church of Myrtia Mon., Myrtia; Ag. Dimitrios, Matsouki; Ag. Ioannis Riganas/Episkopi, Mastro; Kefalos; Ag. Sophia, Mytikas; Ag. Ioannis Theologos, Efpalio; Panagia Panaxiotissa, Gavrolimni; Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios; Ag. Sophia, Ag. Sophia; Church at S-W portico of Basilica B, Nikopolis; Panagia, Paravola; Castle of Nafpaktos; Ag. Sophia, Castle of Vonitsa; Church A, Castle of Astakos; Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou, Ambelia; Metamorphosis Monastery, Skala; Ag. Dimitrios on E Varassova; Pandokratoras, Monastiraki; Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon, Vurnikas, Lefkada; Ag. Varvara, Stefani; Loutra Tryfou, Mt. Kordovitza.

Basilica at Mytikas, while a third church of the same plan was erected in the Ag. Nikolaos cave monastery on Mt. Varassova South.

Secondly three more churches were built to cruciform plans. Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri in Arta was built at the beginning of the ninth century as a cross-domed church with 8 piers while Ag. Theodoroi at Stamna and Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra at Arta were built in the second half of the ninth century as domed, free-cross plan buildings.

During the tenth century extensive construction and restoration activity is attested within the whole area under investigation:

- At the turn of the century, the site of Dyo Ekklesies ('Two Churches') was developed at Stamna, with one church slightly later than the other and both small single-aisled buildings with semi-circular apses.
- A little later, some large three-aisled basilicas were restored (Episkopi at Mastro and Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios) as in my opinion, were the two small free-cross plan churches of Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra in Arta and Ag. Triada at Mavrikas near Agrinio.
- Some new churches were built to a three-aisled basilican plan with semi-circular apses, such as the Panagia at Paravola (on the plan of its Early Byzantine predecessor at the same location), Church 'A' in the Castle of Astakos, the old church of Panagia Trimitou, Ag. Nikolaos at Panda-Kopsia in Arta as well as the old churches on the site of the Vlacherna Monastery Katholikon, of the Pandokrator at Monastiraki and of Ag. Stefanos at Rivio.
- Small single-aisled churches were also built during this same period, including the monastic churches at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa and at Ag. Pateres (first phase) and Ag. Nikolaos cave monasteries on Mt. Varassova North-East and West. Similar buildings were now erected on the central naves of the Early Byzantine basilicas on the island of Kefalos and Ag. Triada Hill at Kato Vassiliki.

Around the end of the tenth century or the turn of the eleventh century four churches were constructed variations of the cross-in-square plan:²⁸ Panagia Panaxiotissa (as a cross-domed basilica), Ag. Dimitrios on Mt. Varassova South-East (semi-inscribed triconch type), Panagia at

²⁸ I mean i.e. those plans that emerged in the 'Pre-Helladic School' of Architecture during the so-called experimental, or "transitional", stage of the development of the cross-in-square plan as well as the final cross-in-square variants (see Millet 1916; Vocotopoulos 1992).

Koronissia (two-columned cross-in-square) and Ag. Varvara at Stefani (four-columned cross-in-square).

The initial construction phase of the church of the Panagia sto Kozili as a three-aisled basilica should be dated, in my opinion, to this same period.

Church construction continued during the eleventh and twelfth centuries albeit to a lesser extent. In the eleventh century Ag. Georgios was restored to its original plan.²⁹ During the second half of the century Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou was built at Ambelia on a free-cross plan. Within the period from the second half of the eleventh to the first half of the twelfth century there appeared a handful of churches presenting similarities of masonry. They are three churches in Arta – the three-aisled church of Ag. Georgios (modern Ag. Theodora), the church on Komenou Ave. and the (four-columned cross-in-square?) church at the S-W corner of the Parigoritissa – as well as a single-aisled church at Skala and the old churches on the sites of Ag. Stefanos, Nafaktos and Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon in Lefkada. However, as only fragments of masonry dating to the original construction phase survive in most of the aforementioned buildings, this dating is provisional.

During the second half of the twelfth century, Ag. Ioannis Theologos at Efpalio was built on a free-cross plan. Towards the end of the century, in my opinion, the church of the Panagia sto Kozili was restored with a slight change of plan. The latest church which must be included in this study is Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias at Kirkizates near Arta, built to a two-columned cross-in-square plan and dated on the basis of its masonry to around the turn of the century (1180–1220 AD).

Last but not least, some churches have been dated to the Middle Byzantine period in general but it is not now possible to be more precise about their construction dates, as these buildings have either been lost or radically transformed. They are:

- The old single-aisled church on the site of the Myrtia Monastery Katholikon.
- The old three-aisled basilica under the present Ag. Sophia church.³⁰
- The single-aisled church of Ag. Dimitrios at Matsouki, now sunk in the Stratos Dam Lake.

²⁹ At the village of Ag. Georgios.

³⁰ At Ag. Sophia village (formerly Mokista).

- The church of Ag. Sophia in the Castle of Vonitsa, originally built on a free-cross plan but later radically transformed.

Group B

Among the buildings of this group, which have not been securely dated to the Middle Byzantine period, two distinct sub-groups can be defined as follows.

The 1st sub-group includes churches which probably date back to the Middle Byzantine period though this dating has not been verified during the investigation for various reasons, therefore it remains redundant.³¹

The 2nd sub-group includes churches which appear to date to the Late- and Post-Byzantine periods but:

- either they have construction phases possibly dating in the Middle Byzantine period (although not yet proven)
- or other kind of evidence indicates that they are built on the sites of earlier Middle Byzantine churches.³²

The 1st sub-group includes one large basilica church (Basilica 'Στ') in Nikopolis and three single-aisled buildings (the church at the New Bridge of Arta, Ag. Dimitrios on Mt. Varassova North-East and the old church in Ag. Ioannis Monastery at Nea Koukoura). The plans of the rest of the buildings in this sub-group are unknown.

The 2nd sub-group includes first of all the nowadays single-aisled church of Ag. Ioannis in Vonitsa. It is obvious from the east and west façades that the church was originally constructed as a three-aisled basilica and was confined to the central nave at a later stage. Of the other churches, the Panagia Alichniotissa near Vonitsa, Ag. Ioannis Rodakis in Lefkada, Church 'B' in Astakos Castle and the Taxiarches on Mt. Zalongo are all single-aisled buildings.

³¹ The buildings included in this subgroup are, Basilica Στ in Nikopolis; the church at the New Bridge of Arta; Ag. Dimitrios on N-E Varassova; the old church at Ag. Ioannis Monastery at Nea Koukoura; Sotira/Palaopanagia at Nea Koukoura; the old church at the Panagia Monastery on Mt. Vlochos; the church on the acropolis of Pleuron, Aetoliko; and the churches in Ligovitsi Castle.

³² The buildings included in this sub-group are, Ag. Nikolaos, Rachi; the Panagia in the Castle of Rogoi, Nea Kerassounda; the old church next to the Panagia sto Limani, Vonitsa; Church 'B' in the Castle of Astakos; Ag. Ioannis Rodakis, Vurnikas, Lefkada; the Taxiarches, Zalongo; the old church at Ag. Georgios Kissiotis; the Panagia Finikia, Aetoliko; and Church 'D' in the Castle of Astakos.

Monasteries and Cave Monasteries (Table 2.2 Plan 15, Figs. 3–5, 10–11, 38, 64, 70–72, 75, 77–81)

Numerous monasteries and cave monasteries (the so-called *askitaria*, i.e. places for asceticism) were founded in the investigated area during the Middle Byzantine period. Monastic churches have already been discussed above. I will now discuss the rest of the buildings which shape the architecture of these monastic complexes.

Based on archaeological evidence the foundation history of monasteries and cave monasteries in the area seems to have developed as follows.

In the ninth or tenth centuries the Ag. Nikolaos cave monastery at Mt. Varassova South was founded and maybe also the monastery at Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri. Also dated to the tenth century are the first phases of the two monasteries on Mt. Arakynthos (Panagia Trimitou and the cave monastery of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos. These at Koronissia and Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki as well as possibly the cave monastery of Ag. Nikolaos on Mt. Varassova West. The Rodia Monastery near Vigla may also be dated to this period. In the tenth or eleventh centuries the monasteries at Ag. Triada in Mavrikas, the Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa, the cave monasteries of Ag. Pateres on Mt. Varassova North-East, and Nea Sampsounda (Panagia sto Kozili), and another near Lyssimachia (Ypsili Panagia) appear. The cave monastery at Kandila (Ag. Eleoussa), whose frescoes provide a date around the end of the twelfth century, may also have been founded during this period given the fact that Kandila was inhabited then and earlier. Finally, during the eleventh century the Varnakova Monastery was founded.

*Monasteries*³³

In the cases of the Middle Byzantine monasteries at Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri and at Varnakova Monastery there is no evidence as to the arrangement of buildings at that time. Based on evidence deriving mainly from other monastic sites the following conclusions can be drawn.

In three cases traces of a fortified enclosure of approximately the same period as the Katholikon have been located.³⁴ This probably

³³ The discussion is based on the following Middle Byzantine monastic sites, Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri; Ag. Triada at Mavrikas, Agrinio; Varnakova Monastery; Panagia Trimitou on Mt. Arakynthos; Panagia at Koronissia; Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki; Ypsili Panagia near Lyssimachia; Panagia sto Kozili at Nea Sampsounda; the monastery on Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa.

³⁴ At Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki, Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa and Panagia Trimitou on Mt. Arakynthos.

indicates that the monastic enceintes were constructed in the initial phase, i.e. they were not later additions.

At Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki and Mt. Varassova, there is evidence of a second retaining wall constructed at a higher level than the monastic enceinte.

Middle Byzantine monastic churches (Katholika) are of relatively small dimensions: the ones on Ag. Triada Hill, in Mavrikas, at Koronissia and at Panagia Peninsula are less than 10m long. Two buildings were larger than average – the Panagia Trimitou (13.50 × 10.50 m) and Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri (~11 × 11 m) – as were also the twelfth-century Katholika: Panagia sto Kozili (16 × 5.50 m including the later narthex) and Ypsili Panagia (13.90 × 7.70 m). They were constructed to basilican plans (tenth–twelfth centuries),³⁵ to cross-in-square plan variations (ninth–tenth centuries),³⁶ to a free-cross plan (tenth–eleventh centuries)³⁷ or as single-aisled buildings (tenth century).³⁸

On all monastic sites the facilities are arranged along the S and S-W sides of the Katholikon³⁹ and they are often adjacent to its S-W corner, arranged in a “I” shape (fig. 3, plan 15).⁴⁰ These adjacent buildings consist of a series of rectangular rooms⁴¹ arranged on the ground floor⁴² or sometimes at a first-floor level.⁴³ During the excavation of the monastic complex at Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki just such a range of rooms was discovered and interpreted as monks’ cells (*kellia*), and a communal room (*hestia* or *fotanama*) whereas in other cases they have been identified as cells (*kellia*) or “auxiliary rooms”.⁴⁴

³⁵ Panagia sto Kozili at Nea Sampsounda, Ypsili Panagia near Lyssimachia and Panagia Trimitou on Mt. Arakynthos.

³⁶ The Panagia at Koronissia and Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri.

³⁷ Ag. Triada at Mavrikas, Agrinio.

³⁸ Ag. Triada Hill monastery near Kato Vassiliki and the church at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa.

³⁹ In the following cases of tenth-century monastic complexes, Ag. Triada Hill monastery near Kato Vassiliki; Ag. Triada at Mavrikas, Agrinio; Panagia at Koronissia; monastery at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa.

⁴⁰ A similar arrangement of buildings in the Megisti Lavra on Mt. Athos might be due to the organization of space in the initial 10th-c. construction phase, see Theodoridis 1993.

⁴¹ E.g. in the monasteries at Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki; Ag. Triada at Mavrikas, Agrinio; Panagia at Koronissia; Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa; Panagia sto Kozili at Nea Sampsounda; Panagia Trimitou on Mt. Arakynthos.

⁴² In the monastery at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa.

⁴³ E.g. in the monastery at Panagia Trimitou on Mt. Arakynthos.

⁴⁴ In the monasteries at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa and at Ypsili Panagia near Lyssimachia.

In the Panagia Trimitou Monastery there was a building to the S-W of the Katholikon but independent from it which was adjacent to the enceinte: it was a parallelepiped structure dating to the same period as the Katholikon (tenth century) judging from its masonry. Only its E wall, which has a double-light window, survives to a considerable height; the building has not been excavated.

A rather unusual building in terms of its dimensions and plan was discovered on the site of the Panagia sto Kozili (fig. 3, 107). It is very small (7.50 × 5 m) yet divided into two uneven rooms by a transversal wall; a cistern is attached on the S façade and is accessible through a built staircase. The masonry of the building reveals the existence of at least two different construction phases, as will be discussed in due course.⁴⁵

The excavation of two monastic complexes⁴⁶ revealed that the space around the Katholikon and in the vicinity of the entrance doors was used for burials.⁴⁷

Cisterns were discovered in two cases⁴⁸ and in one case a well,⁴⁹ always to the S-W of the Katholikon. The existence of mills has been acknowledged in two monastic complexes.⁵⁰

I will pass over any detailed account of monastic complexes. The reason is that most of them have either not been excavated or the reports of their excavations have yet to be published. Thus, for the moment, we do not have a precise chronology for these structures or description of their use.

Cave Monasteries (askitaria)

Middle Byzantine cave monasteries in the investigated area can have simple or more complex plans. In all cases the planning of facilities has to be adjusted to the space available and the limitations imposed by the geomorphology of the cave; this may explain the differences in plan among cave monasteries.

⁴⁵ See section 1.II.2. below.

⁴⁶ In the monasteries at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa and Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki.

⁴⁷ See section 1.I.3. below.

⁴⁸ In the 12th-century monasteries at Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsonda and at Ypsili Panagia near Lysimachia. For a discussion of the cisterns see section 1.I.6. below.

⁴⁹ In the 10th-c. monastery at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa. For a discussion of the well see section 1.I.6. below.

⁵⁰ In the 10th-c. monastery at Panagia in Koronissia and at the 12th-c. Varnakova Monastery. For a discussion of the mills see section 1.I.5. below.

Simple-plan Cave Monasteries

Cave monasteries with simple plans are Ag. Nikolaos on Mt. Varassova West, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos on Mt. Arakynthos and Ag. Eleoussa in Kandila. Their facilities included only a church and a cistern; in Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos (fig. 5) some pipes supplying water to the cistern also survive.⁵¹ Two of these caves seem to have been decorated with frescoes at one or more times after their foundation.⁵² The aforementioned structures, both churches and cisterns, were very modest, built of masonry⁵³ or merely chiseled out of solid rock.⁵⁴

Complex-plan Cave Monasteries

Two cave monasteries with complex-plans were investigated on Mt. Varassova: Ag. Nikolaos (South, fig. 4) and Ag. Pateres (North-East). Their founders selected locations with clusters of large and smaller caves with a common entrance and made good use of them so as to produce 'complete monastic complexes embedded in the rock'. With regard to these sites, it is impossible to provide accurate dating of construction and periods of use, since the final reports of their investigations are not yet available. I will thus limit myself to describing the aforementioned sites in their current state and express reservations about their inclusion in the Middle Byzantine picture.⁵⁵

The monastic complexes consist of two⁵⁶ or three⁵⁷ main rooms in sizeable, adjacent caves and of several other small spaces, all communicating with each other and containing the necessary facilities to meet the everyday devotional, residential and defensive needs of the inhabitants. The complexes' organization obviously satisfied the community's exclusive functional needs.

The openings into both cave complexes are guarded by a fortification wall reinforced by a two- or three-storey watch-tower. The small, single-aisled Katholika occupied the centre of the caves. They measured 3.60 × 4.50 m at Ag. Pateres and 9.50 × 6.50 m at Ag. Nikolaos respectively, while their orientation diverged from due East in order to fit the buildings into

⁵¹ For a discussion of the water pipes see section 1.1.6. below.

⁵² Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos and Ag. Eleoussa caves.

⁵³ Cave of Ag. Nikolaos on W Varassova.

⁵⁴ Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos and Ag. Eleoussa caves.

⁵⁵ In the case of Ag. Nikolaos on S Varassova the monastery was functioning and thus subject to change from the 9th to the 19th c.

⁵⁶ At Ag. Nikolaos on S Varassova.

⁵⁷ At Ag. Pateres cave.

the caves' limited space. The rest of the monastic facilities spread out all around the Katholikon and into the other caves of the complex. They consist of auxiliary spaces,⁵⁸ cisterns in masonry or chiselled out of the rock, as well as wooden⁵⁹ or ceramic⁶⁰ water pipes serving to collect rain-water from the roof. The excavation of the Ag. Nikolaos cave monastery also revealed a communal room (*hestia* or *fotanama*) to the S of the church, a refectory (*trapeza*), cells (*kellia*) and other rooms; all the above spaces being integrated into a single, two-storey, fortress-like structure which guarded the entrance to the cave. A fortification wall was also excavated to the S-W and W of the church as well as a kitchen with an oven and a cistern occupying the free space to the N of the church. The communal cemetery developed within the free space left behind the church to its E as far as the cave's east wall; this will be discussed below in Section 1.I.3. The adjoining caves were also used for devotional or defensive activities.

1.I.3. *Burial Spaces (Table 3)*

The Evidence

Burials of the Middle Byzantine period in the area were located in a variety of places, e.g.:

- I. in the areas around abandoned Early Byzantine churches;
- II. on the sites of abandoned ancient pagan temples;
- III. in Middle Byzantine monastic complexes;
- IIII. in and around Middle Byzantine churches related to unexplored Middle Byzantine settlements;
- V. in Middle Byzantine urban cemeteries.

A detailed account of these sites will precede their discussion (for references see entries in the Inventory, Part 5 – Chapter 2).

I. Burials in the Areas of Abandoned Early Byzantine Churches (Figs. 6–9)

Burials on the Sites of Abandoned Early Byzantine Urban Basilicas

An Early Byzantine cemetery (partly dated to the fifth century) located around the apse of Drymos Basilica 'A' (S/N 38) seems to have been

⁵⁸ At Ag. Pateres cave.

⁵⁹ At Ag. Nikolaos on S Varassova.

⁶⁰ At Ag. Pateres cave.

Table 3. Cemeteries.

C/N	Site Number – Name
1	4 – Aetoliko, Finikia, basilica
2	9 – Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada
3	15 – Angelokastro*, Traganoula
4	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora
5	33 – Arta, Parigoritissa
6	36 – Arta, Vassileos Pyrou St.
7	38 – Drymos
8	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, basilica
9	43 – Ermitsas River, Taxiarchis
10	44 – Evinochori, Calydon
11	45 – Gavrolimni, Panagia Panaxiotissa
12	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia
13	53 – Kato Makrynou
14	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill
15	55 – Kefalos, Basilica 'B'
16	60 – Kryoneri
17	62 – Lefkada, Koulmos, Castle
18	75 – Nafpaktos, Gribovo, Athinon St.
19	79 – Nafpaktos, Ag. Stefanos
20	81 – <i>Nafpaktos, Theotokos Nafpaktiotissa</i>
21	87 – Neochori, 'sti Skamia'
22	93 – Paravola, Dogri
23	104 – Stefani, Ag. Varvara
24	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos
25	120 – Vonitsa, Panagia Peninsula, Panagia

re-used during a later period. The excavation of an Early Byzantine cist grave, located south of the external façade of the apse revealed that it had been reused for a second burial some time between the seventh and the tenth centuries according to the only find (a belt buckle, fig. 202).⁶¹ The second burial contained two skulls and had required an enlargement of the grave by extension of its long sides westwards until the grave had the required dimensions of 1.80 m L (0.50 m longer than the original 1.30 m one), 0.50 m W and 0.70 m H. Its masonry consisted of rubble stonework involving random use of bricks and reuse of a few ancient stone architectural members.

An Early Byzantine cemetery, developed over the site of an abandoned basilica church in Kryoneri (S/N 60), seems to have remained in use during

⁶¹ For the buckle see below Part 2 – Chapter 4.II.

the Middle Byzantine period. The twenty-two excavated graves were of various types (pit-, tile-covered- and cist-graves) and contained no offerings or other artefacts. The publication of their excavation does not clarify the number or features of the burials dating to later than the end of the sixth century thus prohibiting any further analysis of burial patterns.

The site of the basilica discovered at Finikia near Aetoliko (S/N 4) was also used as a cemetery after the church had gone out of use but while the building was still standing (as indicated by the fact that several graves leaned against the building's walls). Numerous cist graves were discovered inside the nave, in the annexes on both sides of the narthex as well as on the exterior of the church (to the south and next to the apse) (fig. 6). Most of the graves were rectangular in plan, but several were trapezoidal. Their sides had a stone-slab revetment; the graves were covered by similar rectangular slabs. The deceased lay flat facing east, their arms crossed over the chest. No offerings or other artefacts were found at the same level except for an eleventh-century coin found outside the graves.

On the ruins of the Early Byzantine basilica at Nea Koukoura (S/N 39) two humble burials were discovered in the apse; they have been dated to later than the destruction of the basilica.

On Ag. Triada Hill near Mt. Varassova (S/N 54) a cemetery spread around the exterior of the Middle Byzantine church along its northern and southern sides, over the Early Byzantine basilica's *pastophoria* and sanctuary (fig. 7). The basilica had evidently been abandoned long before the construction of the graves, since the latter rested on the remains of the basilica's stylobate. The cemetery consisted of two cist graves (Graves number 4B and 5N in the original publication) and of two large pit graves containing the bodies of several individuals (Grave 'Δ' contained four and Grave 'E' five sets of skeletons and skulls). All the bones contained in the two group-burials were extremely friable. All graves were located at a level approximately 0.5m deeper than the Middle Byzantine (tenth-century) church's floor and had earth floors. The cist graves had walls of rubble masonry with spolia and random use of tile-fragments; they were covered by schist-stone slabs. Most graves contained no artefacts. Some graves seem to have been exclusive to children; these contained offerings such as fibulae, buckles and necklaces. Inside Grave 'E' one iron belt buckle and several iron nails were found (figs. 203–204).⁶² The graves were dated to the seventh–ninth centuries.

⁶² For the finds see Part 2 – Chapter 4.II. below.

Burials in the Areas of Abandoned Early Byzantine Urban Basilicas within the Limits of Middle Byzantine Settlements

A child's grave was discovered in the S-W part of the south aisle of Basilica 'A' on the island of Kephalos ((S/N 55) fig. 8). It was a simple 1.35×0.54 m pit grave covered with a stone slab and containing a disturbed concentration of bones without offerings or other artefacts. A second grave was found in the atrium near the S entrance gate. It had an almost trapezoidal plan and also contained disturbed bones.

Nine humble burials, carelessly constructed, containing disturbed bone-concentrations were also discovered inside Basilica 'B's seventh-century eastern annexes (Rooms Σ , E , Θ and Γ) and seem later than them. The small grave no. IX, located in a courtyard, was tile-covered; a small *lekhythos*, found between the grave and the church wall, had been probably been put there after the burial had been disturbed.

On the site of Ag. Sophia Basilica at Mytikas (S/N 49), the discovered graves were located in the vicinity of the church within the urban tissue of the very small part so far revealed of an adjacent Middle Byzantine settlement (fig. 9). Their relatively widespread distribution could signify that this part of the settlement near the (old and new) churches served as a burial place.

One cist grave containing no artefacts was discovered near the south wall of the Early Byzantine basilica and not far from the façade of the later Middle Byzantine church. Its location at a higher level than the original floor of the basilica indicates that the church had already been abandoned for some time before the construction of the grave.

To the W of the narthex of the basilica a cist grave made of limestone slabs was located. To the E of the apse a tile-covered grave was found as well as another cist grave covered with an assortment of limestone slabs and brick fragments. Another tile-covered grave occupied the part to the E of the north aisle while a second one to the N-W of the narthex contained a very worn fifth-century bronze coin.

Four more cist graves were located inside the westernmost chamber revealed to the north of the church. The first (Grave 'A') was a barrel-vaulted tomb which came to light in the S-W corner of this chamber; it measured 2.70×1.40 m, had a step in the doorway on its eastern side and was built in dry squared-rubble masonry and covered by a barrel-vault of brick masonry. The other three were cist graves containing no artefacts and located near the east wall of the chamber. One (grave 'B') contained a re-used marble sarcophagus covered by ornate slabs with crosses in relief and containing a few disparate bones. The other two tombs (graves 'Δ'

and 'T') were made of vertical stone slabs and covered by a double line of slabs; they contained one and two bodies respectively.

Finally, two more children's graves located to the south of the northern chambers and along the Northern Road were simple, vertical stone-slab constructions and contained no artefacts.

At the junction of Kapordeli St. and Karakoulaki St. in Nafpaktos (S/N 77) two burials were excavated which were related to a large Early Byzantine basilica. One body, oriented S-N, was discovered simply laid on the pavement of one aisle. A second, cist grave, built in masonry and covered by reused slabs, was located to the E of the apse buttress. Unfortunately little information is available about the existence of graves dating after the sixth century.

II. *Burials on the Sites of Abandoned Ancient Pagan Temples*

The site of the ancient sanctuary devoted to Apollo and Artemis Laphria in Calydon (S/N 44) seems to have been used as a burial place during the Byzantine period. Numerous Byzantine graves of children and adults have been located inside the abandoned temples and within the wider area of the sanctuary after the destruction of the temples themselves. Two more Christian graves were discovered inside the Sanctuary of the Temple of Artemis.

III. *Burials Inside Monastic Complexes (Figs. 7, 10–11)*

The burials which took place inside the monasteries are arranged around the Katholika. This happened in the case of the Ag. Georgios Monastery at Arta (now Ag. Theodora church, S/N 18), where the area to the S-W of the Katholikon served as a cemetery before the construction of the Late Byzantine enceinte and propylon. Fifteen burials placed in successive layers of which the uppermost was at a depth of 0.10 m from the surface, have been discovered. Of the older burials only the skulls had been preserved, covered with tiles. The deceased were oriented S-N and had their arms crossed over their chests. Some of the dead had their upper bodies covered with a tile. Two tile-burials were under the Late Byzantine propylon: they were oriented N-S their arms crossed over their chests. In a rock-cavity a mass of bones was found. Between the current Ag. Theodora church and the town's 3rd Gymnasium, a concave Byzantine wall and numerous contemporary graves were also discovered which were located between the enceinte and an ancient building.

In the monastery on the Panagia peninsula near Vonitsa (S/N 120) a single grave was found at a distance of 1.30m from the N-W side of the Katholikon. It was a cist grave, covered with three large stone-slabs, and the body inside it was oriented W-E. In the Skala Monastery (S/N 101), two cist graves were located inside and outside a small chapel: one ran parallel to the inner S wall (fig. 10) and one was located at the outer N-E corner of the chapel (fig. 11). In the monastery at Ag. Triada Mavrika (S/N 9) near Agrinio a monk's grave was discovered in the narthex of the Katholikon. Finally, in the cave monastery of Ag. Nikolaos on Mt. Varassova South (S/N 110), the cemetery was located behind the sanctuary of the Katholikon extending as far as the cave wall; two retrievals of bones from earlier burials were also found under the church's floor slabs. The cemetery included several single- and double-storey graves holding several bodies as well as rectangular-plan burials containing retrieved collections of many individuals' bones and skulls. Individual graves were also uncovered at several spots within the cave as well as a burial inside a prehistoric *pithos*.

Last but not least, in the Monastery on Ag. Triada Hill near Mt. Varassova (S/N 54) the older cemetery remained in use, spreading to the S of the Middle Byzantine church. In one grave located near the S wall of the old basilica eight coins dated to the years 1030–1035 AD were found; they were inside a small bag next to an iron arrow-head.

IV. *Burials In and Around Middle Byzantine Churches Related to Unexplored Middle Byzantine Settlements*

At Episkopi church near the village of Mastro (S/N 70), one tile-covered grave was discovered to the S-E of the apse at a depth of 1 m. At Panaxiotissa Church near the village of Gavrolimni (S/N 45) several tile-covered tombs were discovered near the north entrance gate. They contained several bodies and no other finds.

The eleventh- or twelfth-century chapel in the S-W corner of the Parigoritissa Church (Arta, S/N 33) had also a funerary function at some point in its history but it is not clear when exactly. It has been suggested that this happened after the construction of the large church adjacent to it. Several cist graves were discovered inside and around it; they contained no offerings or other finds. One later construction of circular plan served as an ossuary. The area of the tenth-eleventh-century church of Ag. Varvara in Stefani (S/N 104) was also used as a cemetery, but probably not until after the church had been destroyed, as indicated by the seven simple burials placed on the ruins of its precincts.

V. *Burials in Middle Byzantine Urban Cemeteries*

Burials Related to Cemeteries of Unexplored Middle Byzantine Settlements

Some cemeteries which must have served as yet unexplored settlements have also been partly investigated by excavation. On the bank of Lake Trichonida in the village of Dogri near Paravola (S/N 93), six cist graves were excavated. The graves were all oriented W-E with the heads facing east. The grave walls consisted of vertical, roughly-worked stone slabs while similar slabs were used to cover them. No artefacts were found inside the graves. Yet on the slabs covering one of them (Grave 2) traces of fire were observed (consisting of an almost circular concentration of burnt bones and earth of an approximate diameter of 0.85 m).

Near the Post-Byzantine Taxiarchis church on the bank of the Ermitsas river (S/N 43) several tile-covered graves were found as well as one described as a 'pseudo-cist grave'. The only excavated artefact was a gold ring discovered outside the graves. At Kato Makrynou (S/N 53) some cist graves made of undressed stone-slabs and containing no offerings or other artefacts have been excavated. Last but not least, the cemetery discovered at Neochori covered an approximate area of 12 × 30 m. The deceased lay on large, slightly concave tiles; two similar tiles arranged so as to form an obtuse angle and a third one placed horizontally over them were used to cover the bodies. No offerings or artefacts were found.

Burials Related to Urban Cemeteries of Known Middle Byzantine Settlements

Last but not least, a few cemeteries relating to known Middle Byzantine settlements have also been investigated. An extensive cemetery dating within the Byzantine (eleventh–thirteenth centuries and later) and post-Byzantine periods has been excavated at Vassileos Pyrou St. in Arta (*Bakayani-Yoti Plot*, S/N 36). Sixty-seven burials have been discovered; some were uncovered, others were covered by concave roof-tiles. The deceased were oriented W-E and laid flat with their arms at their sides or occasionally crossed over their abdomens. In three burials the deceased remains bore traces of woven garments containing goldthread. On the same site, twenty-four more Christian burials without further finds were discovered at a later stage as well as four burials in the post-Byzantine level. In the same city, Byzantine graves were found at *Christoyorgou-* and *Zikou Plots* (near Komenou Ave. and Highway 951). At *Christoyorgou Plot*, eight graves were discovered on top of Hellenistic habitation strata.

The bodies were orientated from S-W to N-E except for one case (orientated W-E). The dead laid on the ground with their hands crossed over their chests and were covered with large tiles. Three bodies belonged to children and the rest of them to adults. There were no offerings. Several Byzantine tombs have been discovered in this area, for which there are no accurate datings. A cemetery consisting of one-hundred-and-thirty tile-covered- and pit-graves as well as one cist grave have been excavated inside the *Zikou Plot*, Komenou Ave. Two pits contained abundant twelfth- to fourteenth-century coarse and glazed pottery. At a lower level, some collective burials of children and mothers have been discovered; their construction had caused the destruction of the walls and pavement of two houses. At a higher level, four undatable Christian burials with no finds, covered by a stratum containing glazed pottery, have been discovered.

Parts of Early Byzantine cemeteries have been excavated in Athinon, Intze, Apokafkou and Tzavela Streets in Nafpaktos (S/N 75). Unfortunately little information is available about the existence of graves dating after the sixth century.

The Hellenistic cemetery at Spasmeni Vrysi near Koulmos Castle in Lefkada (S/N 62) was also reused at a later period. The concave tiles discovered in one grave and the fact that the burials had no offerings indicated that they were Christian;⁶³ however, they have not been precisely dated.

Finally, a single grave has been discovered at Traganoula in Angelokastro (S/N 15) at a level of 2m. It was built of rubble masonry and covered by concave roof-tiles arranged in two rows.

Commentary

With our present knowledge of Byzantine burials and of the aforementioned excavated sites it would be impossible to provide accurate dating for each site described above. The following four points are arguments for dating these burials within the Middle Byzantine period.

- The orientation in most cases of the deceased W-E as well as their recumbent position with their arms crossed over the chest or abdomen are features of Byzantine burial practices.
- The development of the cemeteries over or around Early Byzantine basilica churches indicates the population was Christian or respectful to Christianity. It also implies that this population lived not far from

⁶³ Laskaris 2000, 206.

the Early Byzantine settlements which were evidently no longer or much less extensively occupied.

- All aforementioned burial sites are either closely related or attached to locations where Middle Byzantine secular or religious monuments have been identified (such as fortifications, churches or other settlement remains).
- In several of the aforementioned burial sites artefacts have been discovered which provide a date for the use of that space during the Middle Byzantine period. However, it would not be unusual for that artefact to have been re-used at a later date as could happen with buckles and coinage.

Since, on the one hand, the available information provided by the excavators of the aforementioned burials is never enough to permit closer investigation and, on the other, an exact chronology of the typological variations of Byzantine graves is not yet available, the following discussion will be limited to general remarks on the typology and chronology of the Epirote burial sites.⁶⁴ Of interest will be the chronological development of:

- A. grave typology and construction,
- B. features related to burial practices and
- C. attitudes to selecting the location of burial space.

A. *Grave Typology and Construction*

As far as the typology of graves is concerned, the following types and variations have been found in the area under consideration.

1. Cist graves are found with rectangular or trapezoidal plans and in five slight variations as regards construction:

- 1.1. built with rubble⁶⁵ or of brickwork and re-used ancient building material and covered with a limestone slab,⁶⁶
- 1.2. built with rubble and tile-fragments and covered by schist-stone slabs,⁶⁷

⁶⁴ For the dating problem relating to graves' typological development see Laskaris 2000, 291ff.

⁶⁵ At Kryoneri.

⁶⁶ At Drymos Basilica.

⁶⁷ On Ag. Triada Hill in Kato Vassiliki and in the monastery at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa.

- 1.3. with built walls reveted with stone slabs and covered by similar slabs,⁶⁸
- 1.4. with walls consisting of simple stone slabs,⁶⁹
- 1.5. single- or double-storey constructions contouring bones recovered from several burials.⁷⁰

According to Marki's and Laskaris' typologies,⁷¹ the above types correspond to the following types of graves from Thessaloniki and the rest of Greece:

- Epirote types 1.1. and 1.3.: Marki's Groups 'B' and 'ΣΤ' (trapezoidal) – Laskaris' first and third categories' variations
- Epirote type 1.2.: Marki's Group 'Τ' – Laskaris' first category variation
- Epirote type 1.4.: Marki's Group 'Δ' – Laskaris' second category.

Type 1.5. is not found in Thessaloniki, though several examples in Mystras have been dated quite late, during the Late Byzantine, Frankish and Venetian periods.⁷² This type of grave recalls some sort of ossuary; these seem almost always to have been related to monasteries during the Middle- and Late Byzantine periods.⁷³

Cist graves are the preponderant type of grave in Greece in all Byzantine periods; they are found in the majority of burial sites.⁷⁴ The masonry-built ones are the most representative type of the Early Byzantine period.⁷⁵ In Greek Macedonia during the same period cist graves (together with barrel-vaulted tombs) were the favourite types for middle-class graves. Both types seem to have remained in use during the Middle- and Late Byzantine periods, although now their construction was poorer: their plans were clearly survivals of the old ones but their form was more economical, although most of them were meant for prominent individuals.⁷⁶ During the sixth

⁶⁸ At the site of Finikia basilica near Aetoliko.

⁶⁹ In the sites of Ag. Sophia at Mytikas, of Dogri and of Kato Makrynou.

⁷⁰ In the cave monastery of Ag. Nikolaos on S Varassova.

⁷¹ Marki 2006, 106–109; Laskaris 2000, 298–304.

⁷² See several examples of such graves in the chapels of Ag. Anna, of Ai-Yanakis, of the Taxiarches, of Ag. Varvara, of the gate in the outer enceinte and those to the S-W of Chronis House and near the sanctuary of Ag. Nikolaos in Drandakis 1952, 501, 504–506, 510–511, 513–514, 519 (§ 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 19).

⁷³ Bouras 1996, 53.

⁷⁴ Laskaris 2000, 298.

⁷⁵ Laskaris 2000, 76.

⁷⁶ Kanonidis 1996, 38.

to eighth centuries reusing older cist graves (as in Drymos) and barrel-vaulted tombs (as in Mytikas) was very common.⁷⁷

2. Barrel-vaulted tombs were found on only two occasions.⁷⁸ No detailed description or plan of the tomb near Drymos has been published. The tomb in Mytikas was built in dry squared-rubble masonry and belongs to a very common type (Group II in Laskaris' typology) found in numerous examples around Greece.⁷⁹ Similar tombs in Thessaloniki, Athens, Thrace and the Aegean islands have been dated to the sixth to ninth century.⁸⁰ It has been suggested that, in the case of Thessaloniki, the use of this type of grave, which had been very common during the Early Byzantine period, declined rapidly from the seventh century onwards but never stopped altogether; between the seventh and the ninth centuries it was preserved for prominent people.⁸¹ In Greek Macedonia barrel-vaulted tombs were also used for prominent people in the Middle- and Late Byzantine period but their form is considered more modest than in earlier periods.⁸² In Athens (Areopagus and Hephaisteion), Chalkis, Corinth and Mystras such eleventh- to twelfth-century and Late Byzantine tombs were also used as ossuaries, though this was not the case in Mytikas.⁸³

3. In one case a pot-burial was found (in a prehistoric *pithos*).⁸⁴ Pot-burials represented an Early Byzantine practice for the burial of young children and infants; the vessels most commonly used for this were amphorae and *pithoi*.⁸⁵ The use of a Prehistoric vessel for the burial on Mt. Varassova could also be seen as an intriguing detail, bearing in mind that prehistoric burials in *pithoi* are very often found in Aetolia and especially in the vicinity of Stamna. If some of these older remains had come to light and were familiar to the medieval population, the use of the old pot could mean an attempt to combine contemporary burial traditions with older but local ones. Of course it is not improbable that the family

⁷⁷ Kanonidis 1996, 38; Kalopissi, Panayotidi 2001, 245–247, esp. 247.

⁷⁸ At the Ag. Sophia site at Mytikas in the Kandila valley and near Drymos.

⁷⁹ Laskaris 2000, 292–293.

⁸⁰ Marki 1990, 41–42; Kalopissi, Panayotidi 2001, 246; Marki 2006, 110, 237.

⁸¹ Marki 2006, 110 and note 299.

⁸² Kanonidis 1996, 38.

⁸³ Soteriou 1916, 134; Lazaridis 1967, 149–151; Pallas 1969, 122; Marki 2006, 110, note 300. In Mystras such tombs existed in two chapels, Ag. Paraskevi where the burial contained offerings dated in the Byzantine period and in the 14th-c. Ag. Anna, Drandakis 1952, 501–504, 515–516 (§4, 14).

⁸⁴ At Ag. Nikolaos cave-monastery on S Varassova.

⁸⁵ Nika 1996; Laskaris 2000, 289, 304; Kalopissi, Panayotidi 2001; Marki 2006, 231.

of the deceased was maybe too poor to spare a large pot of their own for the burial and thus reused an old one.

4. In one case an earlier sarcophagus was re-used.⁸⁶

5. Tile-covered graves⁸⁷ of which a detailed description is provided only once (Neochori).

6. Pit graves are found either:

- uncovered⁸⁸ or
- covered with stone slabs.⁸⁹

This type of grave was used both for single burials⁹⁰ and group burials judging from two such graves containing four or five individuals at Ag. Triada Hill cemetery dated to the seventh – ninth centuries.⁹¹

7. Makeshift burials on the surface were also found.⁹²

The last three grave types (nos. 5, 6 and 7) were also very common in Byzantium and, as the simplest, they were usually preferred by the poorer social groups.⁹³ However, three tile-covered graves in Arta contained traces of garments with goldthread.

The aforementioned grave types are common throughout the Byzantine period.⁹⁴ The cist graves are generally of poor construction as everywhere in Greece.⁹⁵ The most rudimentary type (1.4.) was, in fact, common in other areas of *Epirus* and Gortyn during the Byzantine period and has been considered a sign of socio-economic decline.⁹⁶ However, the barrel-vaulted type, otherwise common in the Middle- and Late Byzantine periods, was only found on two occasions.⁹⁷

The reuse of *spolia* in the construction, which we saw in Drymos and Mytikas, is a common feature of Middle Byzantine tombs – especially of

⁸⁶ At Ag. Sophia in Mytikas.

⁸⁷ At Taxiarchis near Ermitsas, at Neochori, at Arta (Vassileos Pyrou St.) and at Angelokastro.

⁸⁸ As in the cemetery discovered in Arta and possibly on Ag. Triada Hill.

⁸⁹ As in the burials at Basilica 'A' in Kefalos island.

⁹⁰ As in the cases of Arta and of the basilica 'A' in Kefalos island.

⁹¹ The dating of these graves in the seventh–ninth c. is based on stratigraphy and on the buckle found in Grave E, as discussed below in Paragraph C (Selection of burial space) and in Part 2 – Chapter 4.II.

⁹² As on the island of Kefalos.

⁹³ See Marki 2006, 109 for relevant literature; Laskaris 2000, 302–303.

⁹⁴ Nalpandis 2003; Kanonidis 1996, 38; Laskaris 2000, 262.

⁹⁵ Laskaris 2000, 262.

⁹⁶ Laskaris 2000, 300.

⁹⁷ Laskaris 2000, 291–298.

those located on the sites of earlier basilicas.⁹⁸ The reuse of sarcophagi or earlier Christian graves – seen in Mytikas, Drymos and Ag. Nikolaos – also occurred very often in this period.⁹⁹ In one eighth–ninth-century grave in Ag. Triada Hill large iron nails were found; this may indicate the use of a wooden coffin.¹⁰⁰ One should keep in mind that in the area under consideration no sarcophagi dating to the seventh–twelfth centuries have been located, although they clearly existed before that (since one of them was reused) and they came back into fashion in the thirteenth century.

Although the total number of graves on each site is not always reported, it should be noted that in the investigated area cist graves appear in 14 burial sites, tile-covered graves in 11, pit graves in 6, surface burials in 3, barrel-vaulted tombs in 2, a pot-burial in 1 and ossuaries in two. Obviously, cist and tile-covered graves were the preponderant types of graves in the area during the Middle Byzantine period. By contrast, in Greek Macedonia the makeshift burials on the surface or in simple pits were more numerous than any other type.¹⁰¹ In other places, too, Middle Byzantine burials were often in pit-graves and they were usually covered by slabs.¹⁰²

The presence of different types of graves in the same cemetery often signifies different datings between these graves and the use of the cemetery over a long period of time. Such were the case in the cemeteries at Kryoneri, Mytikas, Ag. Triada Hill, Kefalos, Nafpaktos (Kapordeli St.), Ag. Nikolaos monastery and Arta (Pyrrou St.).

B. *Features Related to Burial Practices*

The common features of the Middle Byzantine burials are good spatial organization and orderliness, uniformity and embellishment of graves. The Middle Byzantine cemeteries at Ag. Triada, Finikia, Kefalos Basilica 'B' and Mytikas have indeed a very homogenous appearance with the graves properly arranged in more or less parallel lines. Each cemetery presents its own homogeneity, when it comes to the orientation of tombs, grave-construction and quality; all this is also very common during this period in Greece as a whole.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Laskaris 2000, 277–278.

⁹⁹ Laskaris 2000, 278, 305.

¹⁰⁰ Laskaris 2000, 272.

¹⁰¹ Kanonidis 1996, 38.

¹⁰² Patsidou 2003, 82 ; Loverdou-Tsigarida et al. 2001, 404; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2006, 40.

¹⁰³ Laskaris 2000, 240.

The deceased in most of these cemeteries were oriented W-E. In two cases, they were oriented S-N; both these cemeteries were located in urban contexts (Nafpaktos/Kapordeli St. and Arta/Pyrou St.). In the first case, the burials took place over an abandoned urban basilica and thus they must date quite soon after the Early Byzantine period. In the second case, the cemetery is located over a pagan temple and dated from the eleventh century onwards; it presents rather exceptional characteristics, i.e. a very careful arrangement of graves in superimposed layers, each burial covered by a tile with the older burials in the lower levels being preserved only in the form of a scull covered by a tile.¹⁰⁴ In a second, contemporary, cemetery in Arta (at Ag. Georgios Monastery) some deceased had only their upper bodies and skulls covered by a large tile.

The bodies of the deceased either lay directly on the ground or on tiles; both practices were common.¹⁰⁵ In the burial at Ag. Triada Monastery at Mavrikas, a brick-pillow was used, as often happened in graves.¹⁰⁶ The arms of the deceased were usually crossed over their chests or abdomens, which was the most common practice during this period; in some cases they rested at their sides, a less common though not altogether unusual feature of burials.¹⁰⁷

Traces of garments and accessories have been found in only three cases (Drymos, Ag. Triada Hill and Arta). The bronze and iron belt buckles and fibulae and especially the garments with goldthread signify the high social status of the deceased.¹⁰⁸

It is not clear whether jewels should be regarded as accessories or offerings or both; they are generally extremely scarce (appearing only in two cases). In the case of the Ag. Triada Hill graves, they are exclusively related with children's burials.¹⁰⁹ In more northern parts of *Epirus* abundant jewellery has been found at a number of cemeteries dated to between the fifth and the eleventh centuries at Kato Grekiko to the N of Arta, Neochoropoulo near Ioannina, Dodoni, Zagori, Pogoni, Meropi, Paliopyrgos and Kalpaki; they can be related to sites with similar archaeological evidence in several locations around Greece (such as Olympia,

¹⁰⁴ According to Laskaris particularities within certain cemeteries are not unusual (2000, 265).

¹⁰⁵ Laskaris 2000, 275–276.

¹⁰⁶ Laskaris 2000, 272–273.

¹⁰⁷ Laskaris 2000, 274–275.

¹⁰⁸ Laskaris 2000, 311–312.

¹⁰⁹ Laskaris 2000, 327.

Argos, Corinth, Nea Anchialos, Azoros) as well as in former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.¹¹⁰ Some of those graves have been associated by their excavators with the burials of the Slavic population, although this opinion has been debated.¹¹¹ Very similar jewels were also found in graves of the non-Slavic Cristian Komani-Kruje culture in Albania.¹¹²

As far as other offerings are concerned, an arrow-head was found in an eleventh-century grave on Ag. Triada Hill together with a hoard in a small, hand-sewn, bag. Another coin was found in a grave at Mytikas. The coin at Finikia was found outside the graves and its original position is unknown; but it was common to place coins outside the burials but very close to the graves.¹¹³ In any case, the amount of coins found in the burials in the investigated area of *Epirus* is extremely small compared to that found in other sites in Greece.¹¹⁴

Last but not least, traces of fire (such as those on a grave at Dogri) have also been found in Thessaloniki and have been associated with aspects of burial culture.¹¹⁵

The fact that bone-recoveries from older burials, multiple burials in a single grave, careless or even uncovered burials and a lack of offerings are common features of Late Byzantine burials could lead us to date some graves in Ag. Nikolaos, Panaxiotissa Church, Arta (Komenou Ave.) and maybe also Neochori to the Late Byzantine period or towards the end of the Middle Byzantine period.¹¹⁶ Nowever, one has to bear in mind the fact that all the above features are also found in burials securely dated to the Middle Byzantine period in *Epirus*, such as those in Ag. Triada Hill and Mytikas. More specifically, the presence of multiple bodies in one grave could also signify family tombs, especially of mothers and their children, which were not unusual in this period, although an anthropological study is the only way to prove such a relationship among the dead.¹¹⁷

C. *Location of Burial Spaces*

As far as the selection of places for the burial of the dead is concerned, the criteria in the Early Byzantine period are known to have been very

¹¹⁰ Laskaris 2000, 204–205; Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2005; Isdem 2006.

¹¹¹ Laskaris 2000, 280; Lambropoulou et al. 2001.

¹¹² Anamali 1964; Anamali 1971; Tartari 1984; Spahiu 1985. See also Part 2 – Chapter 4.II. (including Chapter's 4 Conclusions) for a discussion of this issue.

¹¹³ Laskaris 2000, 322.

¹¹⁴ Laskaris 2000, 321–322.

¹¹⁵ Laskaris 2000, 319.

¹¹⁶ Patsidou 2003, 82–83.

¹¹⁷ Laskaris 2000, 280–281.

different from those of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. A major break with the Late Antique tradition and a shift of interest seem to have taken place from the seventh century onwards: instead of burying the dead in mausoleums and cemeteries *extra muros* according to the ancient tradition, there now appears a tendency to lay the deceased to rest in places near the relics of martyrs or saints or in places of 'ever-lasting prayers' such as churches.¹¹⁸ These prayers were believed to be of help to the dead in their struggle for eternal life; the same idea had led to the creation of cemeteries near *martyria* and other holy places during the fourth and fifth centuries.¹¹⁹

The archaeological evidence from Thessaloniki offers a good example of the various stages in the process of change in the sixth–twelfth centuries.¹²⁰ The gradual admission of the dead into the cities, which started to take place in the Christian world from the end of the sixth century onwards, is considered by many as the end of the ancient world.¹²¹ In Thessaloniki, the first such burials of the end of the sixth century have been discovered in contact with a fortification tower which had been transformed into an oratory (*euktirios oikos*): the graves were constructed below floor level. In the next stage, the burials of ordinary people took place in abandoned spaces within the city (e.g. in the forum) while the most prominent citizens seem to have had the privilege of being buried in the church precincts: at first in atria and gradually inside the narthex and the aisles. At the same time the monks began to be buried under the floors of the Katholika. No burials in the nave of Early Byzantine churches are observed at this time in Thessaloniki, with one exception, while the small number of graves in other spaces within these churches indicates that their use as places of entombment was at first confined to very eminent people such as priests or church founders and benefactors.

Later examples show that church atria and narthexes were used much more often than public spaces as intramural burial places. Lack of space made it necessary to retrieve bones from older burials and to construct ossuaries inside the churches or adjacent to them. Throughout the Middle Byzantine period though increasingly after since Leo VI's early-tenth-century legislation¹²² parts of the Early Byzantine cemeteries were being

¹¹⁸ Bouras 1996, 53.

¹¹⁹ Laskaris 2000, 25–27.

¹²⁰ Marki 1990; Marki 2006, 237–238.

¹²¹ The same development was clearly manifested in the Early Byzantine settlement of Allassarna on the island of Kos (Kalopissi, Panayotidi 2001, 248).

¹²² Noailles-Dain 1944, 255; Emmanouilidis 1989, 186.

reused; these burials took place at a higher level than the earlier ones. At the same time the burial of people in the interior of churches was widespread; this practice was preserved in Greece until the nineteenth century, when the foundation of cemeteries was legally established.¹²³

The examples from fortified settlements in Greek Macedonia confirm that burial spaces during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods were located inside rather than outside the walls and specifically in that they consisted of church atria and monastic courtyards and interiors.¹²⁴ Priests were the only ones to be entombed in the church's *naos* or nave, while other deceased were buried in the narthex and aisles. Some places located outside the walls were also used for burials but these were never far from the *enceinte*.

The comparative evidence from the rest of Greece, as systematically analysed by Laskaris, confirms these developments. Apparently, the practice of burials inside or around churches seems to have sprung from the pre-existing tradition of organizing cemeteries around Early Byzantine funerary basilicas; sometimes burials *ad sanctos* also took place inside some basilicas, although this was forbidden – a ban not often respected.¹²⁵ Many of the Early Byzantine cemeteries arranged around funerary basilicas either remained in use or came back into use during the Middle Byzantine period, while new ones were created, wherever necessary to host the deceased of neighbouring communities, on the sites of other – often urban –, abandoned Early Byzantine basilicas.¹²⁶ The basilicas could be derelict or still standing; in most cases the cemetery was accompanied by a chapel, commonly erected in the central nave of the earlier basilica.

The next stage in the development of this practice in the Middle Byzantine period was the use not only of exterior but also of interior spaces within the churches for burials. It seems that the tombs in the interior were considered privileged and were meant for clergy, secular or ecclesiastical officials or people somehow related to the construction or maintenance of the church, while simple believers were buried outside the churches.¹²⁷ It has also been observed that throughout Greece burials seem to start impinging on the nucleus of settlements, using the

¹²³ Marki 1990.

¹²⁴ Kanonidis 1996, 37.

¹²⁵ Laskaris 2000, 72–77, 145–147.

¹²⁶ Laskaris 2000, 73–74, 101–104.

¹²⁷ Laskaris 2000, 141–143.

churches – abandoned or otherwise – as vehicles.¹²⁸ So, at the same time, though independent cemeteries became very common once again, these were now located in the heart of the settlements. In that respect, a selective re-use of earlier Early Byzantine cemeteries took place.

This process well illustrated by the examples from all over Greece, is also visible in the evidence of Middle Byzantine burials from the investigated area of *Epirus*. First of all, burials on the sites of Early Byzantine urban basilicas seem to have begun during the late sixth or the seventh century; burials *ad sanctos* had not been frequent in East Illyricum during the Early Byzantine period and in the investigated area they appear to have taken place only in the urban basilica at Drymos.¹²⁹ In the investigated area, the burials seem to begin after the basilicas have been abandoned but before they collapse; it seems that the sites of the old churches were transformed into cemeteries which were in use from the late sixth or seventh century well into the Middle Byzantine period.

As mentioned above, the transformation of Early Byzantine basilicas into Middle Byzantine cemeteries seems to have been a very common phenomenon in Greece; from around the seventh century they become the main burial places.¹³⁰ As it is often difficult to tell whether the graves are contemporary with or subsequent to the use of the basilica, some distinguishing criteria are: a) the relation of each construction to the floor and walls of the basilica, b) the use of *spolia* from the basilica in their masonry and c) the date of small finds.¹³¹ Common features of these burials are that the graves are very poor, while the use of *spolia* from the earlier building is quite common in the rare instances of rather more careful constructions.¹³² These features characterize the graves discovered at Kryoneri, Finikia in Aetoliko, Nea Koukoura, Kefalos (Basilicas 'A' and 'B') and Mytikas.

The basilica on Ag. Triada Hill in Kato Vassiliki must also have been transformed into a cemetery between its abandonment in the late sixth century and the erection of the monastery on the ruins of the old basilica (and cemetery) in the tenth century. This is indicated by the level of the graves which rested directly on the stylobate of the basilica at a depth of

¹²⁸ Laskaris 2000, 261.

¹²⁹ Laskaris 2000, 30–31, 59, 72–77.

¹³⁰ Laskaris 2000, 30, 101–104, 262.

¹³¹ Laskaris 2000, 77, 101.

¹³² Laskaris 2000, 30–31. See other examples from Greece in Laskaris' Paragraph 1.1.4. (pages 77–97).

about 0.50m under the floor of the Middle Byzantine church. The dating of the graves to a period earlier than that of the Middle Byzantine monastery was further confirmed by a small find (a seventh–eighth-century belt buckle) discovered in one of them (Grave ‘E’).¹³³ However, the cemetery obviously remained in use even after the monastery had been erected, since one tomb located near the S wall of the old basilica contained eight eleventh-century coins. Thus this location changed use three different times while retaining its sacred character: from urban basilica to urban cemetery to a monastic complex containing burials.

At Calydon, the sanctuary of an ancient temple served as a burial place, just as Early-Christian basilicas had done in other cases. The same happened with the Middle Byzantine (eleventh–twelfth century) cemetery in Arta, which was developed over an ancient pagan temple. This practice was also common throughout Greece in this period;¹³⁴ it may indicate respect for the sacredness of pagan religious spaces too and the preservation of their symbolic meaning.

Of the aforementioned cemeteries which developed inside abandoned basilicas the ones in Ag. Sophia at Mytikas and in Kefalos Basilica ‘B’ must have belonged to the stage when entombment took place inside the settlements, since burials here clearly took place within complexes of secular buildings. In both cases the settlements are dated from the seventh to the tenth century or later while chapels were erected in the tenth century in the central nave of the earlier basilicas, in accordance with the aforementioned practice commonly found in the Middle Byzantine period.¹³⁵ The same pattern (i.e. the presence of burials around earlier basilicas and in the interiors of houses) has been observed in two more contexts in Greece, at Olympia and Emborio on Chios, which are dated to exactly the same period, i.e. seventh to the ninth centuries.¹³⁶

As observed all over Greece, burials seem to start impinging on the nucleus of settlements. The cemetery of Vassileos Pyrou St. in Arta most probably developed as an intramural burial place from the eleventh century onwards, judging from the distribution of contemporary archaeological evidence in the vicinity.¹³⁷ A second contemporary cemetery in Arta, in Ag. Georgios monastery, was also located in the heart of the eleventh-

¹³³ Laskaris dates the graves “probably in the 9th–10th-c.” but the stratigraphy and the dating of the buckle indicates I think an earlier dating.

¹³⁴ Laskaris 2000, 264.

¹³⁵ Laskaris 2000, 30–31, with examples in note 23.

¹³⁶ Laskaris 2000, 103.

¹³⁷ See Part 3 – Chapters 1 and 3 below.

twelfth-century settlement. By contrast the somewhat later cemetery located in the area between Komenou Ave. and E951-Highway seems not to be located in the heart of the Middle Byzantine town, close to the churches, and it was surrounded by a neighbourhood with industrial facilities.

In the cases of Drymos, Nafaktos and Kryoneri, it seems that Late Roman and Early Byzantine cemeteries were re-used; in Thessaloniki this practice was applied from the tenth century onwards. At Drymos, the buckle found inside the grave allows us to date the reuse of a fifth-century grave during the ninth–tenth centuries or earlier, as explained below.¹³⁸ In Koulmos a Hellenistic cemetery seems to have been re-used; the reuse of ancient pagan funerary sites during the Byzantine period occurs frequently in Greece.¹³⁹

In *Epirus* there is no evidence of burials in the atria and narthexes of churches dated well into the Middle Byzantine period, with the exception of the twelfth-century burial at Episkopi Church near Mastro.¹⁴⁰ The dating of the graves outside the entrance to the Panaxiotissa Church in Gavrolimni is not clear; they could either signify that the atrium of the tenth-century church was being used as a graveyard or they could date back to the period of abandonment of the Early Byzantine basilica under the Middle Byzantine church. It is worth noting that such burials do occur very often from the thirteenth century onwards.¹⁴¹ More specifically in the case of Arta, the dramatic rise in the number of cemeteries arranged around existing and new churches and funerary chapels most probably indicates a demographic rise or a concentration of population in the new capital of *Epirus*.¹⁴²

Finally, as far as the burials in monastic complexes are concerned, they are almost always arranged around the atrium of the Katholikon or (in only two cases) inside the church.¹⁴³ The parts of the atrium used for burials lie to the N, S, N-W and S-W and occasionally E of the Katholikon. The same applied to burials around funerary basilicas and churches. Therefore, while the N, W and S sides of churches seem to have been

¹³⁸ For the buckle see Part 2 – chapter 4.II. below.

¹³⁹ Laskaris 2000, 264.

¹⁴⁰ Laskaris 2000, 118.

¹⁴¹ Laskaris 2000, 118–119.

¹⁴² See Part 1 – Chapter 2 and Part 3 – Chapter 3 in this volume. For the 13th-c. cemeteries in Arta see Laskaris 2000, 118–119.

¹⁴³ In the cave-monastery of Ag. Nikolaos on S Varassova and in the monastery on Ag. Triada Hill in Kato Vassiliki.

the commonest places for burials, it seems that practical reasons (i.e. the availability of vacant space) also partly dictated the choice of burial space. That said, it seems that the two ossuary-like multiple-burials, in cist graves in Ag. Nikolaos cave monastery should probably be dated to a period later than the Middle Byzantine. This is assumed not only on the grounds of the typological criteria discussed above but also based on the fact that these constructions seem to have belonged to a quite late stage in the use of the cave, when the lack of burial space was becoming problematic.

1.1.4. *Secular Buildings (Table 4)*

Secular buildings have been located inside fortified sites, in unfortified sites as well as in monasteries (living quarters). As monastic complexes have been already discussed above, this chapter concerns a) the secular buildings located inside fortified enceintes and b) those located in the countryside either as part of unfortified nuclear settlements or otherwise.

Table 4. Secular Buildings.

C/N	Site Number – Name
1	5 – Aetos, Castle*
2	12 – Amfilochia, Castle*
3	15 – Angelokastro*
4	22 – Arta, ancient Small Theatre
5	23 – Arta, Castle
6	21 – Arta, Ag. Vassiliou St.
7	24 – Arta, Highway E951
8	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios
9	26 – Arta, Komenou Ave.
10	27 – Arta, Komenou/Mourganas St.
11	28 – Arta, Mourganas St.
12	37 – Astakos, Castle
13	38 – Drymos
14	48 – Kandila, Glosses, Castle
15	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia
16	55 – Kefalos
17	62 – Lefkada, Koulmos, Castle
18	66 – Ligovitsi, Castle*
19	69 – Macheras, Paleochori, Vristiana
20	76 – Nafaktos, Castle*
21	88 – Nikopolis
22	105 – Stratos, ancient Stratiki
23	116 – Vonitsa, Castle*
24	114 – Vlochos, ancient Acropolis Glas

Secular Buildings Located Inside Fortified Enceintes

Buildings of this category are very common in almost all fortified enceintes investigated by survey.¹⁴⁴ However their function and period of use can only be confirmed by excavation. We can distinguish between:

- I. fortress-like buildings usually adjacent to the fortification walls,¹⁴⁵
- II. free-standing buildings including:
 - II.a. large-scale buildings of rectangular ground-plan,¹⁴⁶
 - II.b. smaller buildings divided into several rooms and possibly used as residences.¹⁴⁷

I. The buildings of this group are particularly careful constructions and their masonry is similar to that of the fortification walls; thus they seem to have been built as part of the fortifications and they had an important role in them. In Angelokastro and Embessos they take the form of simple towers (plans 2, 14) and earlier scholars have referred to them as ‘donjons’. In the Castles of Aetos, Nafpaktos and Arta they must have been part of the keep facilities. In Aetos the keep complex consists of several buildings dated to different periods (Middle Byzantine to Ottoman): a very solid construction consisting of a corner-room of indeterminate plan and an underground cistern (figs. 12–13) and a high tower-shaped building (fig. 42).¹⁴⁸ In the Castle of Nafpaktos the keep is a fortress-like building of very large dimensions consisting of four successive, parallel, barrel-vaulted rooms whose walls are rendered with mortar (fig. 14). The masonry of the surrounding parts of the walls as well as an embedded fragment from an eleventh-twelfth-century sculpture in one of the rooms allow us to posit that a previous building on this site dated to the Middle Byzantine period (figs. 15, 145).¹⁴⁹ In Arta such a building, possibly dated to the Middle

¹⁴⁴ They have been located in the Castles of Angelokastro, Aetos, Amfilochia, Astakos, Vonitsa, Glosses at Kandila, Embessos, Ligovitsi, Nafpaktos, Arta, Koulmos at Lefkada. It is not impossible that buildings at Nikopolis and Stratos would also have belonged to this category, but there is not enough evidence to support such an assumption.

¹⁴⁵ They have been observed in Angelokastro, Embessos, the citadel (Kastraki) in Nafpaktos, Aetos and Arta.

¹⁴⁶ These have been located in the S part of the Acropolis in Nafpaktos, on the E side of the Castle of Arta and in the Agora at Stratos.

¹⁴⁷ These have been located in the Castles of Astakos, Ligovitsi, Amfilochia, Koulmos in Lefkada, Nikopolis, Glosses in Kandila, Vlochos and Nafpaktos.

¹⁴⁸ For the cistern see Part 2 – section 1.1.6. below.

¹⁴⁹ For the sculpture see Part 2 – Chapter 3.II. below.

Byzantine period, is located in the citadel; however its original plan is not discernible as it has been integrated to later constructions.¹⁵⁰

II.a. The buildings of this group are large-scale, careful constructions. In Arta one such building on the E side of the enceinte measured 10.90×45.5 m and had two different construction phases (plan 4: building 'Δ', figs. 16, 104). The initial construction was a rectangular building with an entrance in its S wall. On its N side there was a small chapel built in similar masonry; the current chapel of Agioi Pandes has been erected on the ruins (plan 4: building 'E', fig. 16). Similar buildings in Vonitsa date to later periods; though it is not known whether they succeeded earlier Byzantine ones. The buildings in the agora at Stratos must also have been located inside the enceinte, since we believe that the extant Hellenistic walls were in use during the Middle Byzantine period (plan 13). They are rectangular-plan constructions (fig. 17). Building 1 measured 6×12 m while Building 2 was approximately 17 m long though its width remains unexplored.

II.b. Similar buildings, discovered inside the enceintes in Astakos, Ligovitsi, Amfilochia, Koulmos, Nikopolis and Glosses (Kandila), are now buried; thus further investigation is impossible. They were previously interpreted as houses. A similar building in the Castle of Vlochos has been identified as a cistern. Given the great variety in form of Byzantine residences and the fact that the remains are no longer extant, no conclusions can be drawn regarding these particular buildings. Several small, free-standing buildings beside the 'N Complex' inside the Acropolis (i.e. the fourth line of fortifications, plan 10, fig. 18) in Nafpaktos and beside the church of Ag. Ilias are built of masonry which could well be dated to the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁵¹

*Secular Buildings in Unfortified Locations*¹⁵²

It is not certain whether the unexplored building in Arta on the S-W side of the hill where Ag. Merkourios stands belongs to this group or to the previous one, that is whether it was once located inside the town fortifica-

¹⁵⁰ Papadopoulou 2002a, 111: fig. 129, no. 8.

¹⁵¹ See Part 2 – Chapter 1.II. below.

¹⁵² These have been located in Paleochori of Vristiana near Macheras, on Kefalos, in Mytikas of Kandila and in Arta (at the ancient Small Theatre, Komenou Ave, Ag. Vasileiou St., Highway Eg51 and Ag. Mercurios).

tion walls. The question is whether the walls of Hellenistic Ambrakia were still in use at that time or not. This building was described as “built in mixed stone-brick masonry, where undressed stones and reused ancient ashlar were bound with mortar, bricks set in their joints”,¹⁵³ the description recalls the masonry of the building on the E side of the enceinte in the Castle of Arta. No assumptions can be made at this time about its use.

Seventh–tenth Century Residential Complexes

Secular buildings in unfortified locations have also been located near Drymos as well as in Kefalos, Mytikas in Kandila, Arta and Paleochori near Macheras. The latter has not been investigated. The building near Drymos has been partly excavated though finds have not been published in detail. The excavated part consisted of six, large adjacent rooms, arranged in Γ-shape, and a barrel-vaulted tomb was located across the entrance of one room.¹⁵⁴ The only find, which is mentioned in detail, is a potsherd dated to between the fifth and the seventh century;¹⁵⁵ therefore the complex cannot be dated with certainty during the period here in-question but its use during this period can neither be excluded. Several of the other buildings have been identified as residences and their details are as follows.

In Kefalos and Mytikas there seem to have been similar ideas and practices behind these constructions. As discussed below, one may plausibly assume that a) they are dated to around the same period and b) that this was during the early Middle Ages that is seventh–ninth or tenth century.

On Kefalos, a secular building complex was added to the E of Basilica ‘A’ at a later stage (seventh–tenth centuries) (fig. 19). A 4.20 × 3.60 m space was added to the E of the *diakonikon*; a 1.10m wide door was located at the N corner of its E wall. Another door on the E side of this space into the N extension of the basilica’s original narthex led to another later construction; the latter consisted of one small 1.85 × 1.35 m room and a banquette built in the external façade of the basilica’s original N wall. Similar masonry was observed in several buildings on the S side of the island (fig. 20). Some later additions were also made to Basilica ‘B’ and have been dated to the seventh century (fig. 8). Plain walls formed a complex of at least four rooms (Rooms ‘H’, ‘Σ’, ‘E’, ‘Z’) and a courtyard with a small roadway (area Θ). They were built of careless rubble masonry using clay

¹⁵³ Papadopoulou 1992a, 382.

¹⁵⁴ Mastrokostas 1971, 193, 192: plan 1.

¹⁵⁵ See Part 2 – Chapter 4, Ceramics nr. P3.

as mortar; the rooms measured 2.60×8.40 m (Room 'H'), 4.50×8.40 m (Room 'Σ') and 9.10×4.55 m (Room 'Z').

In Mytikas several later constructions transformed the old Ag. Sophia Basilica into a secular complex. Three successive rooms were added to the N side of the basilica (fig. 9).¹⁵⁶ The N wall of the westernmost room was later than the others and built of careless rubble masonry with no bricks; it was destroyed by fire. Graves built with spolia from the basilica were discovered on these premises.¹⁵⁷ On the E side of the rooms, which were excavated to the N of the basilica, another room measuring 4.80×2 m was discovered; its entrance was located in its western wall. Its walls were 0.60 m thick and built of dry rubble masonry. The floor consisted of a layer of irregular, undressed stones. A little more to the west a small road running parallel to the rooms towards the N was excavated. To the north of the road the southern side of three adjoining rooms was revealed; in the easternmost one, as well as on the road, more graves were located. In front of the propylon of the basilica another road was found. To the east of the narthex's S propylon two 3-m-long parallel walls, made of pebbles were found; their thickness varied from 0.60–0.70 m (east side) to 0.65–0.80 m (west side). Another two, later, walls were revealed: one made of rubble masonry and located in the extension of the narthex's W wall and one running over the stylobate of the S colonnade of the basilica. The excavator interpreted this complex of walls, rooms and paved roads as a residential district of a settlement formed here during the Middle Byzantine period, after the basilica had been ruined. The rooms most probably belonged to houses. The strata with Middle Byzantine finds were located at a depth between 0.40–1.10 m from the surface.

Commentary

As mentioned above, the complexes in Kefalos and Mytikas present many similarities in conception and construction. They were most probably contemporary (dating during the seventh–tenth centuries). In my opinion this dating is encouraged by the following evidence:

1. The excavation evidence (stratigraphy and small finds) speaks for contemporaneity of the two archaeological contexts.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ See photographs of the spaces to follow by Vocotopoulos (1981a, pl. 77).

¹⁵⁷ See above Part 2 – chapter 1.I.3.

¹⁵⁸ See relevant Inventory entries in Part 5, below.

2. The residential complexes are organized in simple, light-constructions, of rectangular- or irregular-plan houses divided by narrow cobbled or earth-roads.
3. These complexes are connected with abandoned Early Byzantine basilicas used as burial spaces and they contain burials themselves.
4. The buildings' external walls were 0.60–0.80 m thick. Thinner (0.55–0.65 m thick), transverse walls divided the buildings into adjacent rooms of irregular plan some of which often opened into courtyards.
5. External walls are built in plain rubble masonry containing reused spolia while cross-walls are of variable construction.

Settlements with a similar arrangement of buildings and with houses of similar plan and construction discovered in Kolona on Aegina and Emborio on Chios have been dated to the seventh–tenth centuries.¹⁵⁹ Single-storey houses of similar plan have also been investigated in Chalkis, Paleochora near Maroneia, and Veria and dated to the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁶⁰ The thickness of the walls exactly matches that of houses in Eleftherna, Pergamum and Emborio at Chios.¹⁶¹

Eleventh–thirteenth-century Residential Complexes

More such buildings, most probably dating to towards the end of the Middle Byzantine period, were discovered in an area extending around the Komenou Ave., Mourganas St. and Highway E951 in Arta.

Two of them, discovered at Komenou Ave. (*Tachou-Muller Plot*), were Middle- or Late Byzantine, founded on a stratum containing fire residues. The first building was a house consisting of two rooms (fig. 21). The first room had walls built of spolia (reused ancient ashlar) and random tile-fragments set in the horizontal and vertical joints. The second room – perhaps of a later date – was built of coursed, squared rubble masonry with tile-fragments set in horizontal and vertical joints in an irregular fashion. The second building, located 3.20 m from the S-E corner of the first one, was built of similar – though less carefully constructed – masonry. However, its floor was made of pinkish lime-mortar.

Also on Komenou Ave. (*Seryani Plot*) an excavated Late Byzantine house (fig. 22) was located on a previously inhabited site; this earlier habitation

¹⁵⁹ Felten 1975; Balance et al. 1989, 62–63.

¹⁶⁰ Sigalos 2004, 60–62.

¹⁶¹ Rheidt 1991, 23; Kalpaxis et al. 2008, 18; Balance et al. 1989, 62–63.

probably dates to the Middle Byzantine period. This was indicated by the following evidence:

- architectural remains such as stones, mortar fragments, two tiles whose finger-signs matched those of tiles found in the pre-thirteenth-century strata,
- a stratum with intense concentration of fire-residues,
- two hearths surrounded by sea-shells on the ground.

On the same avenue (*Kostadima Plot*) a Byzantine building-complex and road have also been discovered (fig. 23).¹⁶² The complex was built in masonry consisting of large-scale rubble set in mortar with spolia (ancient ashlar) placed at the corners of the walls; horizontal courses of single rows of tile-fragments randomly interrupt the rubble.

Last but not least, at the junction of Mourganas St. and Komenou Ave. (*Spai-Yanaki Plot*) yet another Byzantine house of the twelfth or thirteenth century came to light (fig. 24). It measured 15.10 × 7.70 m and its walls were 0.80 m thick. They were built in masonry consisting of rubble and tile-fragments set in mud mortar while the floors were pebble-pavements. The building consisted of two ground-floor rooms (it is not clear whether a first floor also existed) of which one was either unroofed or partly roofed. This house is probably related to the nearby Byzantine house excavated in Mourganas St.: it was built of coursed squared-rubble masonry with tile-fragments set in the joints. Pebble floors were later additions. Some of the 0.50–0.70 m thick walls had been founded on a stratum containing intense concentrations of fire-residues.

Commentary

Since more detailed reports of the archaeological evidence from the Komenou-Mourganas-E951 Complex have yet to be published, the development of the buildings cannot be precisely dated – if that was ever allowed by the hectic conditions something which is in any case rarely possible given the time constraints of such rescue-excavations. What can be deduced from the brief reports published in the 1990s is that this was once a cluster of houses which belonged to a residential quarter communicating with others via the road discovered in the same excavation.

¹⁶² For the road see Part 2 – Chapter 1.I.7. below.

It has been suggested that this quarter developed during the thirteenth century, yet a closer reading between the lines of the reports reveals that the site was already inhabited even earlier and that several buildings had thirteenth-century additions to rooms or other spaces. It is also very clear that certain thirteenth-century houses were built on spaces which had previously had a different use involving fire; as two pottery kilns with their deposition-pits were found in this area (Highway E951, *Christogiorgou Plot*) one may suspect that this could have been an area in which industrial facilities had been located prior to the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the construction of certain twelfth–fourteenth-century graves (in this quarter's cemetery revealed at *Charitou-Manara Plots*, Komenou Ave.) had disturbed the pavements of earlier houses.¹⁶³ Based on the above arguments, I believe that some residential districts, including a few potters' workshops, must have existed here from the early period of the formation of a nuclear settlement around the Castle of Arta, i.e. from around the eleventh–twelfth centuries onwards. The strata showing extensive concentrations of fire-residues must have corresponded to destruction by fire of parts of this Middle Byzantine quarter.

When it comes to the types of houses discovered in this neighbourhood of Byzantine Arta, the horizontal development of spaces with the addition of extra rooms, the presence of at least one open- or semi-open-space and the absence of a first floor immediately brings to mind examples of Middle Byzantine houses.¹⁶⁴ Rubble masonry, reuse of spolia and earth-floors are also construction features common to twelfth–thirteenth-century houses.¹⁶⁵ Compared to the twelfth-century house excavated in Eleftherna the houses in Arta have similar features but are much smaller.¹⁶⁶ However, on the one hand the number of examples does not represent an adequate sample of Middle Byzantine housing and on the other the report of the rescue-excavation of the Komenou-Mourganass-E951 Complex does not allow any further conclusions to be drawn. Evidence for the twelfth-century residential quarters located at the heart of the settlement of Arta (in the Ancient Theatre and on Ag. Vassileiou St, near the castle) would have been extremely helpful in evaluating the finds of the Komenou-Mourganass-E951 Complex; unfortunately these sites were too disturbed

¹⁶³ For that cemetery see Part 2 – Chapter 1.I.3. above.

¹⁶⁴ Sigalos 2004, 59–64.

¹⁶⁵ Rheidt 1991, 22–26; Kalpaxis et al. 2008, 17–18.

¹⁶⁶ See Kalpaxis et al. 2008, 17–18.

due to later reuse of that space and could not provide any evidence of houses.

1.I.5. *Industrial Buildings (Table 5)*

Archaeological remains related to industrial activities have been located in the aforementioned Byzantine residential quarter in Arta, at Glosses in Kandila, Managouli near Efpalio and Koronissia.

On the outskirts of Arta (along the Highway E951, *Christogiorgou Plot*) a Byzantine cemetery was discovered next to two pottery kilns with their deposition-pits. They were part of a residential quarter of which several parts have been discovered in the same area.¹⁶⁷ Certain thirteenth-century houses in this complex were built on spaces which had once had a different use involving fire; therefore one suspects that it might have been an industrial area during the Middle Byzantine period. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the fact that the construction of certain twelfth–fourteenth-century graves in the cemetery had disturbed the pavement-floors of earlier houses.

At Glosses in Kandila, a construction related to the repair of an ancient dam (which created a water-reserve for the irrigation of the nearby settlement) should be dated to the Middle Byzantine period (fig. 25).¹⁶⁸ It is a building whose original construction is contemporary with the first repair of the dam (dated in the seventh–eleventh centuries). It was located on the left bank of the valley, right underneath the dam with which it was connected by a channel. This building, which seems to have served as a *nero-trivio* (i.e. place for traditional washing of sheep-wool) at some point, must originally have been used either as a water-storage facility or – more probably – as a water-mill. It was built adjacent to the rock; one wall parallel to the rock and a transverse one were built to form at least one, roughly rectangular, room.

Two more water-mills seem to have been related to two important Middle Byzantine monasteries, Varnakova in Efpalio and Korakonissia in Koronissia. The first, called *Ferit-Agha Mill*, is located in Dorida near the village Managouli and is mentioned in the sources as belonging to the Varnakova Monastery. The building survives to some height and is built in rubble-and-brick masonry. Its plan has been published: it is a rectangu-

¹⁶⁷ These have been discussed in Part 2 – Chapter 1.I.4. above.

¹⁶⁸ The settlement has been dated to the 7th–11th centuries, as discussed in Part 2 – Chapters 1.I.3. and 1.I.4. above. For the repair of the water-dam during the Middle Byzantine period see Part 2 – Chapter 1.I.6. below.

Table 5. Industrial Buildings.

C/N	Site Number – Name
1	8 – Agios Ilias, tower*
2	48 – Kandila, Glosses
3	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill
4	105 – Stratos, ancient Stratiki
5	106 – Trigardo*, ancient Oeniades

lar room with its entrance located in one of the short walls (fig. 26). The facilities of the second water-mill, in Koronissia, must have occupied one of the south annexes of the Theotokos church.

Some remains of Hellenistic potters' workshops have been excavated on two sites, Stratos and Oiniades; there is no mention as to whether they were reused at later times. The question remains whether the Byzantine tower-like construction in Agios Ilias, NW of Aetolikion, was built for fortification or industrial purposes.

Last but not least, a large kiln has been excavated at Ag. Triada Hill by the coast, near Kato Vassiliki (fig. 27). It was located close to a deposition pit with residues of metallurgical waste; the use of the pit until the Early Byzantine period has been confirmed. However, the shape of the kiln recalls Byzantine kilns used in the production of brick and tiles.¹⁶⁹

1.1.6. *Water Supply Facilities and Water System Management (Table 6)*

Cisterns

Several types of cisterns (discussed below in paragraphs 1–3) have been observed in the investigated sites.

1. The first type of cistern is a square – or rectangular – plan construction approximately 3m wide and 3–6.50 m long. Such buildings were built either in stone masonry or (in one case)¹⁷⁰ brick masonry or more usually in mixed stone-and-brick masonry (fig. 28). They were covered either by a saddle-roof or a barrel-vault while their interior (both walls and floor) were rendered with a thick layer of hydraulic lime mortar (*kourasani*).¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Ousterhout 1999, 131.

¹⁷⁰ In Lyssimachia.

¹⁷¹ This type of cistern has been identified in the following sites, Ag. Nikolaos cave-monastery on W Varassova, Ag. Pateres cave-monastery on N-E Varassova, Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsonda, Aetos Castle (outer line of fortification walls), Ag. Paraskevi tou

Table 6. Water Supply Facilities.

6.1. CISTERNS	
C/N	SITE NUMBER / NAME
1	5 – Aetos, Castle*
2	10 – Ambelia, Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou
3	12 – Amfilochia, Castle*
4	50 – Kandila, Ag. Eleoussa
5	66 – Ligovitsi, Castle and Panagia Monastery*
6	68 – Lyssimachia, Ypsili Panagia
7	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle*
8	86 – Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili
9	101 – Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery (old church)*
10	109 – Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres
11	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos
12	111 – Varassova W, Ag. Nikolaos
13	116 – Vonitsa, Castle*
6.2. WATER PIPES	
C/N	SITE NUMBER / NAME
1	10 – Ambelia, Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou
2	109 – Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres
3	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos
6.3. AQUEDUCTS	
C/N	SITE NUMBER / NAME
1	62 – Lefkada, Koulmos,
2	88 – Nikopolis
6.4. WELLS	
C/N	SITE NUMBER / NAME
1	69 – Macheras, Paleochori, Vristiana / Vlyziana
2	120 – Vonitsa, Panagia Peninsula, Panagia

The walls of the buildings observed in Aetos and Lyssimachia were approximately 0.80 m thick.

The dating of these buildings can be a problem, when there is no additional data (small finds, mortar dating etc.). The one located at Ag.

Drakou in Ambelia (in the Drakotrypa cave), Analipsi Castle, Lyssimachia (Ypsili Panagia), Amfilochia Castle and Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos cave-monastery on Mt. Arakynthos.

Nikolaos cave monastery on Mt. Varassova West has been considered to be contemporary with the Katholikon, i.e. ninth to tenth century, on the basis of their identical masonry. The rest of them may very well date around the same time, since these sites have also been dated to the ninth–twelfth centuries. Such a dating is endorsed by evidence from other parts of Greece. A similar cistern in Platamon Castle has been dated to the Middle Byzantine period, as it was ruined before the thirteenth century.¹⁷² Two more located in Rentina Castle have been dated to between the third and sixth century (cistern K39) and to the Middle Byzantine period (cistern K, dated between the sixth and some time before the tenth century).¹⁷³ Another one at Emborio has been dated to the seventh to ninth centuries.¹⁷⁴ The dating is also confirmed by textual evidence: Maurice's *Strategicon* offers some information on the construction of cisterns during this period. According to the text cisterns had specific dimensions, their walls were usually built in rubble masonry up to a certain height though they could also be made of wood.¹⁷⁵

2. The second group of cisterns involves subterranean, rectangular constructions built under other buildings. They often consisted of several (2–4), adjoining and communicating, long, vaulted (often barrel-vaulted) rooms (fig. 29). In the ceiling there was a rectangular or circular hole (of ca. 0.60 m diam.) which served to pump water from the ground-floor to the upper storey or storeys of the buildings.¹⁷⁶ Their masonry consisted of squared stones or bricks laid in courses while the internal walls and the floors were also rendered with a thick layer of hydraulic lime mortar. It seems that the technology for the construction of this type of cistern was in use for a very long time, since similar cisterns in Rendina have been dated to the Early Byzantine period (K1 and K3) and to the tenth century (K2 and K4), in Platamonas probably to the fourteenth century and in Monemvasia and Castro Franco to the post-Byzantine periods.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Loverdou-Tsigarida et al., 1999, 458–9; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2006, 39.

¹⁷³ Cistern K39, Moutsopoulos 2001, 148–150, 402, 477; Cistern K, Moutsopoulos 2001, 133–137, 441–447.

¹⁷⁴ Balance et al. 1989, 69–70.

¹⁷⁵ Maurice, *Strategicon*, δ', 48–62, σ. 350. See also Part 3 – Chapter 2.

¹⁷⁶ This type has been identified in the castles of Vonitsa, Aetos and Nafpaktos as well as in Ag. Nikolaos cave-monastery on S Varassova.

¹⁷⁷ For Rendina see, Moutsopoulos 2001, 72, 143–148, 253–258, 450–462 (Cisterns K1, K3) and 146–148, 462–475, 483–484 (Cisterns K2, K4). For Platamonas see Loverdou-Tsigarida et al. 1999, 457; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2006, 39. For Monemvasia see, Evgenidou 2001, 87–88. For Castro Franco see Hodgetts, Lock 1996, 80, 89, pls. 2a, 2b.

3. The third group consists of small, rectangular or square cisterns chiselled out of solid rock.¹⁷⁸ They are impossible to date where additional evidence is lacking; on the basis of the general dating of their sites we may assume that they belong to the original construction phase of the cave monasteries (tenth–twelfth centuries) but probably remained in use even later.

The existence of such cisterns at Kambos, Vlochos, Katochi and Paravola, mentioned in the literature, was not confirmed by the survey.

Wells

The use of wells for water-supply has been mentioned in relation to the sites of Panagia peninsula near Vonitsa and Paleochori (Vristiana) near Macheras.

Water Pipes

Pipes used for collecting rain-water from the roofs and channelling it into cisterns have been preserved in four of the investigated sites.¹⁷⁹ In Ag. Pateres and Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou the pipes have been dated to the Byzantine period. The former was made of linked *spathia* vessels and the latter of joined-up pieces of ceramic pipe. The pipe in Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos was made of wood, which is quite unusual, though it has not been dated.¹⁸⁰

Aqueducts

Two pre-existing aqueducts seem to have remained in use during the Middle Byzantine period on the sites of Nikopolis and of Koulmos in Lefkada. While that of Lefkada is not visible today, no evidence of Middle Byzantine repairs was observed at the remaining part of the aqueduct of Nikopolis at Ag. Georgios, Preveza.

Dams and Reservoirs

A repair to an ancient dam at Glosses in the Kandila plain must be dated to between the seventh and tenth century (fig. 30). This dam created a

¹⁷⁸ This type has been identified in Ag. Pateres cave-monastery on N-E Varassova, in Ag. Eleoussa cave-monastery in Kandila and in Ligovitsi Castle.

¹⁷⁹ These are the northern cave of the Ag. Pateres cave-monastery complex on N-E Varassova, in Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou near Ambelia, in Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos cave-monastery in Mt. Arakynthos and probably in Ag. Nikolaos cave-monastery on S Varassova.

¹⁸⁰ The cave was inhabited from the tenth to the 19th c.

reservoir which supplied the nearby contemporary settlement with water. These facilities were repaired and used at least in two separate later periods. It seems that this later work aimed simply to repair damage caused by successive overflows of water from the dam. Mortar was used to cover and repair the outer facrendering of the dam wall, which had broken in one spot revealing the rubble infill of the core. The mortar used during the first repair obviously decayed at some later period and was replaced by a fresh layer. The first repair is dated in the Middle Byzantine period while the second was probably made during the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

Works for Water-system Management

As indicated by the results of the Nikopolis Project survey, other work related to the management of a settlement's water system took place at some time between the tenth and the fifteenth century (map 6).¹⁸¹ This aimed to divert the Louros river course, possibly during a time of alluvial crises causing flooding problems. Floods had been causing swamps to form at a rapid rate from ca. AD 750 onwards, and by ca. 1000 they occupied the entire area between the hill of the Rogoi Castle and Mt. Mavrovouni. The construction works were intended to prevent the formation of further swamps (by diverting the river-bed towards the NW and thus leading the water-course westwards (i.e. towards the Nikopolis area). Several successive river-mouth formations created as a result of this diversion project have been located in different locations between Rogoi Castle and the Preveza peninsula. The result of this human intervention in the area's water system must have achieved some drainage of the swamps to the south-west of Rogoi Castle, producing a reduction in flooding and diseases as well as an increase in arable land for cultivation.

1.I.7. *Road System (Table 7)*

Some parts of the Byzantine land-road system have been revealed in five investigated sites.¹⁸² In Nikopolis a road constructed during the Roman period seems to have been repaired and remained in use. By contrast, in the rest of the sites the roads were constructed according to Byzantine practice.

¹⁸¹ This issue has been discussed in detail in Part 1 – Chapter 2 above.

¹⁸² These are Nikopolis, Kefalos, Mytikas in Kandila, Nafaktos and Arta.

Table 7. Land-Roads.

C/N	SITE NUMBER / NAME
1	26 – Arta, Komenou Ave.
2	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia
3	55 – Kefalos
4	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle*
5	88 – Nikopolis

On Kefalos, a small road was used to communicate between the several free-standing buildings of the residential complex to the west of Basilica 'B' (fig. 8). It was 1.75 m wide, yet we have no information on its construction, if indeed it was anything other than a layer of pressed earth. It was dated to the same period as the residential complex i.e. in the seventh century.

In Mytikas, Kandila, two paved roads have been discovered as part of the residential complex to the N of the basilica of Ag. Sophia. The first road was 2 m wide and ran SE-NW, almost parallel to the line of houses, along their southern side (fig. 9). It was paved with large cobblestones. The second road was located in front of the northern propylon of the basilica's narthex. That was paved with smaller cobblestones and its northern side was defined by vertical slabs; a similar arrangements and definition of pathways is found at Emborio, on Chios.¹⁸³ Both roads allowed communication between the built spaces along their sides. They were contemporary with those parts of the residential complex, thus they have been dated to the seventh–eleventh centuries.

In Nafpaktos a part of the cobblestone road leading from the lower to the higher levels of the fortifications came to light. It started from around the middle of the W arm of the sea walls and led to the top of the citadel passing through the three successive gates. No details of its construction and precise dating have been published.

Last but not least, in Arta (Komenou Ave./*Kostadima Plot*) a large Byzantine street led outside the town towards the location of the Kato Panagia Monastery. This wall was adjacent to the remains of a built complex (probably residential) dated to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries and later (fig. 23). It had four successive construction layers, all dated to the Byzantine period – and had obviously been repaired several times. It was constructed of a mixture of small cobblestones and pebbles, pressed

¹⁸³ Balance et al. 1989, 52, 61–62.

earth, sand and crushed brick, all covered by a thin top layer of sand and crushed brick. Its estimated width is more than 3 m. The road's successive layers have not been more precisely dated. Of published Byzantine roads, the one at Pydna Castle (in Kitros, N. Pieria, Greece) was constructed using the same technique as the one in Arta; the road at Pydna has been dated to the tenth century.¹⁸⁴

1.1.8. *Harbour Facilities (Table 8)*

One might expect that ports constructed in antiquity would have remained in use in later periods including the Middle Byzantine. This probably happened in several of the investigated sites at least for a part of that period.¹⁸⁵ However, this cannot be confirmed at this point for two reasons:

- a) the ancient port facilities are nowadays located underwater and remain largely unexplored by marine archaeological projects and
- b) the different heights of the sea level have not so far been precisely or even relatively dated, so as to allow conclusions as to the exact periods of time when these facilities were accessible and usable.

On the other hand, Byzantine port facilities, sometimes made of wood, are not necessarily traceable without underwater excavation.¹⁸⁶

In only four cases is there evidence for the use of earlier or contemporary port facilities during the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁸⁷ In Vonitsa the remains of the Early Byzantine fortification and a jetty- or dock-construction have been located underwater but not yet been investigated. In Oiniades (Trigardo) a part of the Hellenistic shipsheds seems to

Table 8. Harbour Facilities.

C/N	SITE NUMBER / NAME
1	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill
2	62 – Lefkada, Koulmos, Castle
3	94 – Phidokastro*
4	106 – Trigardo*
5	116, 117 – Vonitsa, quayside

¹⁸⁴ Marki 1999, 40.

¹⁸⁵ Earlier ports were in use in Vonitsa, Kato Vassiliki, Oiniades (Trigardo), Phidokastro and Koulmos in Lefkada.

¹⁸⁶ See Kingsley 2001, 69–88.

¹⁸⁷ This happens on the sites of Vonitsa, Oiniades, Phidokastro and Lefkada.

have been used as a small harbour in Byzantine times. This was a large, solid building which still survives to a considerable height (fig. 31). A rectangular room seems to have been the first addition to the old building occupying its northern part. Another transverse wall was later added to the W, after the shipsheds had been abandoned and partly ruined. The purpose of these later additions was to isolate a small part of the original large building and use it as a place of anchorage and for floating and repairing boats.

In Phidokastro port remains are also now located underwater. Earlier researchers provide descriptions of that complex as a fortified port consisting of an enceinte and a tower. The site seems to have covered a total area of 150×100 m approximately (fig. 32).

Finally, the ancient port of Koulmos in Lefkada survived in good condition until 1948 when it was destroyed and sank during an earthquake. Its jetty was about 600 m long and 8–10 m wide. The port was divided into two parts (east and west) and its entrance was 35 m wide. There is no archaeological evidence that these facilities had been repaired and used during the Middle-Ages and, if so, for how long so. Oral tradition mentions a second, Byzantine harbour in this area, located at a short distance to the south; given the intensive geological phenomena causing periodic changes in the sea bed, it is quite likely that the place of anchorage had to be relocated from time to time.¹⁸⁸ In any case, the archaeological site to be identified with the port mentioned by Liutprand of Cremona in the tenth-century text is as yet unknown.¹⁸⁹

1.II. BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

1.II.1. *Building Materials and Methods*

The buildings discussed in Chapter 1.I. have similar kinds of masonry and construction materials. They were built in a variety of rubble masonry (with or without mortar) with bricks and/or tile fragments set in the joints; several different variations on this basic construction method are found in Greece over several centuries, from the Byzantine to the Ottoman period. As already observed by Meksi,¹⁹⁰ the fact that the same basic construction

¹⁸⁸ On this matter, see discussion in relevant Inventory entry, in Part 5 below.

¹⁸⁹ See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 – Chapter 2 below.

¹⁹⁰ Meksi 1995, 207.

method and techniques were used diachronically, despite the technical progress made in construction, can be explained by: a) the continuing use of building materials available in a specific locality, b) the persistence of similar conditions in the production of construction and c) the persistence of a similar level of technical ability among builders.

However, the buildings present a remarkable variety of construction techniques all related to the general method of rubble masonry. These techniques are:

1. dry rubble masonries,
2. rubble masonries using of lime-mortar,
3. rubble masonries using mud-mortar,
4. brick- alternating with stone-masonries (*opus mixtum*) using mud- or lime-mortar.

Brick masonry (*opus testaceum*) was found in a limited number of buildings, none of which are dated to the seventh-twelfth centuries.

All the aforementioned construction techniques are relatively common in Byzantine buildings. They are also mentioned in a eleventh-century Byzantine text which refers to the construction of religious and secular buildings which are: *κατασκευαί ξηροῖς λίθοις, διὰ ἐγχωρήγου ὕλης, λιθοπηλόκτισται, λιθοπλιθόκτισται, πλινθόκτισται*.¹⁹¹ A detailed account of their use in Epirote buildings is given below.

Stonemasonry

1. Dry Rubble Masonry

Dry rubble masonry occurs quite frequently in buildings in the investigated area, especially in humble constructions and retaining walls. It is impossible to date in the absence of other kinds of evidence (use of spolia, small finds etc.). Furthermore, in certain cases of walls discovered by survey and partly covered by vegetation, it is difficult to tell whether the rubble masonry was initially dry or whether mud-mortar had been used but been gradually washed away by rain-water.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ I refer to a typikon of sebastos John Komnenos for the Iviron Monastery; for the text see *Actes d'Iviron*, 2: no. 52 (1104), esp. lines 186–93, 228–330, 428–40, and for its discussion in relation to Byzantine architecture see Giros 1992 (esp. on masonries see pp. 425–426).

¹⁹² E.g. at Stratos (Sorovigli) or in some parts of the castles of Paravola and Astakos.

The “ξηροῖς λίθοις” (dry-stone) technique is related to urgent constructions such as Byzantine fortifications mentioned in the sources and found in surviving buildings in Chalkidiki and elsewhere in the Balkans.¹⁹³ Although such buildings most probably existed in the investigated area, they cannot yet be identified as Byzantine.

2. Rubble Masonry (*opus incertum*)

2a. Rubble Masonry (*opus incertum*) with the Use of Lime Mortar

The “διὰ ἐγχωρήγου ὕλης” (i.e. “rustic masonry”) construction method is mentioned in a tenth-century text as ideal for the building of fortifications,¹⁹⁴ this is confirmed by plenty of archaeological evidence.¹⁹⁵ Rubble masonry using lime-mortar was used for a very long time in Greece from the Byzantine period up to modern-times. Thus it is very difficult to date without additional evidence (chemical analysis of mortars or other components, use of spolia, small finds etc.).

In the investigated area this construction method is very common. It is rarely found in buildings entirely constructed of stone;¹⁹⁶ usually brick- or tile-fragments are set – instead of or in addition to gallets – in the joints of the rubble masonry not as a structural component but to fill the irregular spaces between the stones.¹⁹⁷ There are many variations in the composition of mortars used in this building technique.¹⁹⁸

Additional archaeological or historical evidence allows some buildings to be precisely dated; consequently this allows us to correlate the different *opus incertum* techniques used in the specific buildings with a more precise period of time. This is easier in the case of religious buildings because they often have several sorts of datable decoration or other details (inscriptions etc.). The variations in *opus incertum* masonry in fortifications or other secular buildings are often much more difficult to date.

2b. Rubble Masonry (*opus incertum* using mud mortar)

The same dating difficulties are exacerbated when it comes to rubble masonries using mud mortar. This kind of rubble masonry is very com-

¹⁹³ Giros 1992, 426; Papagelos 1994, 37; Popovic 1997, 135–8.

¹⁹⁴ Maurice, *Strategicon*, δ', 35–36, p. 348. See also Giros 1992, 426.

¹⁹⁵ See examples of the Middle Byzantine period in Papagelos 1994; Papathanassiou 1999. See also below Chapter 1.II.2.A. for a detailed account of the techniques.

¹⁹⁶ E.g. in the cave-monastery of Agios Nikolaos on S Varassova.

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 1.II.2. below.

¹⁹⁸ See also the section on mortars, below.

mon in buildings in the investigated area, though, I must admit, in several cases later repairs have made it impossible to detect the original mortars. Rubble masonry using mud mortar seems to be associated more with the early medieval period (eighth–tenth century),¹⁹⁹ as is also the case in other parts of Greece.²⁰⁰

Both the aforementioned rubble masonry techniques (2.I and 2.II) are found in Byzantine buildings in Greece in a diversity of types with brick- or tile-fragments and/or gallets (*ᾠστραχα*)²⁰¹ set in the joints of the stones. Different variations are recognizable depending, for example, on the extent to which the stones are cut and dressed, the arrangement of the stones and their relation to the brick components, the use of spolia²⁰² and the composition of the mortar.²⁰³ Superficially, different techniques – i.e. as different combinations of the above elements – are associated with different time-periods in Byzantine architecture. However, this is not a safe dating criterion since imitation was a very common practice in Byzantine architecture, especially in religious architecture.²⁰⁴

In buildings in the investigated area two large groups of rubble masonry variations have been identified, which are differentiated by the degree of availability of bricks:²⁰⁵

- I. variations consisting of alternations of stone and brick masonry each confined to different parts of the building (stone masonry being used in the construction of walls and bricks in domes and arches),
- II. variations consisting of alternations of stone and brick masonry in the same parts of the building, where brick components are inset among the stones either irregularly (as gallets) or in regular fashion (in courses or alligned or according to the cloisonné system or used in a more or less systematic way in the joints as gallets).

¹⁹⁹ This happens in the sites of Astakos, Aetos, Glosses at Kandila, and Koulmos in Lefkada.

²⁰⁰ At Rendina, Thessaloniki and Emborio on Chios, as discussed in the section on mortars, below.

²⁰¹ Ousterhout 1999, 134.

²⁰² See Chapter 1.II.2. below.

²⁰³ See also section on mortars below.

²⁰⁴ Bouras, Boura 2002, 380.

²⁰⁵ See also Chapter 1.II.2. below.

Further categories could be formed depending on the size and extent to which the stones had been dressed as well as the arrangement of stone and brick components, as is familiar from Byzantine architecture:

- i. random rubble masonry in which unhewn stones and often *spolia*²⁰⁶ are set in mortar but not laid in regular courses,
- ii. speckled masonry (or squared, uncoursed rubble masonry) where roughly-dressed or tile-shaped stones and often *spolia* are arranged in irregular courses and the gaps left by the stones' irregular shapes are filled in with gallets and brick-/tile-fragments,
- iii. squared, coursed rubble masonry where dressed or roughly-dressed stones and often *spolia* are set in approximate courses.

3. *Mixed System of Stone and Brick Masonry (opus mixtum)*

This method is called “λιθοπηλόκτιστον” in Byzantine texts with reference to the construction of both religious and secular buildings.²⁰⁷ It consists of alternating courses of squared rubble masonry and courses of brick masonry. In Middle Byzantine texts it is mentioned in relation to the construction of both small and large churches, houses, refectories and kitchens.²⁰⁸

Genuine *opus mixtum* is found within the investigated area in Early Byzantine constructions.²⁰⁹ Yet, in Middle Byzantine buildings on the investigated sites, it is usually found in variations which combine features of both *opus mixtum* and *opus incertum*; in these variations rubble masonry involving significant use of brick-/tile-gallets and brick masonry is used in domes and arches. These variations are common in the ‘Helladic School’ of Byzantine architecture and they will be discussed later.²¹⁰

Brick Masonry (opus testaceum)

Of the investigated sites, only in Nikopolis were several buildings made of brick masonry throughout and all have been dated to the Roman period. Evidently the method was not used here in the Middle Byzantine period, though this was not the case in other Byzantine provinces.²¹¹ Middle

²⁰⁶ For the use of *spolia* see relevant section below.

²⁰⁷ Giros 1992, 428; George Acropolis, *History* (ed. Heisenberg 1903), 74.

²⁰⁸ Giros 1992, 427.

²⁰⁹ E.g. in Nikopolis.

²¹⁰ See below chapter 1.II.2.

²¹¹ E.g. in Greek Macedonia.

Byzantine texts mention that this method, as well as being used in religious architecture, was also employed in the construction of the upper storeys of secular public buildings and houses as well as for kitchens and ovens (*κατασκευαί πλινθόκτισται*).²¹² Yet, in Middle Byzantine buildings of the investigated area brick masonries are found only in parts of buildings constructed in *opus-mixtum* and *opus incertum*.

Solid Rock Constructions

Another solution was found in the case of constructions in cave monasteries. Together with some constructions of rubble masonry many facilities are merely chiseled out of solid rock.²¹³

Mortars

As already mentioned, the use of two different kinds of mortars has been observed in buildings of the investigated sites: lime mortar²¹⁴ and mud mortar.²¹⁵

In Byzantine architecture, although rubble masonries with lime mortar were considered more suitable for aristocratic constructions such as large churches or even residences, it seems that the cheaper mud mortars were likewise used in the construction not only of modest public buildings but also of residences and occasionally for churches.²¹⁶ A significant difference was that the constructor's warranty for buildings made with mud-mortar was only six years, as compared to the 10-year-warranty for lime-mortar buildings.²¹⁷

Lime Mortars

Among the mortars made of limestone,²¹⁸ which were found in buildings of the investigated area, several types have been further distinguished:²¹⁹

²¹² Giros 1992, 427–8.

²¹³ This has happened at the sites of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos on Mt. Arakynthos and Ag. Eleoussa in Kandila.

²¹⁴ Lime mortars were used in buildings at most investigated sites.

²¹⁵ Mud mortars were definitely used in buildings at the following sites, Stratos (agora), Ag. Triada Hill near Kato Vassiliki, Koulmos in Lefkada, Castle of Nafpaktos.

²¹⁶ Ousterhout 1999, 134–135.

²¹⁷ This is mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch* (pp. 139–143). See discussions by Giros 1992, 428; Ousterhout 1999, 50.

²¹⁸ See Ousterhout 1999, 133–136.

²¹⁹ The discrimination of mortar types was made not only by macroscopic examination but also by means of a microscopic examination of samples, performed at the School of

1. Mortar type 1 is relatively brittle, large-grained, of whitish colour and contains sand or crushed brick and gypsum.²²⁰
2. Mortar type 2 is relatively brittle, large-grained, of pinkish-yellow colour and it contains various aggregates such as pebbles, gravel, clay, gypsum or brick dust.²²¹
3. Mortar type 3 is very hard, coarse and very white (probably with having a substantial lime content).²²²
4. Mortar type 4 is very hard, smooth, without aggregates, of whitish-grey colour (also probably with a substantial lime content).²²³
5. Mortar type 5 is very hard, hydraulic, of pink or pinkish-white colour, containing crushed brick or brick dust and perhaps volcanic deposits (e.g. Thera soil earth).²²⁴ This type was used exclusively in the construction of cisterns.²²⁵

Byzantium inherited the technology for the production of several types of mortar from earlier cultures.²²⁶ As regards the five types which are most often found in the investigated area, different types are associated with chronologically different phases of the buildings on certain sites.²²⁷ Mortar type 1 is a characteristic feature of Early Byzantine building in Nikopolis; this also applies to Rendina.²²⁸ Type 2 is associated with the eleventh–fourteenth-century constructions at Pyli, Kos, while type 3 is associated with the fifteenth–sixteenth-centuries at the same site.²²⁹ Type 3 is also common in Frankish and Venetian architecture while type 4 is common in Ottoman architecture in the Peloponnese.²³⁰

Chemical Engineers of the National Technological University of Athens, for which I am grateful to Professor N. Spyrellis.

²²⁰ This type is found, for example, in Nikopolis.

²²¹ This type is found, for example, at Aetos, Castle of Nafpaktos, Nikopolis, castle at Riza, tower at Ag. Ilias.

²²² This type is found, for example, at Castle of Nafpaktos, Aetos, Parigoritissa, Castle of Vonitsa, Rogoi.

²²³ This type is found, for example, at Angelokastro (outer line of fortification walls), Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Ton Karaviadon in Lefkada (narthex) and Koimisi Theotokou Sto Limani in Vonitsa (old church).

²²⁴ Foss, Winfield 1986, 26.

²²⁵ See above Chapter 1.I.6.

²²⁶ Gourdin, Kingery 1975, 134; Ousterhout 1999, 133–136; Bardill 2008, 335–336.

²²⁷ This happens in the Castles of Astakos, Aetos, Nafpaktos and Rogoi.

²²⁸ Moutsopoulos 2001, 72.

²²⁹ Kondogyanis 2002, 38.

²³⁰ Knauss 1995, 149–150; Traquair 1905–1906, 261–263; Andrews 1978, 126–7.

Mortar types 1, 2 and 5 are considered to be Byzantine.²³¹ Type 1 is widely attested at least until the end of the fifth century; it is also used after that time but only in places located near urban centres where bricks were readily available.²³² Type 2 is an improved version of Type 1 and it dates from the seventh century onwards. This kind of mortar was much stronger than the older one and in some areas (e.g. in Cyprus) it contained gypsum.²³³

Mud Mortars

'Mud mortars' found in buildings in the investigated area consist simply of mud used in place of mortar. No differences in composition among Byzantine mud mortars have so far been discussed. Among Middle Byzantine buildings in Greece mud mortars are not uncommon. They seem, for example, to have been common in Middle Byzantine Greek Macedonia, where they were used for tenth-century repairs to fortifications at Longas Castle, for the construction of fortifications, houses and workshops at Rendina and in Thessaloniki.²³⁴ In Emborio, Chios it was also used in the construction of houses, streets and other buildings.²³⁵

Use of Spolia

A predominant feature of the buildings investigated in *Epirus* is the extensive use of *spolia* in their masonry. This is a generalized feature of all kinds of buildings (fortifications, other secular buildings, religious buildings etc.) throughout the seventh–twelfth centuries. Given that the area was densely inhabited in earlier periods, the extent of reuse of older building material is not surprising from a practical point of view.

As a practice, the recycling of building materials (called *spolia* from the Latin for 'spoils' indicating this building material was looted from older constructions – usually already in a state of disrepair) was in fact much older than Byzantium.²³⁶ Since the Early Byzantine period, *spolia* were also used continuously in construction throughout the Middle Ages in Byzantine and other architectural traditions.²³⁷ Their use does not seem to have relied simply on their availability but also had symbolic or aesthetic value.²³⁸

²³¹ Foss, Winfield 1986, 26–27; Ousterhout 1999, 133–134; Moropoulou et al. 2002.

²³² Foss, Winfield 1986, 26.

²³³ Foss, Winfield 1986, 27.

²³⁴ Moutsopoulos 1992b, 10; Moutsopoulos 2001, 123, 132.

²³⁵ Balance et al. 1989, 62–78.

²³⁶ Saradi 1997; Greenhalgh 1999; *Idem* 2009.

²³⁷ Ousterhout 1999, 140–145.

²³⁸ Saradi 1997.

When it comes in particular to fortification works though *spolia* were used extensively and associated with specific building techniques in fortifications in Greece and Asia Minor from the seventh and eighth centuries up to at least the ninth century (see below Chapter 1.II.2, § A.). This practice has been widely recorded and investigated around the south-eastern Mediterranean. It is associated with fortifications built not only by the Byzantines but also Arabs, Armenians, Seljuks, Ottomans and Crusaders, i.e. both Christians and Muslims, and it has been credited with a variety of practical, aesthetic and symbolic virtues.²³⁹

1.II.2. *Morphological Features and Chronology of Masonries*

A. *An Overview*

It was mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter that, according to current research, there are no strict morphological rules in Byzantine architecture, thus every building can only be interpreted in the context of its overall constructional, morphological and typological features.²⁴⁰ At the same time, it was also noted that such an interpretation exceeds the limits of this study. Nevertheless I think that remarks on the morphological features of the buildings investigated have to be made at this point, so as to point up certain dating issues.

Several structural and morphological elements, which are present in the investigated buildings, have been associated with specific periods of time; this link has been made based on the overall archaeological context of these buildings. This was the case with most of the religious buildings in the investigated area. When it comes to fortifications, by contrast, though some of them have been dated within the Byzantine period in general,²⁴¹ no explicit arguments have been presented nor have the datings been thoroughly explained though they have probably been based on morphological features or on non-archaeological (usually historical) evidence. I believe that a comparative study of the structure and morphology of all architectural remains would provide the opportunity for a provisional dating of as yet undated buildings.

²³⁹ Greenhalgh 1999.

²⁴⁰ Bouras, Boura 2002, 380.

²⁴¹ E.g. the tower at Katochi has been dated to the 14th c., the castle in Vonitsa to the Comnenian period, while the castles of Arta, Rogoi and Nafpaktos have been dated to the 13th c. and the Late Byzantine period (see relevant Inventory entries in Part 5 below).

1. Wall Construction

First of all, as far as the morphology of the masonry of walls is concerned, one may distinguish the following methods and/or styles:

TYPE 1 (fig. 33)

This masonry includes *opus mixtum* and variants thereof. The walls are built of alternating zones consisting of 3–4 courses of rubble and brick masonry. The stones are roughly dressed and set in mortar.²⁴² This most common Early Byzantine technique, as discussed above,²⁴³ has been considered typical of Justinianic fortifications²⁴⁴ and it remained in use unchanged in Constantinople in later periods.²⁴⁵ Its slightly different Middle- and Late Byzantine variations are found in fortifications in Thrace²⁴⁶ and Patra;²⁴⁷ in the investigated area they were observed in the Castles of Kalamos and Rogoi.

TYPE 2 (fig. 34)

This masonry consists of a facing made up of random-ashlars-built-in-courses and a rubble core. A careful facing is made of ashlar (mostly *spolia*) set in mortar in an effort to give the external appearance of *opus isodomum* at the same time as joining the oddly-sized ashlar in a stable construction. Therefore the gaps, which are due to the differences in shape of *spolia* of the size and extent of the original dressing, are filled with small rubble (gallets) and brick elements (brick- or tile-fragments). Gallets and brick-elements are inset in the mortar, positioned horizontally, vertically or diagonally and placed mostly in the vertical and less in the horizontal joints between the ashlar, in an irregular, non-systematic way.²⁴⁸ The latter mixture of materials (mortar with random rubble, gallets and brick-elements) is used to fill in the wall's core making it quite concrete and strong.

²⁴² This method is seen in the parts of the fortifications of Nikopolis, in the bastion of the castle in Nafpaktos, in Ag. Sophia at Mytikas, in the basilica at Megali Chora, in Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios, in the Panaxiotissa at Gavrolimni and in the castles of Rogoi and Kalamos.

²⁴³ Bouras 1994, 119; Marki 2001, 39–40; Foss, Winfield 1986, 129–131; Lawrence 1983, 188–200.

²⁴⁴ However, another building technique where stone masonry is set without layers of bricks is occasionally seen in fortifications of the same period of time; see Tsouris 1998, 421.

²⁴⁵ Bouras 1994, 219–220; Ousterhout 1999, 128.

²⁴⁶ E.g. at the Castle of Pythion at Didymoteicho (Tsouris 1998, 435) and elsewhere (see below Types 6 and 9).

²⁴⁷ Tryposkoufi, Tsitouri 2001, 109; Andrews 1978, 116.

²⁴⁸ For the technique see Korres 1993, 20–21, pl. I–II.

This method has been used in several fortifications in the investigated area.²⁴⁹ It has been suggested that the improvement in the strength of lime-mortars (see above mortar Type 2) generated this masonry as a development on Type 1 masonry.²⁵⁰ This suggestion based on the fact that type 2 masonries have been dated to the early medieval period (usually from the second half of the sixth to the eighth century, but also sometimes as early as the fifth century and as late as the tenth century)²⁵¹ in several Byzantine fortifications. Examples include fortifications in Patras, in Acrocorinth, in Hexamilion, in Albanian sites, in Pydna, in Thessaloniki (ninth–tenth-century phases of the Vardaris fort), in Kales, Drama, in Amphipolis, in Paradeisos, Nestos river, in Didymoteichon, in Samothrace (with no brick-elements), in Mythimna, Lesvos, in sites in Asia Minor and last but not least in Constantinople.²⁵² These kinds of fortification are quite massive constructions, though on occasion interest is shown in the aesthetic arrangement of the *spolia* and elaborate gates.²⁵³

TYPE 3 (fig. 35)

This type of masonry produces strong constructions similar to those of the Type 2-technique, but it is based on a different conception. It is random rubble masonry, using unhewn or very roughly dressed stones laid in Type 2 mortars and usually containing coarse aggregates such as tiny gravel or pebbles. Stones are arranged in apparently random patterns, with no courses and with the mortar entirely covering their joints and a large part of their external surfaces (it is possible that the walls' entire façades were plastered as in some Middle Byzantine buildings in other areas.²⁵⁴ A few brick-fragments are inset in the horizontal joints, horizontally or diagonally positioned. The use of *spolia* here is selective: they are placed in those parts of the building which needed a stronger structure, namely the lower

²⁴⁹ This method is used in parts of the castles of Nafpaktos, Arta, Astakos, Aetos, Koulmos in Lefkada and Rogoi.

²⁵⁰ Foss, Winfield 1986, 25–28, 162.

²⁵¹ Foss 1991, 799; Foss, Winfield 1986, 53–55, 162; Lawrence 1983, 200–209; Tsouris 1998, 435 (Limenas, Thassos).

²⁵² Andrews 1978, 126, 140 (fig. 144); Georgopoulou-Verra 2002, 161–167; Gregory 1993, 136 ff.; Meksi 1995, 208; Marki 1999, 72–73; Marki 1982, 55–56; Papathanassiou 1999, 92; Tsouris 1998, 423–424, 430, 435; Brikas, Tsouris 1999, 82–83; McCredie 1968, 204–207; Lawrence 1983, 213; Gounari 1999, 29; Foss, Winfield 1986, 53–55, 131–142, 162.

²⁵³ Foss, Winfield 1986, 162.

²⁵⁴ See for example the early medieval phase of Rendina Castle, dated between the 6th and some time before the 10th c. (Moutsopoulos 2001, 130–131) and the masonry of Longas Castle (Moutsopoulos 1992b, 9) as well as Foss, Winfield 1986, 131.

parts of walls or fortifications towers. In this method, there is no difference in masonry between facing and core except for the mortar revetment.

In the investigated area this type of masonry was observed in fortifications, religious and secular buildings.²⁵⁵ In Asia Minor it was used in modest fortifications (*refugia*) in the seventh century.²⁵⁶ Evidently due to its simplicity and the ease with which it could be built, it remained in use in the following – ninth–eleventh – centuries, sporadically reinforced by transverse wooden beams.²⁵⁷ The technique of using lengthwise or transverse wooden beams as reinforcement in rubble masonries is a practice which pre-dates Middle Byzantine architecture but seems to reappear at this time.²⁵⁸

In the same area of the Central Greek mainland, this technique has been dated to before the middle of the tenth century in religious buildings of the 'Helladic School'.²⁵⁹ Occasionally, *spolia* and brickwork are absent;²⁶⁰ this is also the case at Ag. Georgios Castle at Petrota, Rodopi.²⁶¹ Other Byzantine buildings made of this type of masonry have been located in Ioannina, at different sites in S Albania, at the Lavra Monastery in Athos, in Pydna, in Drama, in Philippoi, in Platamonas, in Rendina, in the Peloponnese (Castles of Acrocorinth, Methoni, Arcadia, Kalamata), in Didymoteicho, in Mythimna, Lesvos and in several sites in Asia Minor.²⁶²

TYPE 4 (fig. 36)

This type refers to masonries of random-rubble built in courses. *Spolia* are often used. The gaps left by variations in the size, and shape of the stones are mainly filled in with brick-elements and less often with gallets. The main difference between this type and Types 2–3 is that here the

²⁵⁵ This type is seen in parts of the castles of Aetos, Rogoi, Koulmos in Lefkada, Ag. Vasileios stin Gefyra in Arta, Ypsili Panagia in Lyssimachia, Angelokastro (gate) and Amfilochia (secular buildings).

²⁵⁶ Foss 1991, 799; Foss, Winfield 1986, 162.

²⁵⁷ Foss, Winfield 1986, 53–56; Velenis 1999; Mamaloukos 2005a, 14; Ousterhout 1999, 192–194.

²⁵⁸ For the relevant Byzantine techniques see Ousterhout 1999, 192–194; Mamaloukos 2005a.

²⁵⁹ E.g. in Episkopi, Evrytania, see Vocotopoulos 1992, 74, 142–146, esp. 199–208; Gkioles 1987, 117.

²⁶⁰ E.g. in the castles in Astakos and Aetos.

²⁶¹ Tsouris 1998, 430.

²⁶² Tsouris 1983, 134–135, pl. 2, types α and β; Meksi 1995, 208; Vogiatzis 1999, 20–21; Marki 1999, 72–73; Papathanassiou 1999, 92–93; Lawrence 1983, 213–214; Loverdou-Tsigarida et al. 1999, 456–457; Loverdou-Tsigarida et al. 2001, 401–2; Moutsopoulos 2001 (tenth-century phase); Andrews 1978, 221; Koumoussi 2001, figs. 18–20, 22; Brikas, Tsouris 1999, 82–83; Tsouris 1998, 430–431; Gounari 1999, 29–30; Foss, Winfield 1986, 125–159.

brick tends to be used in a way which is more conscious of the difference between it and gallets as a material: brick is used more widely, more systematically and regularly. It is placed in the horizontal and vertical joints and almost exclusively horizontally positioned so as to occasionally form continuous or interrupted horizontal courses of bricks (or sometimes to form whole zones of brickwork). Although essentially stone masonry this type also makes considerable, though never excessive, use of brick.²⁶³

This type of masonry has been observed in a great number and variety of sites in the investigated area.²⁶⁴ It is found from the mid-ninth-century onwards,²⁶⁵ once the extensive use of brick in the architecture of Byzantine fortifications has revived and the use of spolia has become more selective (see above *Type 3*).²⁶⁶ In Greece, masonries of this type to dated the same period have been noted in the mid-ninth–tenth-century fortifications of Pydna (with wooden reinforcement), in the castles of Kavala, Makri, Maroneia, Xanthi, Polystylo (Avdira) and Acrocorinth, and very frequently in Middle Byzantine religious buildings of the Post-Iconoclastic period.²⁶⁷

In particular, in the late-tenth-century church in the Castle of Pydna the masonry consists of alternating horizontal squared-rubble courses and single brick-courses, while parallel brick-fragments are placed, always in a horizontal position, in the vertical joints. A zone of six brick courses runs across the walls at a height of 1.50 m from the ground. This example is mentioned because it is exactly like the *Type 4* masonry at the Castle of Rogoi. This type was previously been dated in the beginning of the second millennium.²⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it has also been identified in fortifi-

²⁶³ Tsouris 1998, 433.

²⁶⁴ This method is seen in parts of the castles of Koulmos in Lefkada, Nafpaktos, Nikopolis (upper part and N external façade), Arta, Rogoi, Angelokastro and Trigardo, in the tower in Ag. Ilias, in Paravola (in parts of the castle as well as in the first phase of the apse of the Panagia church), in Vonitsa (in the castle as well as in a building in the N intermediate inner ward), in Astakos (castle and Church A), at Ag. Varvara in Stefani, at Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios (2nd phase), in the lower part of the walls of Episkopi in Mastro, in the basilica in Megali Chora, at the monastery of Panagia Trimitou (all buildings), at Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsonda (N wall), at the monastery of Panagia in Panagia peninsula near Vonitsa (Katholikon), at Skala near Nafpaktos (church), at Ag. Triada Hill in Kato Vassiliki (several buildings and retaining wall), at Stratos (buildings in the agora, built with mud mortar), at Ypsili Panagia in Lyssimachia, and at the 10th-century church on Kefalos.

²⁶⁵ Foss 1991, 799.

²⁶⁶ Foss, Winfield 1986, 162.

²⁶⁷ Marki 2001, 42; Marki 1999; Tsouris 1998, 433–434; Koumoussi 2001, 11, fig. 15, 27; Vocotopoulos 1992, 208; Gkioles 1987, 120.

²⁶⁸ Bouras 1994, 221.

cations at Petropigi, where it dates to the tenth century;²⁶⁹ in the citadels of Serres (with squared rubble but with vertically positioned bricks) and of Didymoteicho it dates rather later, in the twelfth century.²⁷⁰ Evidently, it remained in use during the Late Byzantine period in Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace in what is now Greece; by then the stones were of medium size and slightly dressed while brick-fragments – sometimes used sparsely and at other times very densely – were set in both the horizontal and the vertical joints (see also below *Type 9*).²⁷¹

TYPE 5 (fig. 37)

This type refers to either squared or undressed rubble built in courses alternating with continuous courses made of horizontally positioned bricks. In the vertical joints there is also an inset of parallel horizontal bricks.²⁷² This method is a development of the previous one (*Type 4*) and it must be also dated to the late ninth or the tenth century, as it is seen very frequently in fortifications (such as those in Gratini and Paradeissos on the Nestos river) and in religious buildings of this period.²⁷³ It is worth noting that, in the Castle of Rendina, where no bricks were available, two different kinds of stones were used – limestones as rubble and schist-stone slab-fragments in place of brick – in order to achieve the same result of alternate courses.²⁷⁴

The same technique is used in the eleventh century in a much more random version (see below *Type 6*) and in the twelfth century with a more prolific use of brick.²⁷⁵ In *Epirus*, in later periods, it was used in the fortifications of Ioannina.²⁷⁶

TYPE 6 (fig. 38)

This type of masonry is similar to *Type 5* with three main differences: a) the more haphazard arrangement of the different (stone and brick) elements in the façades, b) the use of wood reinforcements and c) the use

²⁶⁹ Tsouris 1998, 435.

²⁷⁰ Tsouris 1998, 437–438.

²⁷¹ Tsouris 1998, 438–439, 447.

²⁷² This method is seen in parts of the castles of Nafpaktos (enceinte, “baths” and old church of Ag. Ilias in the citadel’s N complex), of Rogoi, of Arta (‘Alichniotissa’), at Ag. Sophia in Mytikas (apse and annexe), at Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios (3rd phase), in Episkopi at Mastron (2nd phase), in the Panagia Alichniotissa in Vonitsa, at the Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsounda (S façade and pier of the N wall) and in the Panagia at Paravola.

²⁷³ Foss, Winfield 1986, 162; Tsouris 1998, 434; Gkioles 1987, 120.

²⁷⁴ Moutsopoulos 2001, 72–73, 252–253 (figs. 74–75).

²⁷⁵ Foss, Winfield 1986, 162.

²⁷⁶ E.g. it was used in the citadel (now Municipal Museum), parts of the enceinte and the “Bohemund Tower” (Tsouris 1983, 139, 135, pl. 2 – type γ).

of ‘recessed brick’ technique.²⁷⁷ This method has been dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries (in the Castle of Rendina and in Asia Minor) or the twelfth century (in a tower at Kosmosoteira Monastery).²⁷⁸

TYPE 7

TYPE 7a (fig. 39)

This type of masonry is fundamentally similar to *Type 5* but has developed into a kind of incomplete cloisonné system, since some parallel, horizontally positioned (or occasionally single, vertically positioned) brick-elements are set in the vertical joints.²⁷⁹

This type is found in religious buildings of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in buildings of the ‘Pre-Helladic School’ of Byzantine architecture in Epirus, Thessaly, and Albania.²⁸⁰ It was also used extensively in Greek Macedonia: in Kastoria, Thessaloniki, Verria, Drama, Serres, Kozani, Kavala and Rendina (tenth-century Π4 tower).²⁸¹ It is also typical in the construction of Byzantine fortifications in the Peloponnese (seen in Acrocorinth, Argos, Arcadia, Kalamata and Monemvasia), while it was also used in part of the Castle of Ioannina and in a tower of the fortifications at Maroneia.²⁸²

In Middle Byzantine fortifications, the abundant use of brick has been dated after the mid-eleventh century and until the mid-twelfth, hence it is possible that this type should be dated to that period.²⁸³ The same technique developed into a much more meticulous masonry, using only squared stone, which is dated a little later (see below *Type 8*).²⁸⁴

TYPE 7b (fig. 40)

This type of masonry is approximately contemporary with the previous one (*Type 7a*) and may represent a slightly later stage. It is a regular,

²⁷⁷ This type of masonry is seen in parts of the castles of Nafpaktos and Arta, and maybe also in that of Vonitsa.

²⁷⁸ Moutsopoulos 2001; Foss, Winfield 1986, 142–145, 162; Tsouris 1998, 437.

²⁷⁹ This type of masonry is seen in parts of the castles of Nikopolis (W gate), Nafpaktos (Kastraki), Rogoi (transverse wall and tower ‘E’), in the secular building inside the Castle of Arta (1st phase), in Ag. Georgios in Angelokastro (lower part of N wall), in Church A in Astakos Castle, and in Ag. Ioannis Prodromos at Nea Koukoura near Efpalio.

²⁸⁰ Vocotopoulos 1992 (1975), 199–210; Gkioles 1987, 120; Nikonanos 1997, 154–155; Meksi 1995, 208–210; Bouras dates this method in the eleventh c. (1994, 221).

²⁸¹ See Nikonanos 1997, 155 and note 572; Kakouris 1980; Moutsopoulos 2001, 252–255, figs. 74, 77, 78.

²⁸² Traquair 1905–1906, 261–263; Andrews 1978, 221; Evgenidou 2001, 62, fig. 83; Konstantios 2000, 18–19; Tsouris 1983, 135, pl. 2, type ε; Tsouris 1998, 436.

²⁸³ Foss, Winfield 1986, 162; Tsouris 1983, 148; Kakouris 1980, 250–251, 254–255.

²⁸⁴ See Kaponis 2006, 276–279.

simple cloisonné system using modern stones and vertically-positioned, single or double bricks set in the vertical joints.

This system appears in a few religious monuments and fortifications within the investigated area.²⁸⁵ However, it has been used in many buildings of the 'Helladic School' (in the eastern part of Central Greece as well in the Peloponnese and in several islands) between the second half of the tenth and the twelfth century.²⁸⁶ It was also used in twelfth- to thirteenth-century fortifications in Asia Minor and Albania.²⁸⁷ A similarly relaxed cloisonné system was also used in Late Byzantine monuments in *Epirus*; here the technique is more meticulous and the stones are squared.²⁸⁸

TYPE 8 (fig. 41)

This type refers to a strict, isodomic cloisonné system; occasionally double bricks are used vertically in the upper parts of walls while triple, parallel, bricks are used horizontally in the lower parts.²⁸⁹ This type of masonry was first used in the late twelfth-century²⁹⁰ and it became the most widespread technique used for the construction of thirteenth-century religious buildings in *Epirus* (as well as for the fortification of Ioannina).²⁹¹ It remained in use in *Epirus* and Thessaly until the nineteenth century.²⁹²

²⁸⁵ This type of masonry is seen in parts of the Castles of Nafpaktos (Kastraki), Rogoi (Tower 'E'), Arta ('Alichniotissa'), as well as in the Panagia at Koronissia, in the Panaxiotissa at Gavrolimni, in Ag. Dimitrios in E Varassova, in the Panagia Alichniotissa in Voni-tsa (upper part of N façade), the Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsonda (S façade), Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias in Plissioi and Ag. Ioannis Theologos near Efpalio.

²⁸⁶ Vocotopoulos 1992, 209; Gkioles 1987, 120–121. Bouras dates this type of masonry in the 11th c. (1994, 221).

²⁸⁷ Foss, Winfield 1986, 162; Foss 1982, 145–205; Meksi 1995, 208–9.

²⁸⁸ E.g. some churches in Arta and Ag. Georgios in Angelokastro, Kaponis 2006, 275–276.

²⁸⁹ This type of masonry is seen in parts of the Castles of Arta ('Alichniotissa'), Rogoi (Tower 'E'), Parigoritissa church in Arta, Metamorphosi church in Monastiraki, Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsonda (lower part of W façade and W part of N façade), Ag. Georgios in Angelokastro (upper part of N façade and apse), and secular building inside the Castle of Arta (2nd phase).

²⁹⁰ E.g. in the Panagia of the Cemetery, Argos (Bouras, Boura 2002, 78–79) and in fortifications in Asia Minor (Foss 1982, 145–205).

²⁹¹ See the 'Tower of Thomas' in Tsouris 1983, 135, pl. 2, type δ.

²⁹² See e.g. churches at Monastiraki, in Arta, Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsonda, Ag. Georgios in Angelokastro (19th c. repair of the apse and the N wall). Kaponis (2006) dates this type of masonry to between the mid-13th c. and the second quarter of the 14th. See also Nikonanos 1997, 156.

TYPE 9 (fig. 42)

This masonry consists of simple, random, rubble stonework to which a large amount of brick (mostly tile-fragments) is introduced in a completely haphazard and irregular manner. More rarely brick forms uneven, unstraight courses. Very often walls are reveted with a thick layer of hard, smooth mortar.

Masonries of this type are observed in many sites within the investigated area.²⁹³ This technique first appears during the second half of the twelfth century and becomes widespread from the thirteenth century onwards.²⁹⁴ It was also used during the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries in Euboia, Lamia, Thrace and Greek Macedonia, as well as in S Albania.²⁹⁵ It is also found throughout Epirote buildings dating from the Late Byzantine period up to the sixteenth century and it was also very frequently used in fortifications in the Peloponnese during the same period (whether Byzantine, Frankish or Venetian).²⁹⁶ This type of masonry continued to be imitated in later period: it was frequently used for repairs in several fortifications in the Peloponnese, where it has been dated to the Ottoman period.²⁹⁷

TYPE 10 (fig. 43)

This is a similar kind of masonry to the previous one (*Type 9*) but without the use of brick. It was found in only one site.²⁹⁸ Outside the investigated area it has been used in fortifications in Thrace where it has been dated to the Late Byzantine period.²⁹⁹ It was also often used for repairs to fortifications in the Peloponnese and along the Strymon River (Orfanion Castle),

²⁹³ This type of masonry was used at the tower in Katochi, as well as in the Castles of Nafpaktos, Vonitsa, Rogoi (upper parts of the enceinte), Koulmos in Lefkada, Aetos (secular building in the citadel) and Ai-Giannis in the cemetery of Vonitsa. There was mortar revetment on the walls of Ag. Ioannis Karavias at Vurnikas, Lefkada (narthex) and of some parts of the Castles of Arta and Vonitsa.

²⁹⁴ Foss 1991, 799; Foss, Winfield 1986, 162; Foss 1982, 145–205.

²⁹⁵ Vasilatos 1992, 76–77, 82–85, 90–91, 102–106, 143; Papakonstandinou 1994, 18–20; Theocharides 1997, Towers of Samothrace, Siderocausia, Galatista and Marianna; Ćurčić 1997, Tower of Milutin; Mazarakis 1997, Tower of Samothrace; Tsouris 1983, 149, note 24 and Tsouris 1998, 440, 443–444 (fortifications of Thessaloniki, Didymoteicho, Anastasioupolis, Peritheorio, Anaktoroupolis, Serres, Servia); Meksi 1995, 209–210.

²⁹⁶ E.g. in the Castle of Ioannina (Tsouris 1983, 135, pl. 2, type στ'). On the fortifications in the Peloponnese see, Traquair 1905–1906, 261–263; Andrews 1953, 226; Tryposkoufi, Tsi-touri 2001, 48–110; Burridge 1996, 20. On the religious buildings see Kaponis 2006, 280–281.

²⁹⁷ Traquair 1905–1906, 261–263.

²⁹⁸ It was used in Angelokastro (outer line of walls).

²⁹⁹ Tsouris 1998, 441.

where it has been dated to the Ottoman period.³⁰⁰ The absence of brick probably only means that bricks were unavailable.

TYPE 11 (fig. 44)

Opus isodomum made of tightly packed ashlar. It has been found in only one site.³⁰¹ It is associated with Venetian architecture, having been used in fortifications in the Peloponnese from the fifteenth onwards and in religious buildings during the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries.³⁰²

2. Other Features

Other construction features present some similarities, while retaining an element of variety.

The apses of religious buildings are almost always semi-circular³⁰³ and usually low. In the earlier buildings they have buttresses and are stepped while in others they are based on a podium. The side apses (of the *parabemata*) are not inscribed but extend beyond the E walls. The domes have a high, cylindrical drum in earlier buildings³⁰⁴ and a lower, polygonal in later ones.³⁰⁵

Surviving floors are usually either paved with stone or clay tiles³⁰⁶ or made of earth and rarely dressed with mortar. Mosaic pavements have survived in only two cases and most probably originate in a construction phase prior to the Middle Byzantine period.³⁰⁷ In another case, a low-relief sculpture was inset in a central position in the floor; it depicted the representation of the miracle of the “loaves and fishes” as happened elsewhere in Middle Byzantine religious buildings.³⁰⁸ In another case the floor was paved of stone including *opus sectile* decoration depicting geometric

³⁰⁰ Traquair 1905–1906, 261–263; Tsouris 1998, 452.

³⁰¹ It was used in the Taxiarches on Mt. Zalongo.

³⁰² Traquair 1905–1906, 261–263; Andrews 1978.

³⁰³ Ag. Dimitrios on E Varassova and Ag. Ioannis Theologos in Efpalio as well as the apses which are later repairs to Middle Byzantine apses are exceptions.

³⁰⁴ At Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra in Arta, at Panaxiotissa in Gavrolimni, at Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri in Plissioi, at Ag. Triada in Mavrikas, Agrinio, and at Panagia in Koronissia.

³⁰⁵ At Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias in Kirkizates, at Ag. Varnavas in Louros, and at the Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsounda.

³⁰⁶ E.g. at the Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsounda, at the Panagia in Koronissia, and at Ag. Nikolaos on S Varassova. Clay tiles were much cheaper than stone slabs and mosaic floors, and they were very commonly used in Middle Byzantine religious buildings of the ‘Helladic School’ (Bouras 1994, 64, 236).

³⁰⁷ These survive at Episkopi in Mastro and in Panagia Trimitou on Mt. Arakynthos.

³⁰⁸ At Panagia in Koronissia. For the decoration see Bouras 1994, 236.

patterns, animals and representations of the miracle of the “loaves and fishes” dating to the twelfth century.³⁰⁹

As regards openings, there are relatively few windows and they are small and of arcade-type; they may be single-, double-, or three-light and occasionally circular.³¹⁰ In the Castles of Rogoi and Kalamos some loop-holes were inserted. They first appear in long, covered porticoes in ninth-century fortifications and remain a feature of Byzantine fortification architecture until the Late Byzantine period; later the Ottomans appropriated this feature.³¹¹

The openings’ arched frames were of the following six varieties:

1. The frame is confined to the upper part of the window, between the springers, and is made of bricks set in a radiate arrangement (figs. 45).³¹² The triangular spaces between adjacent arches are filled in with parallel, horizontally placed bricks.
2. The frame is made of bricks set in a radiate arrangement and framed by a semi-circular line of bricks (fig. 46).³¹³ Here too the frame is confined to the upper part of the window, between the springers.
3. This frame is like the previous one but outlined with a band of dog-tooth brickwork instead of a simple row of bricks (fig. 47).³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ At Varnakova monastery near Efpalio (see also Part 2 – Chapter 3 below).

³¹⁰ The limited number and size of windows has been linked with limited funds for the purchase of glass for making window-panes (Ousterhout 1999, 151–156). Windows on 13th-c. buildings in *Epirus* (or in post-12th-c. repairs of Middle Byzantine ones) are not of the arcaded-type.

³¹¹ Foss 1991, 799. For 13th-c. loop-holes in the Castle of Geraki, Peloponnese see Tryposkoufi, Tsitouri 2001, 54; Andrews 1978, 120.

³¹² Used in parts of the Castles of Nikopolis, Nafpaktos and Kalamos, in the building next to Ag. Ilias church in the Castle of Nafpaktos, in the Panagia sto Kozili (narthex and aisle arcades now integrated in the N and S walls), Ai-Giannis in Vonitsa (former aisle arcades now integrated into the N and S walls), in the original windows of Episkopi church in Mastro and in Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri.

³¹³ Used in parts of the Castles of Arta (locations of Kastraki and ‘Alichniotissa’), Vonitsa and Nafpaktos (old church near Ag. Ilias and outer façade of Kastraki), in the old church near the Theotokos at the harbour of Vonitsa, at Ag. Triada in Mavrikas, Agrinio (1st phase), Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios (2nd phase), in the Katholikon of the monastery at Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa, at Ag. Varvara in Stefani, at the Panaxiotissa in Gavrolimni, at the Panagia in Paravola, at Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra (apse), at Dyo Ekklesies in Stamna, at the Panagia sto Kozili (N façade), at Ag. Ioannis Theologos in Efpalio, at Ag. Nikolaos at Panda-Kopsia in Arta, at Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias in Kirkizates, at Ag. Theodora in Arta (S wall) and at the New Katholikon of the Vlacherna Monastery (N wall).

³¹⁴ Used at the monastery of Panagia Trimitou (Building no. 2), at the old Katholikon of Vlacherna monastery, at Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra in Arta (dome), at Ag. Triada Mavrika in Agrinio (dome), at the Panaxiotissa in Gavrolimni (dome and apse), at the Panagia

4. This is a double frame, 'stepped', and made of bricks set in a radiate arrangement (fig. 48a);³¹⁵ it is occasionally outlined with a semi-circular row of bricks or a band of dogtooth brickwork (48b).³¹⁶
5. This frame resembles number 3 but made of stones set in a radiate arrangement instead of bricks (still outlined with a dogtooth band or simple row of bricks (fig. 49).³¹⁷
6. This is a double frame, 'stepped', which extends down to the window sill. It is made of bricks set in a radiate arrangement and outlined with both a simple row of bricks and a band of dogtooth (fig. 50). This type of arch usually frames a double-light window.³¹⁸

Of these six types, Type 2 has been dated to the turn of the ninth to tenth century.³¹⁹ The frames, which are confined to the upper part of the window between the springers, appear in earlier buildings while those where the frames stretch down to the window sill are dated after AD 1050.³²⁰ The band of dogtooth brickwork, which outlines the arch, occasionally stretching down to the window sill, appears in the earlier buildings and is very common in eleventh- to twelfth-century churches in Greece. It can be made of brick or stone.³²¹ Single-light windows with arches made of stone and outlined with dogtooth bands and Type 4 frames are common in twelfth-century buildings.³²² Type 6 appears in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries; at this period many windows were still using the older types of frames.³²³

Until the end of the thirteenth century, wall surfaces were usually simple, with little use of pilasters and arches. Ornamentation is optional. Blind brick arches are occasionally introduced into the masonry for ornamental or

in Paravola (apse), at the Panagia in Koronissia, at Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou in Ambelia (dome), at the Panagia sto Kozili (S wall), at Ag. Dimitrios in Matsouki and in parts of the fortifications of Nikopolis, Arta (Kastraki) and Nafpaktos.

³¹⁵ This technique seems to have been used in the new windows of Episkopi Church in Mastro and at the Castle of Nafpaktos (Kastraki), but their original form is not clear.

³¹⁶ Dyo Ekklessies in Stamna, Ag. Dimitrios on E Varassova, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias in Kirki-zates, Ag. Ioannis in Koukoura, Efpalio, and the second church of the Vlacherna Monastery.

³¹⁷ Castles of Vonitsa, Nafpaktos (Kastraki) and Rogoi, the Panagia sto Kozili (narthex and W part of the N aisle arcade) and Ag. Georgios in Angelokastro.

³¹⁸ This technique was used at Late Byzantine churches in the investigated area. See Kaponis 2006.

³¹⁹ Vocotopoulos 1992, 17; Katsaros 1981b, 447.

³²⁰ Vocotopoulos 1992, 164 (note 3).

³²¹ Bouras, Boura 2002, 423.

³²² Bouras, Boura 2002, 426, 465.

³²³ Mamaloukos 2005a, 12; Bouras, Boura 2002, 423; See the castles at Geraki and Pyli, Kos, in Tryposkoufi, Tsitouri 2001, 54–57, 235–6.

structural purposes.³²⁴ In one case, crosses made of ashlar were included in the lower parts of walls, made with the *cloisonné* technique, as happens frequently in eleventh–twelfth century religious buildings.³²⁵

In the tradition of the ‘Helladic School’ the use of decorative brickwork is dated from the late tenth century onwards. In *Epirus* this tradition developed into the exaggerated use of ornamental brickwork during the late twelfth and the thirteenth century, which is the main feature of the so called “architectural tradition of the Despotate”.³²⁶

In Middle Byzantine buildings within the investigated area the following patterns have been observed:

1. *Dogtooth* brickwork bands have been found in most buildings.³²⁷

The earliest religious building to show this decoration dates to AD 873/4.³²⁸ It occurs frequently in monuments of the ‘Helladic’ tradition as well as in Thessaly and Greek Macedonia, and it seems to have been very common during the eleventh century.³²⁹ In the Epirote buildings under examination it was mostly used in a limited way: usually either in the dome or the apse or in both (in the ninth–eleventh centuries) or in a small number of cases in other wall surfaces (in the tenth century) – in this case, they usually surround the arches of doors and windows and are rarely used as free-standing ornaments.³³⁰ The use of dogtooth bands continued well into the thirteenth century by then part of the move towards greater ornamentation.³³¹

2. A *dogtooth brickwork cornice* has been used on only one occasion, though its use appears to have been frequent in Late Byzantine churches in *Epirus*.³³²

3. Variations on *cross patterns* were noted on four occasions (fig. 51a–e).³³³

³²⁴ The Theotokos in Megali Chora and at Episkopi Church in Mastro.

³²⁵ Ag. Dimitrios on E Varassova. For the crosses see Bouras 1994, 221.

³²⁶ See Kaponis 2006, 320–323.

³²⁷ Castles of Vonitsa, Nikopolis, Arta, Nafpaktos (Kastraki) and in most churches.

³²⁸ The Panagia at Skripou, Boeotia.

³²⁹ See Tsouris 1988, 156; Bouras 1994, 229.

³³⁰ Dogtooth bands appear to have been used rarely in 11th-c. buildings and not at all in 12th-c. ones. Their use revived in the 13th-c. in a rather eccentric way, as did other ornamental brickwork patterns.

³³¹ See Tsouris 1988, 149–152; Bouras, Boura 2002, 469–470; Kaponis 2006, 320.

³³² Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios. On its use in Late Byzantine monuments in *Epirus* see Bouras, Boura 2002, 471.

³³³ It has been observed at Dyo Ekklesies in Stamna, at Sotira in Nea Koukoura, Efpalio, and at parts of the Castles of Arta (location of ‘Alichnotissa’) and Rogoi.

- In the first variation, the cross arms were made of a single or double line of one or more bricks (fig. 51a, c).³³⁴
- In the second variation, the cross arms were made of simple grooved bricks while small, transverse brick-fragments were positioned at the ends of the horizontal arms (fig. 51e).³³⁵
- In the third variation, the cross arms were made of parallel vertically set facing one another (fig. 51b).³³⁶
- In the fourth variation, each arm was made of one pair of concave roof-tiles set facing one another (fig. 51d).³³⁷

The cross pattern is very common in Byzantine churches and fortifications and has a symbolic or apotropaic meaning. In *Epirus* it is also common in Late Byzantine buildings.³³⁸ Crosses just made of bricks have been observed on buildings in Mystras, Greek Macedonia, and in S Albania.³³⁹ Crosses made of grooved bricks are common in the Peloponnese, in the eastern part of Central Greece, in Euboia and Thessaly; it has been suggested they reflect the impact of the architecture at the monastery of Hosios Loukas.³⁴⁰ All the varieties of crosses found here are also seen throughout the walls of Thessaloniki, dated from the seventh century onwards.³⁴¹

4. Brick ornament in the shape of the *alphabet letters* have been used as follows:

- a series of Λ -shapes outlined by rows of bricks (fig. 52),³⁴²
- Π -shapes framing square niches (fig. 52),³⁴³
- K -shapes,³⁴⁴
- Kufesque patterns consisting of two facing K s and a U (see also brick-work pattern no. 5 below and fig. 53c).³⁴⁵

³³⁴ Dyo Ekklesies in Stamna.

³³⁵ Castle of Arta.

³³⁶ Dyo Ekklessies in Stamna and at the Soteira Church in Nea Koukoura near Efpalio.

³³⁷ At the Castle of Rogoi it has been dated to the Late Byzantine period by Tsouris (1988, 141).

³³⁸ Tsouris 1988, 140–3.

³³⁹ Tsouris 1988, 143; Bouras 1994, 231.

³⁴⁰ Tsouris 1988, 142.

³⁴¹ Velenis 1988, 112, pl. 151, 159.

³⁴² Church A in Astakos (apse). The pattern is noted by Tsouris (1988, pl. 10B).

³⁴³ It has been observed at Episkopi in Mastro, at the Castle of Arta (location of 'Alichni-otissa') and at Panagia in Paravola (S façade).

³⁴⁴ It has been observed at Ag. Dimitrios on E Varassova.

³⁴⁵ It has been observed at Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsonda (E part of the N façade).

Brick patterns resembling letters or geometric brick-patterns reminiscent of letters were very common during the Middle Byzantine period in S Greece, Epirus, Aetoloacarnania and Greek Macedonia. By contrast, they seem to have been uncommon in the Late Byzantine period.³⁴⁶

5. Bands of *parallel, perpendicular* (sometimes grooved) *bricks* reminiscent of pseudo-Kufic patterns usually appear in combination with dog-tooth bands (fig. 53a–d).³⁴⁷ This pattern was not very popular although it does occur in monuments in Epirus and W Central Greece during the Middle Byzantine period.³⁴⁸ It has survived in a few Late Byzantine monuments and in rather more Frankish ones.³⁴⁹

There does seem to have been widespread use of bands of perpendicular bricks in Byzantine architecture.³⁵⁰ Their use in Epirus has been interpreted as the result of improvising with ornamental brickwork.³⁵¹

6. *Zig-zag* bands have been observed in several variations as follows.

- Continuous zig-zag bands of perpendicular bricks, usually against a plain background (fig. 54).³⁵²
- Two bricks in zig-zag form a diamond in-between two window arches³⁵³ (fig. 55).
- Two confronted zig-zag brick-bands form one band of diamonds (fig. 56).³⁵⁴
- Continuous zig-zag bands made of double bricks.³⁵⁵

The simple version of the zig zag pattern is found in provincial Middle- and Late Byzantine monuments but not in those of the ‘Helladic School’

³⁴⁶ Tsouris 1988, 145.

³⁴⁷ It has been observed at the fortifications of Nikopolis, Nafpaktos, Arta (location of ‘Alichniotissa’), at Panagia in Paravola, Panagia sto Kozili (E part of N and S façades), at the second church in Vlacherna monastery and at the E gable of the nave of Ag. Theodora in Arta.

³⁴⁸ In addition to the aforementioned buildings, it has been observed at Ag. Jason and Sosipatros in Corfu.

³⁴⁹ Tsouris 1988, 152, 134, 156–157; Bouras, Boura 2002, 469.

³⁵⁰ Tsouris 1988, 156, note 515. The pattern has been observed at Koimissi in Labovo, on the old Katholikon of the Philosofofou Monastery, at Ag. Apostoloi and Profitis Ilias in Thessaloniki, at Ag. Nikolaos in Larymna, at Ag. Petros in Lefktra, at the Palaiopanagia in Manolada, and in Ag. Asomatoi in the Thisseio, Athens.

³⁵¹ Tsouris 1988, 156.

³⁵² At Episkopi Church in Mastro (W façade), at Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra (dome), and at Ag. Ioannis Theologos in Efpalio.

³⁵³ The Panagia in Paravola (apse).

³⁵⁴ The Panaxiotissa in Gavrolimni.

³⁵⁵ Castle of Arta (‘Alichniotissa’).

tradition, or in Constantinople or Thessaloniki. To be specific, it occurs in monuments in Epirus, Corfu and neighbouring areas (NW Greek Macedonia) during the Middle Byzantine period as well as in later monuments within the same geographical area.³⁵⁶ In early monuments the pattern was set against a plain background, an invention which intensified the effect of the decoration. The purely ornamental, parallel zig zag bands seen in the Panaxiotissa Church may be associated with the architectural traditions of Greek Macedonia.³⁵⁷

7. Alternating horizontal zig-zag bands and single bricks makes a network of *chevron patterns creating continuous triangles*.³⁵⁸ The triangles are formed by horizontal bricks bisecting the diagonal bricks of the zig-zag band.³⁵⁹ This pattern has been observed in two variations in the same place (fig. 57). In the first, the triangles are smaller and confronted (fig. 57a, c). In the second, the triangles are bigger and alternate with diamonds (fig. 57b, d). The same pattern has been observed in churches in Kastoria dating from ca. 1000 to the twelfth century.³⁶⁰

8. *Fishbone* patterns are found in two buildings (fig. 58a–b).³⁶¹ This pattern can be traced back to Roman and Early Byzantine decoration. During the Middle Byzantine period, although not very common, it is found in buildings in Epirus, W Greek Macedonia, and Lakonia.³⁶² It was in widespread use during the Late Byzantine period as witnessed by monuments located not only in NW Greece but also in neighbouring areas such as Thessaly, the Peloponnese, Chios and Greek Macedonia, Albania, Serbia and Asia Minor.³⁶³

9. *Checkerboard* patterns cover the space between the arches and the lights of windows in one building (fig. 59).³⁶⁴ They are made up of one square and two triangular tiles. A similar use of this pattern is also found

³⁵⁶ See Tsouris 1988, 163–164, 166 and note 550. (The types seen in Middle Byzantine Epirus resemble the examples in Tsouris' plates nos. 14A and 14Δ).

³⁵⁷ Tsouris 1988, 167–168.

³⁵⁸ Castle of Arta ('Alichniotissa').

³⁵⁹ Tsouris 1988, 164.

³⁶⁰ It is a pattern which first appears on the S façade of the Panagia Mavriotissa and then reappears at Ag. Nikolaos Kasnitzis and elsewhere, see Moutsopoulos 1992a, 412–430, esp. 414 (with illustration).

³⁶¹ In the Second Katholikon of the Vlacherna Monastery and the Panagia in Paravola.

³⁶² In Epirus it has been observed at Koimissi in Labovo and maybe in the Metropolis in Photiki. In Macedonia it is found at Ag. Dimitrios in Aiani and Taxiarchis Mitropoleos in Kastoria. In the Peloponnese it has been used at Ag. Sozon and Ag. Athanassios in Geraki and at Ai-Stratigos in Boularioi. See also Tsouris 1988, 166.

³⁶³ Tsouris 1988, 166, 168–169.

³⁶⁴ The Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsounda (E part of N façade).

slightly later in *Epirus*, in the thirteenth-century church of Ag. Vassileios in Arta.³⁶⁵ The pattern was commonly used as decoration on friezes and is derived from Roman and Early Byzantine architecture. In Middle Byzantine architecture it begins to be used from the tenth century onwards in order to meet practical problems in construction; later, it became purely ornamental and it survived well into the Late Byzantine period.³⁶⁶

10. *Radiating patterns* of bricks forming *suns* were used on three churches to decorate the gables of the E façades and in one case a dome (fig. 60).³⁶⁷ In the earlier monuments these patterns are outlined by a dogtooth band. Usually the centre of these radiating patterns is empty; perhaps a ceramic bowl was originally inset there.³⁶⁸ This pattern first appears during the eleventh century.³⁶⁹ It has been suggested that it came to Epirus under the influence of religious architecture in Kastoria.³⁷⁰

11. *Trees of life* have been observed in two fortifications and one church (figs. 61, 108).³⁷¹ Schematic trees have been inserted into fortification towers in Thessaloniki (Eptapyrgio) and Didymoteicho as well as at Ai-Leos in Briki, Mani, and at the Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria.³⁷² The tree on the S wall of the Panagia Church in Paravola, probably dating to the thirteenth century, is slightly different from the above.

This pattern was rarely used in Byzantine buildings. As it is a folk motif, the three appearances in *Epirus* could be linked to certain workshops' or builders' aesthetic preferences.³⁷³ Yet one should keep in mind that the motif is also found in an Epirote sculpture dated probably during the first half of the twelfth century (fig. 134).³⁷⁴

12. A *meander frieze* is found in one church (fig. 80).³⁷⁵ The meander consists of continuous confronted Π-shaped bricks. This pattern first

³⁶⁵ Tsouris 1988, 59.

³⁶⁶ Tsouris 1988, 61; Bouras 1994, 230.

³⁶⁷ It decorated the E gables of the old Katholikon at Moni Myrtias at Myrtia and of Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios as well as the dome of Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias.

³⁶⁸ That is obvious at Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias, see also Tsouris 1988, 100, fig. 73.

³⁶⁹ It appears at Soteira Lykodimou in Athens. See Tsouris 1988, 140.

³⁷⁰ Tsouris 1988, 140.

³⁷¹ It is found on the inner line of the fortification walls in Angelokastro while a similar pattern has been recorded on a gate of Ligovitsi Castle. It is also found, in a slightly different form, at the Panagia church in Paravola.

³⁷² Tsouris 1988, 287, note 469; Drandakis 1970–1972, pl. 44γ; Moutsopoulos 1967, pl. 4, drawing V.

³⁷³ Tsouris 1988, 287, note 469.

³⁷⁴ See Sc26 in Part 2 – Chapter 3.II. below.

³⁷⁵ Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias in Arta.

appears in the eleventh century and remains in use later.³⁷⁶ This particular kind of meander is found at Ag. Moni Areias and at Ag. Dimitrios in Dragano, both dated to the twelfth century.³⁷⁷

13. An inscription constructed in brick was found in a tower of a fortification work (fig. 108).³⁷⁸ Brick inscriptions, including monograms, survive in many Late Byzantine buildings in NW Greece.³⁷⁹ They are used to transmit information but also for ornamental purposes. This technique is used above all in Epirus and Macedonia, although it was not invented in this area; it was also used in a very systematic way in *Epirus* during the Late Byzantine period.³⁸⁰

14. *Ceramic bowls embedded in the walls of churches (bacini)* were used in two cases (fig. 192).³⁸¹ Not much can be deduced from the bowls in the case of Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias as regards the very act of inseting because they have not survived. By contrast, in the case of the church in Lefkada they belong to a post-Byzantine repair of the building. The use of *bacini* as wall decoration appears to have been common in Middle Byzantine and Late Byzantine churches in the Peloponnese and the eastern part of Central Greece. By contrast it is not often found in Thessaly, Macedonia and in Epirus.³⁸² The earliest examples go back to the eleventh century yet most examples date to the twelfth century (including those in Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias).³⁸³

3. Construction Types

Domestic facilities, graves, water supply facilities, roads and harbours often required special construction. The specific practices linked with the construction of these types of buildings have already been discussed in the overall account of their architecture (in Part 2 – Chapter 1, Sections 1.I.3–1.I.8 above).

³⁷⁶ Tsouris 1988, 157–162.

³⁷⁷ Bouras, Boura 2002, 472.

³⁷⁸ It is located on the W façade of a construction of identified use in the citadel of Angelokastro. See 1.I in Part 2 – Chapter 2, below.

³⁷⁹ Kato Panagia, the Panagia Tou Bryoni, Ag. Dimitrios in Kypseli, the Panagia in Pre-ventza and a tower of the fortification of Ioannina. See Kalopissi-Verti 1992; Vranoussis 1967/1968.

³⁸⁰ See Tsouris 1988, 147.

³⁸¹ Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon in Vurnikas, Lefkada (for the bowl see Part 2 – Chapter 4.I. below) while many *bacini* were once inset in the walls of Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias in Kirkizates but have not survived.

³⁸² Tsouris 1988, 107.

³⁸³ Tsouris 1988, 107–8; Bouras, Boura 2002, 474; Bouras 1994, 230.

B. *Case Studies in Chronological Context*

Among the architectural remains under discussion, there are cases where morphological features have been precisely dated with the help of other kinds of evidence (e.g. most religious buildings). These will be discussed in § B.I.a. below.

However in other cases, architectural remains are either undated or have not been dated to the seventh–twelfth centuries, although some of their morphological features do not exclude a dating in the Middle Byzantine period. These will be discussed in § B.I.b–c, B.II. and B.III. When it comes to this second category of buildings, while their morphology can be investigated by extensive survey, it does not constitute an adequate criterion for dating them, as was already pointed out at the beginning of this chapter. Only comprehensive studies of the buildings' architecture will help solve the dating problems presented by particular construction phases or whole constructions in the investigated area. Therefore, the remarks on the dating of undated buildings are meant as mere proposals and as working hypotheses for future research; their sole purpose is to defend the argument that the dating issues related to Byzantine architecture in *Epirus* are still open to discussion.

Masonry and other architectural features (e.g. windows, mortar etc.) will be referred to using the types described above in Chapter 1.II.2., Section A (Morphological features and chronology of masonries – An Overview).

I. *The Chronology of Construction Phases of Churches*

It seems wise to distinguish between two different categories in the religious buildings investigated.³⁸⁴ The first includes construction phases dated with certainty to the Middle Byzantine period (seventh–twelfth centuries), whose masonry can thus be directly associated with these centuries. The second, by contrast, includes buildings which cannot with certainty be dated to this period on the basis of the available evidence, though some data suggests they were built on the site of Middle Byzantine buildings. These sites should therefore be included in accounts of Middle Byzantine settlement.

³⁸⁴ For an account of these buildings see above, Chapter 1.I.2.

I.a. The Chronology of Masonries in Religious Buildings Precisely Dated Within the Seventh–Twelfth Centuries

A great number of religious buildings have so far been dated with certainty to the seventh to twelfth centuries.³⁸⁵ Their most notable feature is the continuity of use of religious spaces achieved by recycling the building materials on site: in the great majority of cases, multiple construction phases succeeded the initial one, which in its turn had often been built on top of an Early Byzantine basilica (occupying its central nave or south aisle). This pattern is very common in Byzantine monuments in general and in Greece in particular. It seems to be linked to the Byzantine mentality in relation to construction in general (i.e. the practice of recycling materials) and all the more so to the building of churches due to the symbolic meaning invested in earlier religious spaces and their built fabric, which as a rule was preserved.³⁸⁶

A second observation on the construction of religious monuments concerns their relative homogeneity as regards masonry and construction materials. However, this excludes the evidence for architectural sculpture, which by contrast presents great heterogeneity and a diversity of influences. These will be discussed elsewhere in this study.³⁸⁷

A very brief chronological account of the masonries used in the aforementioned seventh–twelfth-century religious buildings follows.

Only a single monument is attested as having been restored during the seventh century: the three-aisled basilica at Ag. Varvara in Stefani. Details of the masonry are not known.

³⁸⁵ This group includes the following religious buildings, Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri in Plissioi; Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias in Kirkizates; Katholikon of the Vlacherna Monastery (1st phase) near Arta; Ag. Nikolaos at Panda Kopsia in Arta; Church to the SW of the Parigoritissa in Arta; Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra in Arta; Ag. Georgios (now Ag. Theodora) in Arta; Ag. Theodoroi in Stamna; Dyo Ekklessies near Stamna; Ag. Stefanos in Rivio; Ag. Stefanos in Nafpaktos; the Panagia in Megali Chora; the Katholikon of Myrtia Monastery; Ag. Dimitrios at Matsouki; Episkopi Church (Ai-Giannis Riganas) at Mastro; late church on Kefalos island; Ag. Sophia at Mytikas; Ag. Ioannis Theologos at Efpalio; the Panagia Panaxiotissa at Gavrolimni; Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios; Ag. Sophia in Ag. Sophia; church in the portico to the SW of Alkison basilica in Nikopolis; the Panagia at Paravola; church in the N complex in the Castle of Nafpaktos; Ag. Sophia in the Castle of Vonitsa; Church 'A' in the Castle of Astakos; Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou at Ambelia; Metamorfosi Sotiros at Monastiraki; chapel at Metamorfosi Sotiros monastery at Skala; Ag. Dimitrios on E Varassova; Ag. Ioannis Prodomos ton Karaviadon at Vurnikas, Lefkada; Ag. Varvara at Stefani; church at Loutra Tryfou.

³⁸⁶ Ousterhout 1999, 86–127; Saradi 1997.

³⁸⁷ See Part 2 – Chapter 3.II.

In the eighth century Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios, the Panagia at Megali Chora, the Episkopi church at Mastro, Ag. Triada in Mavrikas and Ag. Sophia in Mytikas were all repaired. In Ag. Georgios, rubble masonry was used; brick fragments were set in the joints, arranged in loose, irregular courses. Brick fragments were also used in the window arches which were made of radiating bricks and outlined by semi-circular rows of brick (fig. 62a–b).³⁸⁸

The repair of the church of the Panagia at Megali Chora involved masonry consisting of roughly squared or tile-shaped rubble and horizontally-positioned brick fragments inset among the stonework. The arches of openings were made of a single band of radiating bricks outlined with a semi-circular row of bricks.³⁸⁹ The church of Episkopi was reconstructed with a stepped apse and type 2-masonry with irregular brick courses and with horizontal bricks set randomly in the vertical joints (fig. 63). In the repair of Ag. Triada at Mavrikas, the masonry consisted of irregular alternating courses of rubble and brick (fig. 64). In view of the resemblance between the masonry at Ag. Triada and that of a repair in the apse of Ag. Sophia at Mytikas, I agree with V. Katsaros that the latter should also be dated to the eighth century (fig. 65).³⁹⁰ In all the aforementioned repairs a thick layer of Type 1 lime mortar was used.

During the ninth century the construction techniques of religious buildings appear to have changed: Type 4 masonries are now evident. This is seen in the sites of Ag. Sophia Mytika, in the Katholikon of Ag. Nikolaos Monastery on Mt. Varassova South, at Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri, at Ag. Theodoroi in Stamna and at Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra. On the site of the abandoned basilica in Ag. Sophia, Mytikas, a small chapel was erected using rubble and randomly inset brick fragments. A second chapel in the monastery of Ag. Nikolaos was built exclusively of roughly dressed stones.

Yet the new churches of Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri, Ag. Theodoroi at Stamna and Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra were constructed with Type 4 masonry, consisting of rubble (unhewn or slightly dressed on the visible surface only) placed in thick layers of mortar, with horizontally positioned bricks set in the joints either randomly or in courses. At Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri, the bricks are set randomly in the masonry and the building was

³⁸⁸ Katsaros 1981b, 439, 441.

³⁸⁹ A similar technique is used in Ag. Theodoroi and Dyo Ekklessies at Stamna and in Episkopi church at Mastro. See also Katsaros 1981b, 452–453.

³⁹⁰ Katsaros 1981b, 463.

revetted with a layer of mortar.³⁹¹ It also had a dogtooth cornice, arches made of bricks in a simple radiate arrangement and three lines of horizontally positioned bricks in between the window lights.³⁹²

At Ag. Theodoroi bricks were arranged in bands of single or double courses. By contrast, at Ag. Vassileios they were used more extensively but randomly, while some ashlars were used in the lower parts of the walls (fig. 54). Some window arches from this period partly survive in Ag. Vassileios; they were made of bricks in a simple radiate arrangement, outlined with semi-circular courses of single bricks (fig. 54). Here too, three rows of horizontally positioned bricks are set in between the lights of the windows.

During the tenth-century churches were being constructed and repaired at a much faster rate than before and with a certain uniformity in the masonry (of Types 4 and 5), all over the investigated area. At the turn of the century, the Dyo Ekklesies were built relatively close to Ag. Theodoroi at Stamna. Although one was built slightly later than the other, their masonry is similar and clearly of Type 4: partly dressed, rubble masonry is divided into 0.50 – 0.60 m deep zones by single brick courses while horizontally positioned bricks are also set within the vertical or horizontal joints (fig. 66). Brickwork decoration appears here too, in the form of dogtooth bands and crosses. Large ashlar blocks are placed at the corners of the buildings.

A little later in the century repairs took place at the churches of Episkopi at Mastro, Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios, Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra in Arta and Ag. Triada at Mavrikas near Agrinio. At Episkopi repairs were limited to some of the masonry in the upper parts of the building, i.e. a part above the aisle arcade, the brickwork zone of zig-zag patterns on the W façade (fig. 67) – found also in other contemporary churches –,³⁹³ the S side of the apse as well as a zone of masonry around the apse where three rows of horizontally positioned bricks were set in between the window lights.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Similar revetments have been observed in the Panagia at Koronissia, at Ag. Stefanos in Rivio and at the Katholiko of the Vlacherna near Arta, all dated in the tenth century.

³⁹² For similar arches see Ag. Varvara at Stefani and the Panaxiotissa at Gavrolimni. For similar brick arrangements among window lights see the Panagia at Skripou in Boeotia as well as Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra and Episkopi at Mastro (tenth-century construction phase).

³⁹³ See the dome of Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra (second half of 9th c.) and Panagia Panaxiotissa at Gavrolimni (end of 10th c.). The zig-zag pattern has been extensively discussed elsewhere.

³⁹⁴ See note 392.

At Ag. Georgios, repairs made at this time consist of masonry showing the transition between Types 4 and 5: rubble masonry is divided into zones by horizontal, single courses of brick and there is a tendency for the rubble courses to almost alternate with the brick courses (fig. 68a–b).³⁹⁵ Other features of this construction phase are dogtooth bands and dogtooth cornices as well as window arches made of alternating stones and bricks. Brickwork patterns such as dogtooth bands and zig-zags indicate that the dome at Ag. Vassileios was also restored during this period (fig. 54).³⁹⁶

Finally, at Ag. Triada the repairs consisted of a zone of Type 5 masonry in which single courses of rubble alternate with single courses of bricks (fig. 64). Here the window arches are made of bricks in a simple radiate arrangement outlined by dogtooth bands.³⁹⁷

New buildings at this time were also built both in Type 4 but mostly Type 5 masonries. This happened at the Panagia in Paravola (fig. 55), Church ‘A’ in the Castle of Astakos (fig. 69), all the buildings at Panagia Trimitou Monastery (fig. 70), Ag. Nikolaos at Panda Kopsia in Arta, the old churches on the site of the Katholikon of Vlacherna Monastery near Arta (fig. 71), of Ag. Stefanos at Rivio, the church at the Panagia peninsula near Vonitsa (fig. 72a–b) and possibly in the Pandokratoras at Monastiraki. The masonry appears irregular compared with that of earlier centuries. Roughly squared or tile-shaped rubble is built in courses between layers of mortar; horizontally, vertically or diagonally positioned bricks are set in horizontal and vertical joints between the rubble, which is set in courses, or randomly or in rows dividing the walls into zones (the *douzenia*). This new way of using bricks verges on an incomplete cloisonné technique.³⁹⁸ Yet mortar still covers a part of the outer surfaces as in the Vlacherna and in Ag. Stefanos; in the latter monument decorative patterns have been incised with a trowel.³⁹⁹ There is frequent use of spolia or ashlar in the

³⁹⁵ The masonry resembles that of the churches at Stamna and Ag. Triada (10th-c. phases).

³⁹⁶ Other examples are the Episkopi church at Mastro, the apse of Church ‘A’ at Astakos and the dome of the Panagia Panaxiotissa, all dated to the 10th c.

³⁹⁷ The same happened in the buildings of the Panagia Trimitou monastery, at the Panagia Koronissia and at Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou, all dated to the 10th–11th c.

³⁹⁸ See for example the apse of Church ‘A’ at the Castle of Astakos, the Panagia at Paravola, the S side of the apse of Ag. Stefanos and the Katholikon of the Panagia Trimitou Monastery. See also the description of Type 5 masonry above in section 1.II.2.A.

³⁹⁹ The same happened at Basilica ‘Στ’ of Nikopolis, for which no further dating evidence is available.

masonry.⁴⁰⁰ Brick arches, dogtooth bands⁴⁰¹ and zig-zag brickwork patterns⁴⁰² are seen also in this group of buildings.

The small chapels on Kefalos and at Ag. Triada Hill in Kato Vassiliki as well as two chapels in cave monasteries on Mt. Varassova – i.e. the chapel at Ag. Pateres in its first construction phase and that of Ag. Nikolaos (Mt. Varassova West) – should be dated to the same period. They are all built in masonry of Types 4 and 5 similar to that described above. In the church on Kefalos, building materials from the old basilica has been used in the construction; it is combined with rubble or stones shaped as tiles, arranged in single, horizontal courses (fig. 73). Courses of stone alternate with single courses of brick while occasionally horizontally or diagonally positioned bricks are set in the vertical joints. A similar method was followed in the construction of the chapels on Ag. Triada Hill and of Ag. Nikolaos.

In the end of the tenth century or the turn of the eleventh four more churches were built: the Panagia Panaxiotissa in Gavrolimni, the Panagia at Koronissia, Ag. Dimitrios on Mt. Varassova South-East and Ag. Varvara in Stefani. A common feature of the masonry in all these churches is that the arches all over the openings are made of bricks in a simple radiate arrangement.

The first three churches, despite the differences in their apses – with the first two having semicircular apses and the third a three-sided one – have very similar masonry to one another and to the aforementioned tenth-century buildings. They are built with rubble made of tile-shaped stones or squared rubble in courses which alternate with brick courses, while bricks are also often set horizontally, vertically or diagonally in the vertical joints.

At the Panaxiotissa bricks are used intensively; they form zones of two, three or even five courses as well as some cloisonné masonry, while the dome is made almost exclusively of brick. The three-light apse window

⁴⁰⁰ For example at Church 'A' at Astakos, the Panagia at Paravola and the church in the Vlacherna Monastery in Arta.

⁴⁰¹ The Panagia in Paravola, Vlacherna Monastery Katholikon and Panagia Trimitou Katholikon. See also the churches of Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra in Arta and Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri in Plissioi, the churches at Stamna and Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios.

⁴⁰² At Church 'A' in Astakos (lower part of the apse). See also the Episkopi church in Mastro, Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra and the Panagia Panaxiotissa.

arches are outlined with a dogtooth band while the dome is decorated with zig-zag brickwork patterns (fig. 74).⁴⁰³

At Koronissia the masonry is similar, though the brick courses are either single or double while window arches are outlined with dogtooth bands (fig. 75).⁴⁰⁴ However, in this church masonry was reveted with mortar.⁴⁰⁵

The masonry at Ag. Dimitrios is again very similar, although squared rubble is used and window arches are outlined with lines of bricks (fig. 40). One notable particularity here is the formation of large crosses made of *spolia* in the lower parts of walls – a feature seen in a few monuments of the second half of the eleventh century.⁴⁰⁶ A second detail is that it has a brickwork pattern resembling a K.⁴⁰⁷

By contrast the masonry at Ag. Varvara in Stefani – which also has a semi-circular apse – consists solely of rubble set in a thick layer of mortar with horizontally positioned bricks randomly set in the joints (fig. 76).

In my opinion, the initial construction of the Panagia sto Kozili should also be dated to this period (fig. 77). Remains of this construction phase may be seen on the E side of the N and S walls. Evidence for dating them to this period relies, first of all, on the construction of the window arches once seen on the N façade: they were made of bricks in a simple, radiate arrangement and outlined with rows of bricks. Secondly, the easternmost window arch cuts into a frieze of brickwork decoration consisting of parallel perpendicular bricks outlined by a dogtooth band; at the beginning of this frieze there is a pattern of pseudo-Kufic letters. Furthermore, three triangular- and diagonal-shaped ceramic tiles cover the gap in between the arches of the first two openings. All these brickwork patterns together with the Type 5 masonry of this part of the N wall indicate such a dating. On the S wall too the masonry is similar (fig. 78). Last but not least, there is a remarkable similarity between the masonries described above and those of the Middle Byzantine church and secular buildings of the N Complex in the Castle of Nafpaktos discussed below. This similarity suggests not only a chronological relationship between the Panagia sto Kozili

⁴⁰³ See also Church 'A' at Astakos, the Episkopi church in Mastro and Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra.

⁴⁰⁴ See also Panagia Trimitou Katholikon, Ag. Triada at Mavrikas and Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou of the 10th and 11th c.

⁴⁰⁵ See also Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri, Ag. Stefanos at Rivio and the Katholikon of the Vlacherna Monastery of the 9th and 10th c.

⁴⁰⁶ Gkioles 1987, 121.

⁴⁰⁷ This pattern has been discussed in Chapter 1.II.2.A. above.

and the Middle Byzantine buildings inside the Castle of Nafpaktos but also the existence of travelling workshops.

During the eleventh century the church of Ag. Georgios at Ag. Georgios was restored. The upper part of the apse was now built according to a polygonal plan while the masonry was now of Types 7a and 7b (*cloisonné*) (fig. 39).

In the second half of the century Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou at Ambelia was built. The masonry is Type 3, consisting of rubble in irregular courses with a few bricks set randomly in the joints. A dogtooth band runs along the walls and around the dome. The window-arches are made of bricks in a radiate arrangement, outlined by a simple semi-circular row of bricks.

Some religious buildings which were most probably constructed during the second half of the eleventh or the first half of the twelfth century also present similarities in masonry. These are the basilica of Ag. Georgios on the site of Ag. Theodora in Arta, the chapel at Komenou Ave in Arta, the chapel at Skala (fig. 79), the chapel at the SW corner of Parigoritissa in Arta, the old church of Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon and the old church of Ag. Stefanos in Nafpaktos. Of these last two monuments unfortunately only very small parts survive – only one corner of Ag. Stefanos and only the inner part of the apse and N wall of Ag. Ioannis. The masonry of these churches consists of unhewn rubble of various sizes in irregular courses together with horizontally positioned brick- or tile-fragments set randomly in the joints; a few bricks have also been diagonally positioned to fill gaps. Exceptions to the above pattern are found at Ag. Georgios and the chapel at Parigoritissa. They are built using squared rubble in courses with bricks set in the joints; bricks are mostly horizontally positioned but a few are vertical. Apses are still built on a semicircular plan.

In the second half of the twelfth century Ag. Ioannis Theologos near Efpalio was built. Its apse was semi-hexagonal and its masonry of Type 7b *cloisonné*. On the other hand, the lack of dogtooth bands and brickwork decoration (used both before and after this period), the stone cornice of the apse (instead of a brick one) as well as the fact that apse is based on a podium have led to this dating.

A restoration of Panagia sto Kozili must be dated, I think, towards the end of the twelfth century. The restoration is visible at the W part of the N wall (fig. 77) and consists of Type 5 rubble masonry in the upper parts of the walls, with brick courses along the horizontal joints and many parallel, horizontally positioned, bricks in the vertical joints as well as of repairs on the N wall (i.e. replacement of a brick arch with a stone one).

The masonry of the W part of the church (narthex) recalls that of Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias which will be discussed below. It is made of ashlar masonry in the lower part of the walls with brick only in the horizontal joints. Brick arches have been replaced by stone ones but these are still outlined with a dogtooth band; a dogtooth band also runs along the W façade at a moderate height. Apart from Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias (dated to the turn of the thirteenth century), these features bring to mind the churches of Ag. Moni in Doris (dated to 1199)⁴⁰⁸ and of the Evagelistria Polyportous at Erateini, Doris (twelfth century).⁴⁰⁹

To sum up, in the Panagia sto Kozili at least two (maybe three) construction phases have been dated to the Middle Byzantine period (fig. 77):⁴¹⁰ the eastern part of the building must date to the end of tenth or the eleventh century and the western part to the end of the twelfth century or the turn to the thirteenth century. However, an intermediate restoration phase cannot be excluded; at least on the N wall, it seems that the plan had been changed more than once. The later restorations of the building make it difficult to discern the initial phases; these later works (in the upper parts of the building and in the walling-up of the openings in the aisles' arcades) probably date during the Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods as indicated by their Type 10 masonry and the historical evidence.

The last religious building to be discussed in this study is Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias at Kirkizates, dated to the turn of the twelfth to the thirteenth century (ca. 1180–1220). Its masonry consists of roughly dressed rubble built in a regular cloisonné with ashlar in the lower parts of walls (fig. 80). The dome now has double-light windows. The building is decorated with numerous sculptures dated to the same period as well as with brickwork in dogtooth and meander patterns.

I.b. The Chronology of Masonries in Religious Buildings Generally Dated Within the Seventh–Twelfth Centuries

Six more churches are dated during the Middle Byzantine period but no accurate chronology has yet been assigned to them.

1. The built fabric of the Ypsili Panagia church does not allow a very precise dating because of its very poor state of preservation. It has been vaguely dated to somewhere in the tenth–twelfth centuries on the basis

⁴⁰⁸ For the architecture of this church see Bouras, Boura 2002, 25–26.

⁴⁰⁹ Bouras, Boura 2002, 131–3.

⁴¹⁰ A dating sometime in the Middle Byzantine period has also been suggested by Tsouris (1988, 138).

of its masonry.⁴¹¹ Its masonry – of ashlar and squared rubble in courses with horizontally and vertically positioned bricks set in the joints – and its semicircular apse are reminiscent of Middle Byzantine monuments (fig. 81a–b). Ashlars recall masonry of the eighth to ninth and of the twelfth century. In my opinion, the limited and irregular use of bricks probably points to the earlier dating, though no conclusion can be drawn without further investigation.

2. The building known as ‘Northern Complex’ at the Castle of Nafpaktos, only identifiable by a small section of masonry on the N side of the enceinte has also been considered a Middle Byzantine church once located inside the citadel of the Castle (fig. 82).⁴¹² This section of masonry consists of an arched window, a doorway with an arched lintel and extensive brickwork of dogtooth and pseudo-Kufic patterns (figs. 82, 53c). These remains have been of course thought originally to have been the N wall of another building on this site and been integrated into the enceinte at some later date (after the collapse of this entire part of the Castle). It is believed that this building was substantial and dated to the Middle Byzantine period.⁴¹³ It has also been suggested that it was a church on the basis of the masonry;⁴¹⁴ this idea is endorsed by other archaeological evidence, namely a twelfth-century inscription mentioning the foundation of a monument and more eleventh- and twelfth-century architectural sculptures found in or around the castle or embedded in the enceinte, as discussed elsewhere.⁴¹⁵

The Type 5 masonry used in this part of the walls as well as the brickwork patterns strongly suggest a date during the Middle Byzantine period. Furthermore, as discussed above, the masonry presents great similarities with that of the Panagia sto Kozili (first phase) and other buildings in the N complex (see the discussion of secular buildings below), thus implying a chronological relationship and maybe that they were constructed by the same workshop. According to the remarks made above in relation to the Panagia sto Kozili, that date should probably be somewhere in the eleventh century. In any case, all datings remain hypothetical until further investigation.

⁴¹¹ It has been dated by P. Vocotopoulos, A. Paliouras and Ch. Katsibinis, see Inventory, Part 5, below.

⁴¹² See relevant entry in the Inventory, Part 5 below.

⁴¹³ Konstantios 1991, 604; Athanasoulis, Androudis 2004, 518–519.

⁴¹⁴ By Konstantios (1981b, 293; 1982a, 278; 1991, 604).

⁴¹⁵ For an account of this evidence, see below relevant entry in the Inventory, Part 5. For a discussion of the inscription and sculptures, see Part 2, Chapters 2 and 3.II. (16, Sc44 and Table 11, esp. nos. 106–108).

3. The old Katholikon of Moni Myrtias was built of roughly dressed rubble in courses without bricks. Dogtooth brickwork bands outline the top of the apse and the brickwork circle in the E gable. All the above, together with the radiate-pattern brickwork and the twelfth-century frescoes of the interior, suggest the building should be dated in the eleventh or twelfth century.

4. The church on the site of Ag. Sophia at Ag. Sophia had a semicircular apse. However, since only the foundations survive, no further observations are possible.

5. Ag. Dimitrios at Matsouki has also been dated to the Middle Byzantine period prior to its sinking under the waters of the Stratos Reservoir.⁴¹⁶ The general impression given by its apse suggests a rather early monument of unhewn rubble built in courses with occasional courses of brick.⁴¹⁷ The window appears to have been single-light and very narrow; its arched frame is limited to the upper part of the window i.e. between the springers. It is outlined by a dogtooth brickwork band limited to this part of the building (i.e. it does not run around the walls of the church). On the basis of these observations and by comparison with the construction of the religious monuments previously discussed in this chapter, I would suggest that a provisional dating in the late ninth or early tenth century would not be out of place.

6. Finally, the church of Ag. Sophia in the Castle of Vonitsa has also been dated to the Middle Byzantine period.⁴¹⁸ But the building has been subjected to such extensive transformation that further observations are impossible at this point.

I.c. Imprecisely Dated or Undated Religious Buildings

The imprecisely dated or undated religious buildings included in this study can be divided into two categories:

- A. These churches could be – entirely or partly – dated to the Middle Byzantine period but which it has not been possible to investigate (so they can only be considered potential Middle Byzantine sites).
- B. Buildings considered to be Late- or Post-Byzantine but which either have construction phases which could date to the Middle Byzantine

⁴¹⁶ Konstantios 1991, 603.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid. pl. 121.

⁴¹⁸ Vocotopoulos 1984a, 113–114.

period or there is evidence suggesting that they have been built on top of earlier, Middle Byzantine ones (so they are also considered potential Middle Byzantine sites).

A.1. The Soteira church also known as Metochi Paleopanagias at Koukoura near Efpalio was built of rubble masonry divided into zones by single brick courses and was decorated with a brickwork cross (fig. 51a).⁴¹⁹ Both this masonry and the cross recall tenth-century structures in the area.⁴²⁰ Yet the upper part of the masonry, which includes the cross, is of Type 7b (rubble courses with single or double bricks in a regular cloisonné masonry); this should indicate a rather later dating, maybe even in the thirteenth century.

A.2. Of the Basilica 'Στ' in Nikopolis only the apse masonry has been recorded.⁴²¹ It was built in rubble set in a thick layer of mortar and divided into zones by rows of brickwork. The wall was reveted with mortar in which decorative, incised fishbone patterns had been made with a trowel. This kind of masonry recalls tenth-century churches in the area while the incised patterns in the mortar recall those of the old church of Ag. Stefanos at Rivio. But no further observations can be made without further investigation.

A.3. The church on the bank of the Arachthos in Arta had a semicircular apse built on a podium of ashlar.⁴²² The masonry consisted of rubble with brick-elements randomly set in the joints; this description fits tenth-eleventh-century churches in the area. The same goes for the podium, as the apses of Church 'A' at Astakos and Ag. Ioannis near Efpalio are also built on podia. However, these features are not adequate evidence for dating this little known building.

A.4. The Katholikon of Ag. Ioannis Monastery at Koukoura near Efpalio was built in the cloisonné technique and dates to a period later than the twelfth century.⁴²³ The original masonry is hardly visible in the enceinte; so no comments can be made without further investigation.

A.5. An old church in the Monastery of the Panagia on Mt. Vlochos can only be traced in two arches chiselled in the rock. A fallen column may

⁴¹⁹ Katsaros 1992–1993, 125–133.

⁴²⁰ The Dyo Ekklesies at Stamna.

⁴²¹ See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 – Chapter 2 below.

⁴²² Papadopoulou 1984.

⁴²³ Katsaros 1980a, 45–46, note 112.

also have been part of it. They are all impossible to date or discuss without further evidence.

A.6 – A.7. – A.8. The churches at Pleuron near Aetoliko, in the Castle of Ligovitsi and at Ag. Dimitrios on Mt. Varassova North-East have been described as built of rubble, mortar and bricks. A dating for these buildings in the Middle Byzantine period is not unlikely but can only be hypothetical.

B.1. The church of the Panagia Alichniotissa has previously been dated to the fourteenth century on the basis of the brick decoration of its apse.⁴²⁴ However, it is obvious that the fourteenth-century apse has been attached to an older building (fig. 83). In the masonry of the N and S walls at least four different styles can be discerned (fig. 84). In the lower parts of the walls courses of rubble alternate with single courses of bricks. Higher up there is rubble masonry divided into zones by courses of brick. This zone is succeeded by rubble masonry in which bricks are set in the horizontal joints – the bricks are mostly horizontally positioned and less frequently diagonally or vertically. Finally, cloisonné style masonry occupies the uppermost parts of the walls. As regards other features of this building, the window is single-light and narrow and its arched frame is made of bricks in a simple, radiate arrangement. All the above remarks could suggest an earlier dating of some of the construction phases, i.e. to the Middle Byzantine period. The masonry used and the window type are linked to the second half of tenth- or to the early eleventh century.⁴²⁵ However, as the exterior of the building has now been painted, no further observations are possible.

B.2. The Church of Ai-Giannis in the cemetery of Vonitsa (fig. 85) is as yet unpublished; only Kaponis has briefly commented on it suggesting a provisional dating in the tenth–eleventh centuries.⁴²⁶ It is obvious that the building had more than one construction phase, with the original a three-aisled basilica plan and the latest a single-aisled plan (confined to the central nave of the old basilica). The first phase is traceable in the W and S walls, where the masonry consists of random rubble divided into zones by horizontal courses of bricks while horizontally positioned bricks are also randomly set in the horizontal joints. It is not possible that this first building dated to the Middle Byzantine period and the embedded

⁴²⁴ Paliouras 2004a, 313; Tsouris 1988, 197–8.

⁴²⁵ See Gkioles 1987, 121.

⁴²⁶ Kaponis 2006, 222.

sculpture could have been made for that early phase. Therefore, I consider Kaponis' provisional dating to the tenth–eleventh centuries plausible.

B.3. – B.4. – B.5. A further three churches were built of spolia with brick occasionally filling the gaps among the stones: Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki in Vurnikas, Lefkada, Church 'B' in the Castle of Astakos and the Taxiarches on Mt. Zalongo (fig. 44). In my opinion the architecture of these buildings does not currently point to their being Middle Byzantine sites.

II. *Observations on the Dating of Masonries Used in Fortifications*

On the basis of the masonry evidence, I think it advisable to discuss the potential existence of Middle Byzantine construction phases in the following 19 fortified sites.

For reasons which will be explained below, Middle Byzantine construction phases seem very probable in:

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Castle of Aetos | 5. Castle of Arta |
| 2. Castle of Astakos | 6. Castle of Rogoi in Nea Kerassounda |
| 3. Castle of Vonitsa | 7. Enceinte in Nikopolis |
| 4. Castle of Nafpaktos | 8. Castle of Koulmos in Lefkada |

Construction phases from the Middle Byzantine period may exist in the following fortifications (though this has yet to be confirmed) as will be discussed below:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 9. Angelokastro | 15. Castle of Ligovitsi |
| 10. Tower at Ag. Ilias | 16. Trigardo in ancient Oeniades |
| 11. Castle of Amfilochia | 17. Castle of Riza |
| 12. Castle of Embessos | 18. Castle of Paravola |
| 13. Castle of Episkopi, Kalamos | 19. Phidokastro |
| 14. Castle at Glosses, Kandila | |

By contrast I think that the Castles at Vlochos and Kambos and the tower at Katochi must be dated after the twelfth century, on the basis of the masonry types 9 and 10 (fig. 221). Fortifications nos. 9 and 15; 10 and 17; 12, 14, 18 and 19 will be discussed together.

1. Castle of Aetos

In the remains of the Castle of Aetos at least four different masonries related to different occupation phases have been observed (masonry Types 2, 3, 4, 9, figs. 12, 13, 29, 35, 42, 219). Of these at least three – Types

2, 3 and 4 –most probably date to the Middle Byzantine period, and more specifically to the seventh–tenth centuries, while constructions made of Type 9-masonry probably represent a Late Byzantine phase of the site. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to make further observations because of the dense vegetation on the site which makes it hard to investigate further. Thus the site has been dated with the help of other kinds of evidence.

2. Castle of Astakos

A big part of the constructions at the Castle of Astakos is likewise covered by vegetation which hinders investigation. Various masonries resembling Types 2, 3, 4, 9 and 10 have been observed (fig. 86a–b). From this variety one may conclude that the initial phases of the site in the seventh–ninth century were succeeded by continuous occupation into the Post-Byzantine periods.

3. Castle of Vonitsa

The Castle of Vonitsa has also had more than one construction phase as is evident from the differences in masonry among the various parts. Two main types of masonry have been observed, which are very close to Types 4 and 9 described above. Apart from the church of Ag. Sophia inside the citadel, the outer line of walls and the rectangular building K7 they surround, as well as the SE upper transverse wall (figs. 87a–b) are most probably Byzantine but impossible to date more precisely without additional data. Koder & Soustal have dated them to the Comnenian period: this is confirmed by Foss's dating of this exact type of masonry (a strong rubble core reveted with a layer of mortar) to the reign of Manuel I (second half of the twelfth century).⁴²⁷ Dating these parts of the fortification during this period, without excluding the possible existence of earlier phases, is encouraged by several morphological elements (such as the arcade-type windows which are framed by stone arches outlined by dogtooth bands and the use of Type 4 masonry) as well as by the presence of a Middle Byzantine church and by historical evidence. Some Type 9 masonry is probably related to later occupation phases.

4. Castle of Nafpaktos

In the Castle of Nafpaktos the existence of several construction phases is very obvious in the successive zones of different kind of masonries. The

⁴²⁷ Foss 1991, 799.

initial phase is dated to the Hellenistic period and is occasionally still visible in the lower part of the enceinte. On the W and N sides of the outer line of walls a later, medieval superstructure has been added. This has been previously dated “to the Late Byzantine period at the earliest”.⁴²⁸

It will be suggested here that on the grounds of morphological criteria (i.e. the presence of masonries of the types 2, 4, 6, 9, 10) this superstructure dates to more than one medieval phases of construction (figs. 34, 37, 88, 89). For the same reasons – and also because of the supplementary archaeological and historical evidence discussed elsewhere⁴²⁹ – I also think that at least two or three medieval construction phases (represented by masonries of Types 2, 4 and 6 respectively) date to the Middle Byzantine period. These must have belonged to the various repairs which took place from the sixth century (after the AD 552 destruction) up to the twelfth century. This argument is further endorsed by the existence of Middle Byzantine remains in the S part of the citadel as well as by other evidence: i.e. the secular complex around the church of Ag. Ilias (figs. 105–106) and the religious monument mentioned in the inscription 16 (possibly built with the masonry shown in fig. 82) suggest that a Middle Byzantine phase of the castle definitely existed. Unfortunately its remains have been integrated into the later constructions represented by masonry Types 9–10; but the sources do mention repairs in the year 1218 and during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century as explained below.⁴³⁰

The building located within the inner citadel (Kastraki) adjacent to the N side of the enceinte has been subjected to extensive later repairs. The presence of the embedded, eleventh- to twelfth-century sculptures in and around the building makes it very likely that a Byzantine structure of the same period was once located on this site, as was very often the case in the highest and strongest point in Byzantine fortifications.⁴³¹

As for the large bastion made of *opus mixtum* masonry (in which large ashlar in courses alternate with brick bands and brick fragments set in the vertical joints) it was obviously once part of the outer line of walls. But its date is rather problematic, as discussed above.⁴³²

⁴²⁸ Theocharidou 1999, 40.

⁴²⁹ See Part 3 – Chapters 1 & 3 and relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

⁴³⁰ See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

⁴³¹ See Chapter 3.II below.

⁴³² The reason is that certain variations of this technique can be confused with Late Byzantine masonries : see Part 2 – Chapter 1, section 1.II.2.A, masonry *Type 1*, above.

5. Castle of Arta

At the Castle of Arta, the initial Byzantine construction is also built on a Hellenistic enceinte and has more than one phase (fig. 90). Parts of the enceinte, constructed according to methods which were common in the Middle Byzantine period, have been observed on the NE and the E sides of the enceinte as well as in the citadel (masonry Types 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 as illustrated in figs. 90, 91, 57). The part of the castle called Alichniotissa (fig. 57) presents a zone of decorative masonry along the upper part of the inner façade of the enceinte: this part looks like repair work and consists of a band of ornamental brickwork.

The Castle of Arta has previously been dated to the Late Byzantine period. Although no reasoning has been provided for this dating, one may assume that one indicator could have been the extensive ornamentation of the thirteenth-century churches of Arta with brickwork which also appears in the castle in the 'Alichniotissa'.

I believe that this Late Byzantine dating should be revised for the following reasons. It has already been suggested that rubble masonry with ornamental brickwork is a feature of fortifications in Asia Minor dating to the early Comnenian period, i.e. the reigns of Alexios I and John II (end of the eleventh – mid-twelfth century) and that from the time of Manuel I Komnenos (second half of the twelfth century) ornamentation is abandoned and the masonry consists of a strong rubble core reveted with mortar and reinforced with transverse wooden beams.⁴³³ This technique, described above as masonry Type 9, remained in use during the Late Byzantine period. It is not certain whether the above datings also apply to fortifications in *Epirus*. The specific brickwork motifs found in the 'Alichniotissa' have been dated to between ca. AD 1000 and the twelfth century in Kastoria.⁴³⁴ Other features of the masonry in the 'Alichniotissa' are the use of transverse wooden beams, the thinness of the walls and the random rubble masonry core. A combination of all the above features with brickwork has been dated from the tenth century onwards in buildings in Greece, the Balkans and in Asia Minor.⁴³⁵

Furthermore, even if one accepts the hypothesis that the brickwork zone in the 'Alichniotissa' dates to the thirteenth century, as previously suggested, the part of the enceinte under it is constructed in a completely

⁴³³ Foss 1991, 799; Foss 1982, 182–3.

⁴³⁴ These are the chevron pattern creating continuous triangles (see §A.2 above).

⁴³⁵ Velenis 1981, 901–903; Foss, Winfield 1986, 28.

different technique (simple random rubble reveted with mortar) and must obviously be earlier than the thirteenth-century repair. The investigation of the external façade of this same part of the enceinte revealed the use of masonries of Types 3, 4 and 5 which have so far been dated to the ninth–eleventh centuries. Therefore, on the basis of the aforementioned criteria, I think there must have been a Middle Byzantine construction phase in the Castle of Arta.

6. Castle of Rogoi

The Castle of Rogoi is also generally considered to be Late Byzantine due to the fact that it is regularly mentioned in fourteenth-century texts and because of the archaeological evidence. However, Sotirios Dakaris has given the following ambiguous dating for the Byzantine enceinte: “either during the ninth or during the thirteenth century” – based, I believe, on historical evidence – but he distinguished at least four different medieval construction phases.⁴³⁶

The castle is a massive and certainly, in my opinion, a very interesting construction with many different occupation phases and repairs – which are very easy to recognize from the morphological differences in successive zones of masonry. The initial, ancient building is visible in some of the lower parts of the walls as well as in an entire section of ancient masonry surviving on the N side of the hill below the level of the medieval enceinte (figs. 92, 93). A large part of the castle is today covered by vegetation and alluvial deposits as discussed elsewhere.⁴³⁷ Of the part still visible nowadays many constructions – notably the upper parts of the enceinte and one of the transverse walls (figs. 41, 93) – probably date to the Late Byzantine period or later.⁴³⁸

However, five distinct phases are represented by different types of masonry in the – exclusively medieval – Tower ‘H’ (see relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below and fig. 41). Of two successive construction phases of this tower, the first one consists of random rubble with the use of spolia (masonry Types 2 and 3 similar to that of tower ‘E’ shown in fig. 94) and the second one of rubble masonry in courses with brick fragments set in

⁴³⁶ Dakaris 1977, 229, 233; See detailed discussion in the relevant Inventory entry, Part 5 below.

⁴³⁷ See Part 1 – Chapter 2 above and relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

⁴³⁸ See Tsouris 1983, 150 on the dating of a type of cloisonné technique used on a Late Byzantine tower dated by comparison with the Tower of Thomas in Ioannina and other fortification works.

the joints (masonry Types 4 and 5, similar to that of other towers illustrated in figs. 36, 92, 226). Thus these two phases could be dated to the ninth–eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively. A third band of masonry above them represents a third phase of construction, possibly during the Middle Byzantine period (fig. 41). It consists of all rubble masonry in regular courses with brick fragments set in the joints but with the courses of stone now alternating with courses of brick. This type of masonry is dated after the eleventh century. These first three types of masonry have been used in the outer line of walls at levels which are no longer visible – being all covered up by alluvium and vegetation – but one can discern some traces of them in older illustrations.⁴³⁹ What is visible nowadays are the fourth and fifth phases, built of masonries similar to Types 8 and 9 in the upper parts of the tower.

Finally, the Type 4 masonries – seen here observed in the tower 'I' (fig. 92), on part of the enceinte near the entrance to the citadel (fig. 36) as well as along the whole eastern part of the enceinte in between towers 'B' and 'E' – date from the end of the tenth century onwards as discussed above. However, in the past this part of the walls has been attributed to the Palaiologan period.⁴⁴⁰

It is true that brick is used in a very irregular way in these parts: sometimes filling gaps created by the variable dimensions of spolia, at other times in bands or in the vertical joints. Parallel, horizontally-positioned brick-fragments have been used in the vertical joints in rubble masonries from the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period but only in isolated instances, where this technique was imposed by the diversity of the stone building materials; I think this was the case at the Castle of Rogoi. This technique gradually spread, involving more combinations of bricks (vertically or diagonally positioned, bands of three – five courses etc.) and eventually developed into the construction technique, which became very common during the Late Byzantine period.⁴⁴¹

In my opinion the overall building material and techniques provide evidence for at least three systematic attempts to reconstruct the fortifications, superposed on the ancient phase of the enceinte. During the first an attempt was made to construct the fortification using spolia from the ancient fortress and squared rubble, mortar and brick fragments. The

⁴³⁹ Such as that by D. Nicol in Sakellariou 1997, 209: fig. 165.

⁴⁴⁰ Brikas, Tsouris 1999, 82.

⁴⁴¹ Tsouris 1998, 445.

second reconstruction phase is represented by a type of masonry consisting of courses of rubble alternating with courses of brick. During the third phase, a superstructure was built using random rubble masonry with more limited use of brick. However, in between the two, extensive repairs of many different parts of the castle are evident from the patches of masonry resembling two different cloisonné variations.

It is also clear from the patches of masonry all over the building that there have been numerous repairs. Most of the 11 types of masonry described above (in Chapter 1, Section 1.II.2.A.) can be found in this building. It is therefore evident that it has been in use for a very long time and that therefore it has been constantly repaired with successive recycling of older building material, which makes it even harder to distinguish between repairs. Additional evidence (such as the eleventh-century church apse and embedded sculpture, as well as historical references and geological data, see relevant entry in the Inventory, Part 5, Chapter 2) endorse the aforementioned dating which remains to be confirmed by a thorough investigation of the building's architecture.

7. Fortifications of Nikopolis

The greater part of the enceinte at Nikopolis is constructed according to the typical method used in Justinianic fortifications, i.e. *opus mixtum* (masonry Type 1, fig. 33). However, later repairs have been observed in parts of W sector of the enceinte, where the masonry must be dated to the Middle Byzantine period (Types 4, 5, figs. 95a–b). It is a moot point as to whether the dogtooth pattern of the brickwork band used in these Middle Byzantine repairs should be used as an argument for dating them immediately after the year AD 873/4 – when the pattern is usually thought to have first appeared in a religious building, the Panagia at Skripou, Boeotia – or whether dogtooth ornament could have actually been used even before. In any case, what is certain is that dogtooth bands are found only in the upper parts of the enceinte where the masonry is later than the original construction: the masonry Types 4 and 5 used around and below the brickwork band (fig. 95a) indicate that the enceinte was repaired on one or more occasions between the ninth century and the time when the site was abandoned, which according to the historical evidence would not be later than the end of the eleventh century.

8. Castle of Koulmos in Lefkada

At the Castle of Koulmos different types of masonry can be distinguished in different parts of the enceinte. One group of buildings (on the N slope

of the middle hill of the ancient acropolis as well as the first, second and fifth parts of the enceinte on the W and N slopes of Koulmos Hill) has been constructed using Type 2 masonry (figs. 96a–b). Masonries resembling Types 3 and 4 are visible in most of the N part and above all in the S part of the enceinte. Finally, the rest of the S part of the enceinte is constructed using a different technique resembling Type 9 masonries (fig. 97). Therefore, morphological criteria suggest that this fortification must have had several construction phases dating from the seventh century to the Ottoman period.

9, 15. Angelokastro – Castle of Ligovitsi

At Angelokastro the inner line of walls, i.e. the citadel (fig. 98), and possibly the gate in the outer line of walls (fig. 99) seem to have been Middle Byzantine constructions.⁴⁴² By contrast, the outer enceinte has been dated to the Late Byzantine period on the basis of its masonry.⁴⁴³

Type 3 masonry used in the gate is common in other Middle Byzantine fortifications in this area. The inner enceinte, made of Type 4 masonry, has been reinforced with wooden beams, a technique also found at the Castle of Arta (as discussed above), at the Castle of Pydna in the tenth century and in many religious monuments.⁴⁴⁴ Also the brickwork pattern representing a Tree of Life, found in other Middle Byzantine fortifications as discussed above, may possibly indicate that the building dates to this period.

The existence of a similar pattern on a gate in the nearby Castle of Ligovitsi may indicate that both were constructed by the same workshop – or even involved the same donor? – which would mean a more or less similar dating for both works. The description of the castle by some scholars provides information which does not exclude a Middle Byzantine dating. This information refers to details of the types of masonry and lime-mortar (Type 2), to the brickwork pattern of the Tree of Life and the similarity of the Castle of Ligovitsi to that of Aetos.

11. Castle of Amfilochia

On this site the visible part of the medieval fortifications is very small. Masonries of Types 2, 10 and 11 have been observed so the dating is rather

⁴⁴² Tsouris 1988, 287, note 469.

⁴⁴³ Tsouris 1988, 6.

⁴⁴⁴ Marki 2001, 42; Velenis 1981, 901–903.

ambiguous. It seems more appropriate to date this site during Post-Byzantine periods, though not without further investigation.

10, 17. Trigardo – Tower at Ag. Ilias

These buildings are made of masonries resembling Type 4 discussed above (figs. 100, 228) with use of Type 2 mortar. This means that they can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period. However, as such a small part of them survives, they are impossible to precisely date without further evidence.

16. Castle of Paravola

Masonries used in parts of the citadel of the Paravola enceinte are of Type 4 (fig. 101). They strongly recall the masonries used in the surviving part of the fortifications at Ag. Triada hill in Kato Vassiliki (fig. 102) and the buildings in the agora at Stratos (fig. 103). I think it is very possible that the enceinte was originally built during the Middle Byzantine period but it is almost certain to have undergone later reconstruction.

12, 14, 18, 19. Castles at Embessos, Episkopi in Kalamos, Glosses in Kandila, Riza and Phidokastro

Unfortunately it is not possible to make any observations on the dating of these sites for the moment, because of the lack of new evidence. As their locations were either inaccessible or only accessible by sea, any accounts of them must be based on the existing literature.

III. *Observations Regarding the Dating of Masonries Used in Secular Buildings*

The construction of houses has been discussed in the overall account of their architecture in Chapter 1.I.4. Some instances of other secular buildings will be commented on here.

1. Building in the Castle of Arta.

The rectangular building on the E side of the enceinte seems to have had two different construction phases (fig. 104).⁴⁴⁵ The initial construction is most visible in the NE part of the building and it was made of masonry of Types 2 or 3; ashlar (*spolia* from the ancient city) and rubble were built in irregular courses and any gaps created by the irregular size of the stones were filled in by horizontally positioned bricks. Part of the E wall is reveted with mortar, but it is not clear if that dates back to the first

⁴⁴⁵ This building has been discussed above in Chapter 1, Section 1.I.4.A, §II.a.

construction phase. A dating of this phase to the Middle Byzantine period (maybe the eleventh century) is not improbable.

The masonry of the second construction phase is very similar to that of the W part of the Panagia sto Kozili (dated to the end of twelfth or even the turn of the thirteenth century) and many thirteenth-century buildings in Arta, with ashlar and horizontally positioned bricks forming an irregular cloisonné. At this time some changes were made to the building: the S part of the E wall and a part of the S wall were repaired and the E entrance gate was walled-up.

2. The building on the S-W side of the hill of Ag. Merkourios in Arta was described as “built of mixed stone and brick masonry, in which undressed stones and reused ancient ashlar were bound with mortar, bricks were set in the joints”;⁴⁴⁶ the description recalls the masonry of the building on the E side of the enceinte of the Castle of Arta. However no further remarks can be made without further investigation.

3. Several buildings by the ‘Northern Complex’ in the citadel of the Castle of Nafpaktos (next to the modern church of Ag. Ilias) may also partly date to the Middle Byzantine period (figs. 105–106).⁴⁴⁷ In particular, one of them, known as the ‘Bath House’, is quite large but its roof and the upper parts of the walls have collapsed (fig. 105a–b). Its initial phase has been dated to the Middle Byzantine period.⁴⁴⁸ The type of masonry (Type 5) and windows (Type 2) could indicate that the building dates to the tenth–twelfth centuries (fig. 105a–b). As discussed above, the masonry is very similar to that of the Panagia sto Kozili (first phase) and other buildings of the ‘N complex’ (see below for the relevant discussion of secular buildings), thus implying a chronological relationship between them and maybe that they were constructed by the same workshop. In any case, all datings remain hypothetical until further investigation.

4. The buildings in the agora at Stratos are constructions built of *spolia*, squared stones and lime-mortar with earth floors. Building 1 was covered with a tiled roof. Their Type 5 masonry suggests a chronology in the tenth–eleventh centuries.

⁴⁴⁶ Papadopoulou 1992a, 382.

⁴⁴⁷ See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

⁴⁴⁸ It has been dated by D. Athanasoulis and P. Androudis, see relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

5. Building in the monastery of Panagia sto Kozili

This building has also had at least two construction phases.⁴⁴⁹ The masonry of the first phase consisted of ashlar and brick built in a regular cloisonné system while that of the second phase is rubble with brick fragments set randomly in some joints (fig. 107). According to the masonry both buildings should probably be dated after the twelfth century (perhaps in the thirteenth–fourteenth century the first phase and a Post-Byzantine period for the second). Of course datings remain hypothetical pending thorough investigation.

6. The building to the S-W of the Katholikon of the Panagia Trimitou Monastery was of very similar masonry to the Katholikon itself and it must date to the same period (tenth century, fig. 70). The decoration of the double-light window on its E wall confirms this dating. However no further remarks are possible since the building has not been excavated.

1.III. CONCLUSIONS

The buildings under investigation in *Epirus* are usually of rather small dimensions and present a noticeable diversity of plans and arrangements. Exceptions to this rule are found in the fortifications which are inclined to be massive constructions, although identifying their Middle Byzantine forms is often problematic. Churches – with very few exceptions – are normally small and their architectural features more or less conform to the norms of the ‘Helladic School’ of Byzantine architecture. Burial spaces, houses, roads and fortifications seem to follow the basic rules in construction of similar buildings as in other parts of the Byzantine world.

Yet when it comes to influences from or relations with neighbouring regions, there seem to have been closer connections with architecture in Macedonia and the Peloponnese than with that of Thessaly and the eastern part of Central Greece. Buildings in these areas seem to have shared both construction and decorative practices. This relationship is also confirmed by the evidence of architectural sculptures and small finds discussed below (in the Conclusions of Chapters 3 and 4 of Part 2).

As regards the construction methods and masonry, generally speaking, those which have been seen in buildings located within the investigated area of *Epirus* present great diversity. Relative uniformity, for example,

⁴⁴⁹ This building has been discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.I.2.B, above.

is observed in the masonry used in religious buildings but not so much in fortifications. This is not surprising, if one takes into account some of the requirements of Byzantine fortified architecture. For example, fortifications needed frequent repairs and they were much bigger constructions and hence could have necessitated more than one workshop being employed simultaneously and building in what may have been very different styles.⁴⁵⁰

Nevertheless, a change in construction methods is obvious from the late sixth–seventh century and later, when compared with that of earlier buildings in the same area. So, unlike the Early Byzantine buildings made of *opus mixtum*, fortifications, churches, houses and graves dated within the seventh–ninth centuries present a very particular, basic style, using a mixture of pre-existing building materials (i.e. *spolia*) with rubble, gravel and fragments of bricks and/or tiles, described above in detail, all bonded with a strong type of mortar. This method was already applied in Early Byzantine constructions where *spolia* were combined with *opus incertum* and brick and tile fragments while column drums and architectural fragments were a common means of binding face to core according to the *emblekton* system.⁴⁵¹ However now *spolia* seem to be regularly coursed as to approximate ashlar and thus be stable by themselves while the face and core are not bound according to the *emblekton* system. This change in masonry has been attributed to the availability of new technology for producing mortar, which resulted in a variety of easier and faster construction methods, using the most widely available building materials.⁴⁵² This may not have been the only explanation for this change. The difference in construction methods could also have been linked to changed conditions in the production and distribution of building materials as well as with other practical and financial aspects of construction and symbolic practices like the use of *spolia*.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰ Velenis 1999.

⁴⁵¹ For example at the Hexamillion in Isthmia and the Post-Herulian wall in Athens.

⁴⁵² For a planner of military constructions, this method would have been an evident convenience, for example in case of urgent works in enemy territory. In that case, even if the available stone was very suitable for construction, it is far from obvious how they could have them dressed. See Foss, Winfield 1986, 25–29.

⁴⁵³ On the changes in the production and distribution of building materials at this time, see Sodini 2002, esp. 140. The specific practical and financial aspects of construction at this time would plausibly have related to the general warfare, in Byzantium at this time, which would have been producing a disturbance in long-distance trade, on one hand, and a greater need for the restoration of existing fortifications and the construction of new ones, on the other. On the use of *spolia*, see relevant section in Chapter 1.II.1, above.

For a stronger and safer bonding of the aforementioned building materials, builders reinforced their constructions with horizontal brick-bands or transverse wooden beams – the latter being cheaper and faster to implement.⁴⁵⁴ The revetment of buildings with a layer of mortar was probably a way of protecting the interior from rainwater and other causes of damage.

The common mid-ninth to twelfth-century masonries are developments of the aforementioned new seventh-century technique; they now involve a more extensive use of brick – whether random or in regular patterns (e.g. in bands or using some sort of *cloisonné* technique) – though they occasionally imitate older architectural elements. Towards the end of the period in question, i.e. in the late twelfth century, the *cloisonné* technique became a well established part of the construction of religious monuments in this particular geographical area as seen in the tendency to create very careful, extremely ornamental, *cloisonné* masonry.

The aforementioned construction methods developed in interdependence with factors such as the availability of materials and artisans for any given site, the budget for each project, the specific defensive needs to be met by fortifications or the particular constructional or aesthetic preferences in local and contemporary architecture. The last factor is not apparent in the case of the fortification works though they can be seen more clearly in relation to the religious buildings, as many scholars have already noted according to the extensive literature.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁴ Foss, Winfield 1986, 28.

⁴⁵⁵ See Chapter 1.1.1.2.

CHAPTER TWO

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS ON OR IN BUILDINGS (APPENDIX 1 AND TABLE 9)

Byzantine Studies do not so far dispose of any published corpora of Byzantine inscriptions from North Western Greece.¹ The epigraphic sample found in sites dated in the 7th–12th centuries is unfortunately small; it consists of eight building inscriptions. This is a very restricted number of inscriptions considering the huge amount of buildings constructed during the seventh–twelfth centuries. It seems then that the Middle Byzantine period in *Epirus* was poor in epigraphic evidence, when compared with the large number of inscriptions from the Early and Late Byzantine periods.² Indeed a decline in epigraphy is attested all over the Byzantine world in this period.³

It also seems that after the seventh century inscriptions only began to reappear ca. 1000 with the inscription I2 and that at Ag. Jason and Sossipatros in Corfu.⁴ This seems rather late compared with what happened in other Byzantine provinces – e.g. inscriptions reappeared in the Peloponnese in the ninth century and in Thrace during the eighth century although in these regions, too, they were more numerous from the eleventh century onwards.⁵ In Thessaly, too, *Epirus*' immediate neighbour, inscriptions did not reappear until the eleventh century;⁶ judging from the total number of inscriptions known for all Byzantine periods, one may conclude that there was less interest in epigraphy in this central and western part of the Greek mainland, with the exception of thirteenth- and

¹ The revision of a preliminary research on the inscriptions of *Epirus*, conducted as part of my postgraduate studies, lies among my future publication prospects. The original dissertation can be found at the library of the Center of Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Birmingham, UK (Veikou 1998).

² 21 inscriptions have been recorded from *Epirus* dating to the 4th–6th c. and 40 dating in the 13th–15th c. See Veikou 1998, esp. 149.

³ Mango 1991, 239–240. Among neighboring or more remote Byzantine provinces 12 inscriptions of the Middle Byzantine period have been recorded in the Peloponnese, 6 in Thessaly and 10 inscriptions in Western Thrace. See Veikou 1998, 160–162; Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985; Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980; Avramea, Feissel 1987.

⁴ Papadimitriou 1942–1944, 37–43.

⁵ See Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985; Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980.

⁶ Avramea, Feissel 1987.

Table 9. Inscriptions from Middle Byzantine Epirus.

Inscription no.	Function	Dedicator's name and office	Date	Site number – name	Bibliography
I1	Dedicatory?			15 – Angelokastro	Orlandos 1961a, 67
I2	Dedicatory	Nisandros (Nikandros?), monk	990–1005 AD	16 – Mt. Arakynthos, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos, large cave	Katsaros 1980a
I3	Dedicatory	Michael	13th century or earlier	16 – Mt. Arakynthos, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos, large cave	Paliouras 2004a, 194
I4	Dedicatory (double)	Ioannis, monk (Arsenios, monk)	1147/8 AD (1076/7 AD)	41 – Efpalio, Varnakona Monastery, Katholikon	<i>CIG</i> , vol. 4, 337: no. 8730; Lambros 1909, 388–389; Orlandos 1922b, 6
I5	Dedicatory	Constantinos Maniakis, magistros, and family	1148/9 AD	67 – Louros, Ag. Varnavas	Mamaloukos 1995, 195–200
I6	Dedicatory	Leon Semnos, metropolitan of Nafpaktos	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle	Vocotopoulos 1973, 398–399, pl. 351β
I7	Invocation			64 – Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki	Unpublished
I8	Invocation			64 – Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki	Unpublished

fourteenth-century *Epirus* as discussed in the Conclusions (chapter 2.II. below).⁷

2.I. THE INSCRIPTIONS

Starting with the brick inscription (I1, fig. 108) from the Castle of Angelokastro (S/N 15),⁸ it so far remains illegible and undated. The incomprehensible sequence of letters has led to the hypothesis that it is incomplete i.e. the inscription either started from the part to the left of the Tree of Life (see p. 128 above) or it continued further to the right; however, that does not seem likely as the masonry of the building is homogenous.

Brick inscriptions on fortifications are not unusual, especially during the Late Byzantine period.⁹ The usual content of such inscriptions was either the name of the patron¹⁰ or the year of the erection of the building or both.¹¹ One example is found on the so-called Tower of Thomas in the Castle of Ioannina; only the last part survives naming the donor but it is likely in this case that it originally extended to a higher level.¹² Several brick inscriptions survive on thirteenth-century façades of religious buildings in *Epirus*.¹³ Compared with the Late Byzantine inscriptions in *Epirus* the one at Angelokastro is both brief and unclear; it has been observed that both these qualities are features of inscriptions on the walls of Constantinople.¹⁴ Nor is the resemblance of the adjacent Tree-of-Life brickwork motif to the one of Ligovitsi Castle of great value as far as dating is concerned, since the dating of the site of Ligovitsi is also hypothetical; the style of masonry does allow a dating of the wall towards the end of the Middle or the beginning of the Late Byzantine period.¹⁵

The dedicatory inscription I2 from the large cave of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos on Mt. Arakynthos (S/N 16) runs along a fresco depicting the Theotokos Spiliotissa (fig. 109).¹⁶

⁷ Veikou 1998, 161–2.

⁸ The Site Numbers (S/N) refer to the Inventory in Part 5 of this study.

⁹ See examples from Greek Thrace and Greek Macedonia in: Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 246–250; Velenis 1994, 271–276.

¹⁰ See examples at Ioannina and Didymoteicho in Vranousis 1967–1968, 503–505; Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 265–266.

¹¹ See for example the inscription at Hexamillion dated to AD 1415 in: Feissel, Philipidis-Braat 1985, 346 (no. 84); Vranousis 1967–1968, 503–505.

¹² Vranousis 1967–1968, 503–505; Papadopoulou 1997a, 104–105.

¹³ See Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 49–53, 56–57; Velenis 1994, 266–269.

¹⁴ Velenis 1994, 277.

¹⁵ See discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 1.II.2. and Part 3 – Chapter 1.

¹⁶ Katsaros 1980b, pl. 3.

It was probably written by a not very scholarly scribe, however it follows the usual Byzantine formula: name (usually including titles or attributes) of donor – chronology (month, indiction, and date). Two variations of this formula are known from an inscription on a templon epistyle from Ag. Ioannis Kynegos or Ton Philosophon Monastery (1204/5)¹⁷ and in the donor inscription on a Byzantine astrolabe from Constantinople (1062).¹⁸ The donor in Ag. Nikolaos in Ypati also had just his first name inscribed on a door lintel sometime in the second half of the eleventh century.¹⁹

The inscription at Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos is written in similar characters to the ‘caption’ accompanying the fresco and it obviously commemorates the dedication of the image of the Theotokos Spiliotissa commissioned by the monk Nikandros.²⁰ It has been suggested that Nikandros is the painter himself,²¹ though that is rather unlikely for a church of such an early date. It has also been suggested that the inscription could refer to the founder of the monastery, mentioned in a later text by the Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, John Apokaukos (ca. 1199–1222).²² The issue of the founder of this monastery is discussed at length elsewhere.²³

As far as the date of the fresco and inscription is concerned, the dating part of the inscription mentions the 9th? day of July and the third indiction of an unknown year. If the monk Nissandros/Nikandros of the inscription is indeed the same who, according to the historical evidence, was active in this area between 990 and 1005, the inscription must have been written during one of the two years in which (9th) July coincided with the third indiction, i.e. 990 or 1005. The Spiliotissa fresco does not provide any further evidence for a more precise dating.

The dedicatory inscription (I3) of a fresco at the small cave of the same monastery of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos proved not to be very helpful towards a reconstruction of the history of the monastery. Text particularities involve the use of the term ‘ἀρχιστράτηγς’ for Archangel Gabriel. The use of the same term for Archangel Michael in an inscription at the Prodomos Monastery in Gortynia was dated as late as the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century.²⁴ The invocation “(Κύριε) βοήθι τόν δοῦλον σου...” is very

¹⁷ Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 105.

¹⁸ Guillou 1995, 122–123.

¹⁹ Avraméa, Feissel 1987, 370–372, no. 14.

²⁰ For the fresco see relevant discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 3.

²¹ Katsaros 1980b, 373, note 24.

²² Paliouras 2004a, 193.

²³ See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 below.

²⁴ Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985, 349–50, no. 87.

common in Byzantine funerary and dedicatory inscriptions. The formula is found as a mere invocation as early as in the sixth century on a column in a church at Sougia Selinou, Crete.²⁵ In Byzantine *Epirus* the formula is found in a seventh-century dedicatory inscription which accompanies the donor portrait in mosaic in the Amphitheatre chapel, Durrës.²⁶ Among later examples, a very similar inscription in Cappadocia is mentioned by Paliouras:²⁷ Indeed in Church 3 of Ag. Agathangelos at Güllü Dere, an inscription in uncials and of similar formula is dated to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century.²⁸ Another is found on a marble stele from Ag. Deka (Gortyn) in Crete (ca. 960).²⁹ Later examples include an inscription at Omorfi Ekklesia in Aegina (1289)³⁰ and the dedication by a painter on a fresco of a Deisis in Ag. Sophia at Mylopotamos, Kythera (first half of the thirteenth century).³¹

Michael, who commissioned the fresco, is otherwise unknown. There is no historical evidence for a monk or abbot by this name. Paliouras has suggested that it could have been Michael Komnenodoukas (1204–1214), a prominent figure of the thirteenth century.³² However, this identification remains hypothetical even more so because the fresco of Gabriel has not been convincingly dated to the thirteenth century and looks rather earlier.³³

The only concrete criteria for a possible dating of this inscription seem to be those introduced by art history. Paliouras has dated the inscription and the dedicated fresco to the beginning of the thirteenth century on the basis of his interpretation of the inscription and stylistic analysis of the fresco.³⁴ Nevertheless, a much earlier dating based on the same criteria, as suggested lately by Vasilakeris seems to be more likely considering the total lack of indication of breathings and accentuation in the uncial script of the inscription.³⁵

²⁵ Bandy 1970, 139.

²⁶ Veikou 1998, 45–46; Thierry 1968, 227–229.

²⁷ Paliouras 2004a, 196.

²⁸ Jerphanion 1925–1942, I, 2, 593–594, no. 121; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1965, 199; Thierry 1983, I, 123.

²⁹ Bandy 1970, 51–53.

³⁰ Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 86.

³¹ Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 108.

³² Paliouras 2004a, 196.

³³ See Paliouras 2004a, 196, fig. 204.

³⁴ Paliouras 2004a, 196.

³⁵ Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 548.

Although the dedicatory inscription I4 from the Katholikon of Varnakova Monastery near Efpalio (S/N 41) is no longer visible, a note in an 18th-century document referring to the foundation of the monastery seems to have mentioned exactly the same facts and historical figures as the inscription; hence it could have been copying either the inscription itself or an earlier document.³⁶

The text presents a few particularities. The verb *δεδόμεται* is not very common in this kind of inscriptions; the verbs *ἀνηγέρθη* and *ἀνοικοδομήθη* are more often preferred. The verb (*δομῶ*) meaning ‘to build, construct’³⁷ originates in Hellenistic and Roman Greek and it is found in Middle- and Late Byzantine literary texts – such as Digenis Akritas and Doukas.³⁸ The word *δομήτωρ*, though, with the meaning of the ‘founder’ is found in twelfth-century texts;³⁹ it is often found in Middle Byzantine inscriptions from nearby Thessaly as are its cognates *δόμον* and *δομητὸς ναός*.⁴⁰ The formula of the inscription – i.e. foundation, donor, patriarch, emperor, date – is common in this period.⁴¹ Unusually the inscription employs the same formula twice in order to commemorate two new foundations. As for the rest of the content, there appears to be a strong similarity between this inscription at Varnakova Monastery and those in two other monastic foundations of the same period in the adjacent theme of *Hellas*. Specifically, there are very similar texts in the dedicatory inscriptions of the Katholika of the nearby Agia Moni in Doris (located near the Mornos river in the diocese of Kallion and dated to 1199)⁴² and of Vitoumas Monastery at Stagoi in NW Thessaly.⁴³ This similarity certainly points to a common composer; however it might also indicate that some cultural traits – such as building traditions, epigraphic habits, and aesthetic preferences – were shared by a circle of erudite donors of religious buildings within *Nikopolis* and *Hellas*. These people were obviously in contact with the Byzantine capital judging from the content of the inscriptions. Such shared cultural

³⁶ Lambros 1909, 388–9, 382–392; Lambros 1915, 445–449.

³⁷ Liddell, Scott 1869, entry *δομῶ*; Sophocles 1888, entries *δόμημα* (> *δέμω*), *δόμησις*.

³⁸ *Digenes Akritas*, Z 3809; *Ducas History*, 167³¹, 427⁹.

³⁹ It is mentioned in a text dated to 1143, in the Chronicle by Manassis, in the Acta of Xéropotamou monastery and elsewhere (Kriaras 1977, V, 182).

⁴⁰ The inscriptions come from Tsagezi (11th c.), Vitoumas Monastery (1161) and Almyros (1274/5). See Avraméa, Feissel 1987, 369–370, 372–6 (nos. 13, 16, 18).

⁴¹ See the dedicatory inscriptions from Argos (1173/4), from Arkassades in Laconia (1296/7) and from the Peloponnese (14th c.) in: Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985, 320–321 (no. 61), 309–310 (no. 52), 324–325, 327–328, 339–340, 349–350 (nos. 64, 67, 78, 87).

⁴² Koder, Hild 1976, 169, 180; For the inscription see Sotiriadis 1914, 208–210.

⁴³ Avraméa, Feissel 1987, 372–374 (no. 16).

traits between the aforementioned areas during this period are also confirmed by other sorts of archaeological and historical evidence discussed elsewhere.⁴⁴

Lambros has discussed the historical evidence provided by the text of the Varnakova inscription. It mentions the foundation of the monastery and the erection of the first Katholikon as well as the construction of the second church several years later. So, according to the inscription, the first church was erected by a monk named Arsenios during the patriarchate of Cosmas. Judging from the chronology mentioned in the inscription, i.e. the anno mundi 6585 (Ag.D. 1076/7), this Patriarch must be identified with Cosmas I, who succeeded Ioannis IX Xiphilinos, as Patriarch of Constantinople in August 1075. He remained in office there until May 1081, when he resigned.⁴⁵

The second part of the inscription refers to the construction of a second church by the monk Ioannis during the reign of an emperor mentioned as Manuel Porphyrogennitos and the patriarchate of Nikolaos, in the anno mundi 6656 (Ag.D. 1147/8). This would mean the emperor was Manuel I Komnenos, who succeeded his father, John II, in April 1143 and occupied the throne until his death on 24th September 1180.⁴⁶ As concerns Nikolaos, he is obviously Nikolaos IV Mouzalon, patriarch of Constantinople from December 1147 until March or April 1151; he had succeeded Cosmas II, when the latter had been accused of involvement in Bogomilism.⁴⁷ The almost complete date given in the inscription leads us to the years 1147/8 while the mention of Nikolaos IV Mouzalon as Patriarch and of the 11th indiction allows us to determine that the inscription was put up in this second church of the Varnakova monastery in the year 1148.⁴⁸

The traces of both these churches built on this monastic site have been identified by Bouras on the basis of architectural evidence.⁴⁹ Some sculptures discussed in this study probably date to the construction of the second building.⁵⁰

In the 19th-century church of Ag. Varnavas in Louros (*S/N* 67, figs. 111a–c) two dedicatory inscriptions have been placed at both sides of the entrance according to the Byzantine practice which may be seen in Western Greece

⁴⁴ See Part 2 – Chapters 1.III, 3.II, 4.VI.

⁴⁵ Grumel 1958, 27–32; Nicol 1991, 78–79.

⁴⁶ Nicol 1991, 78–79.

⁴⁷ Kazhdan et al. 1991, 1467–1468.

⁴⁸ Grumel 1958, 257.

⁴⁹ See detailed discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 1 and the relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 of this study.

⁵⁰ See Part 2 – Chapter 3.II. below.

at Ag. Jason and Sossipatros, Corfu (ca. 1000 Ag.D.).⁵¹ However the ones at Louros commemorate two different acts of dedication dated to the 12th and the 19th century.

The inscription to the left of the entrance (I5, fig. 111b) is the earliest. The metrical text, consisting of dodecasyllabic verses, and the lack of spelling mistakes indicate a scholarly author.⁵² Both the verse and the formula at the beginning, i.e. *ζητεῖς μαθεῖν*, are common in Byzantine funerary inscriptions from the eleventh century onwards.⁵³ In Epirus this formula is found again on a sarcophagus found at the Varnakova Monastery and probably dating to the thirteenth century.⁵⁴ The author's erudition is further attested by the use of words like *ξυνωρίς* (meaning a 'pair' and used often in ecclesiastical texts)⁵⁵ and *προστάτης* (most probably meaning an abbot of a monastery, given the meaning associated with the term *προστασία* known from Byzantine documents).⁵⁶

According to this dedicatory inscription, a church (*σεπτὸς δόμος*, a common way of referring to churches – see also a variation above in I3) was built in a monastery in 1148/9 by the – otherwise unknown – Constantinos Maniakis, his sons and the abbot. Two members of the Maniakis family, both called Georgios, are mentioned in the 11th c. in Thebes; however their eventual relationship to Constantinos is unknown.⁵⁷ Constantinos, must have been not only educated but probably also a high official: since a family name (*Μανιάκης*) is provided at the end of L. 3 of the inscription, the word *μάγιστρος* referring to his name can only be the title of that person. The important Early- and Middle-Byzantine title of *magistros* started fading out during the period in which this church was built⁵⁸ as indicated in the inscription: no day, month or indiction is mentioned (probably for metrical reasons) – only the *anno mundi* 6657 which corresponds to the period from September 1148 to August 1149 Ag.D. The monastery obviously existed before that time, since its abbot contributed to the construction.

The later inscription, placed to the right of the entrance, commemorates the dedication of the present church of Ag. Varnavas on the 12th

⁵¹ Papadimitriou 1942–1944, 37–43.

⁵² For a discussion of the metrical inscriptions from *Epirus* see § Conclusions below.

⁵³ Mango 2008, 147.

⁵⁴ Orlandos 1922b, 15; Veikou 1998, 96.

⁵⁵ Mamaloukos suggests a correlation with the *Menaion* of the month November (1995, 199).

⁵⁶ Guillou et al. 1970, 42.

⁵⁷ Kazhdan et al. 1991, II, 1285.

⁵⁸ Guiland 1972–73, 25.

April, 1833. What is remarkable is the similarity in the material, text and positioning of this second inscription in relation to the old one which it was intended to exactly match (see Appendix 1 and fig. 111c).⁵⁹ The new inscription imitates the Byzantine style and epigraphic habit as if to demonstrate an uninterrupted local tradition. The historical evidence contained in this later inscription and its relevance to the older one are discussed elsewhere in relation to the problem of the initial monastery church's exact location (Part 5 – Chapter 5.II. – S/N 67).

The inscription from the Castle of Nafpaktos (I6, fig. 110, S/N 76) provides some interesting information on both religious administration and cultural traits in the Byzantine settlement, when combined to other sorts of evidence. A preliminary dating of the inscription to the eleventh century or later is allowed by the indication of accentuation and the verse epitaph.⁶⁰ However, its prosopographic evidence further points to a date well into the twelfth century, not only for the inscription itself but also for a funerary building of a member of the clergy, located somewhere inside the Castle.

According to the text, the *θυηπόλος* of Nafpaktos, named Λέων (Leo), restored or decorated some funerary monument identified by the word *τύμβος* (Λέων, ὁ Σεμνός Ναυπάκτου θυηπόλος, τὸν τύμβον ἡὺτρέπισεν, ὃν βλέπεις, ξέν[ε], ὅς εἰ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ πέσοι Θεῷ χάρις). From the third line of the text we assume that Leo was himself buried in the monument which he decorated and where the inscription was placed. Although the monument to which the inscription refers has not survived, it must be sought among the Middle Byzantine remains in the Castle of Nafpaktos, some of which could have belonged to a religious building located in the citadel, as discussed above.⁶¹

As far as Leo is concerned, from the text of the inscription one can deduce that he was an erudite person. The word *θυηπόλος* is found mainly in metrical texts meaning a functionary.⁶² However, it is also common in inscriptions and *typika* from the tenth but mainly in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries; in these references it means a metropolitan, bishop or monk and very often a priest.⁶³ In *Epirus* the word is found again –

⁵⁹ Mamaloukos 1995, 196.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the metrical inscriptions from *Epirus* see Conclusions below.

⁶¹ See Part 2, Chapter 1.I.2 above.

⁶² Laurent 1963, 31.

⁶³ Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 256–257 (no. 14); Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985, 267–395 (no. 51); Laurent 1965, XXXI.

meaning most probably a bishop – in two dedicatory inscriptions in verse at Ag. Jason and Sossipatros at Corfu, a church dated around 1000 AD on the basis of the masonry and brickwork.⁶⁴

Leo of the inscription in Nafpaktos has thus been identified with Leo, a metropolitan of Nafpaktos, who signed a document concerning a marriage drawn up during a Patriarchal Council and addressed to the emperor Manuel I Komnenos, on 5th May, 1172; one of his seals has also been preserved as discussed elsewhere.⁶⁵ According to previous research Semnos could have been Leo's family name since it was also inscribed on other seals attributed to him.⁶⁶

It is also possible that Semnos was a suitable epithet that fitted the verse, since the available prosopographical works do not seem to confirm the existence of a family of Semnoi during this or earlier periods;⁶⁷ only the feminine name, Semne, appears in such works rather as a first name.⁶⁸ If Semnos is used as a plain epithet, it is a moot point whether Leo could in fact be the same person as the eponymous scholar and prominent priest, who is mentioned as the patron of the church of Ag. Moni Areias in Nafplio during the mid-twelfth century. The Typikon and the dedicatory inscription of the church mention the dedication year as AD 1149.⁶⁹ This Leo was a bishop of Argos and Nafplio by at least 1149 and certainly until 1157, when he participated in a Synod in Constantinople.⁷⁰ However, that Leo seems to have been a descendant of the family of the Ἀντζάδες or Ἀνζάδες⁷¹ and he probably used a different seal.⁷²

It is therefore more probable, in my opinion, that “Semnos” was Leo's last name, for two reasons. The first is that the epithet holds the place of the family name in the afore-mentioned lead-seal's inscription (i.e. following the name of the province).⁷³ The second reason is that such a name, in both male and female form (Semnos and Semni), appears in several cases in Chalkidiki, Lemnos and Constantinople during the first half of the fourteenth century; in the case of the deacon and ἄρχων πατριαρχικός living

⁶⁴ Papadimitriou 1942–1944, 37–43.

⁶⁵ Vocotopoulos 1973, 398–9; Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1991, 18–19; Laurent 1963, 514–515, no. 680; Katsaros 1985, 1522–6. See also below Chapter 4.IV. and Table 15 (no. 53).

⁶⁶ Laurent 1965, 456.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Guiland 1967; Idem 1976; Winkelmann et al. 1998–2001; Lilie et al. 2009.

⁶⁸ Lemerle 1977, 26.

⁶⁹ Choras 1975, 50–72.

⁷⁰ Choras 1975, 50–72.

⁷¹ Choras 1975, 69–70.

⁷² Choras 1975, 70–71, note 7.

⁷³ Laurent 1963, 514–515, no. 680.

in Constantinople in 1316, Semnos seems to be a family name.⁷⁴ These facts do not allow excluding the possibility that the lack of evidence on earlier members of the family may in fact be accidental. The forthcoming publications in the Series of Middle Byzantine Prosography⁷⁵ are expected to provide more consistent evidence regarding this problem.

A dating in the mid- to late-12th century for this inscription and the funerary monument it mentions conforms to the evidence not only of the aforementioned lead seals but also of architecture and sculpture all speaking in favour of the existence of a prominent religious building inside the Castle of Nafpaktos during the 10th–12th centuries.⁷⁶

Finally, the two unpublished fragmentary inscriptions from Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki, Vournikas, Lefkada (I7–I8, figs. 112a–b *S/N* 64), albeit of Byzantine influence in the lettering, content and epigraphic habit, hold no evidence which would encourage a certain dating to the Byzantine period.

2.II. CONCLUSIONS

Of the eight inscriptions on buildings examined in this chapter five only one is in brick, two are painted while the rest of them are carved in stone. Inscriptions I1–I3 were found in situ, I4's provenance is known, while I5–I8 have been reused; exceptionally, I6 has been re-assigned its original use as a dedicatory inscription. Of the inscriptions found in situ, the painted ones accompany frescoes while the brick and stone ones are positioned on conspicuous parts of the buildings: I1 on the main façade, I4 over the entrance from the narthex to the naos and I5 on the S façade beside the entrance to the church. All these positions are common for Byzantine inscriptions.

Five of the eight inscriptions studied here are dated to the Middle Byzantine period (nos. I2–I6) while three cannot be dated without further evidence (nos. I1, I7, I8). Of the dated inscriptions one dates from the turn of the eleventh century (I2), three date well into the mid-or late-twelfth century (I4, I5, I6) while one has been provisionally dated to the twelfth century or earlier (I3). All inscriptions except one epitaph are dedicatory; they all refer to the construction or decoration of churches and a funerary monument. Of the undated inscriptions, I1 also seems to have been a

⁷⁴ Trapp 1989, 214.

⁷⁵ Winckelmanns et al. 2000f.

⁷⁶ See relevant discussions in Part 2 – Chapter 3.II. and Part 3 – Chapter 1.

dedication judging from its position and other similar examples of inscriptions in Byzantine fortifications. Inscription I7, by contrast, looks like a simple invocation carved on a building sometime after its construction. On the function of inscription I8 no comments can be made at this point, as the surviving part is so small.

The donors mentioned in the inscriptions were mostly members of the clergy (a priest in I6 and 3 monks in I2 and I4) and involve only one lay family of a state official (I5); one of donor cannot be identified with any historical figure and it is not known whether he was a cleric or a layman (I3). This pattern is confirmed by dedications in other parts of North-Western Greece during the same period; a cleric was the patron of St Jason and Sossipatros in Kerkyra in ca. 1000 AD, a monk was the patron of Ag. Moni at Doris in 1198 AD and the family of a *δρουγγάριος* were the donors at Ag. Mercurios in Corfu in 1074/5 AD.⁷⁷

In all cases, it is not certain who devised the wording of the inscriptions (i.e. the painters/carvers/masons or the donors). Scholarly inscriptions, however, are to be generally associated with erudite patrons. In the case of I5, a strong contradiction has been observed between a high-quality text and its poor material representation. Text similarities between inscriptions in *Epirus*, Thessaly, Corfu and Phokis, indicated above, point to either the composers'/workshops' mobility or to some shared cultural traits within *Nikopolis*, *Kephallenia* and *Hellas* or both. Cultural traits, such as epigraphic habits and aesthetic preferences, seem to have been shared within an environment of erudite donors involved in the construction of religious or monastic foundations. These educated donors – clergy, monks, and a dignitary layman – were obviously aware of political and cultural developments in the Byzantine capital judging from the content of the inscriptions (i.e. verse, sophisticated vocabulary, and mention of civil and religious authorities in Constantinople). One must also take into account that common cultural traits have been also identified among different areas of modern Western, North and Central Greek mainland during the seventh to twelfth centuries through the examination of other sorts of archaeological evidence such as architecture, sculpture and pottery.⁷⁸

Finally, of the five dated inscriptions two are metrical. Metrical inscriptions were very common in *Epirus* in the Early Byzantine period up to the

⁷⁷ Papadimitriou 1942–1944, 37–43; Sotiriades 1914, 208–210; Mastrokostas 1953, 355–7; Vocotopoulos 1971, 151.

⁷⁸ See Part 2 – Chapters 1.III, 3.II, 4.VI.

sixth century. There is no evidence so far for their reappearance in the area until around AD 1000 with the inscription in Ag. Jason and Sossipatros. The verse inscription from Nafpaktos (I6) is another example which seems to date to the twelfth century. Another inscription in verse of unknown provenance is known to have been found in the city; it is embedded in a wall of a private residence but its content is unpublished.⁷⁹ A fourth metrical inscription comes from Louros (I5) and dates to the twelfth century. Continuing with the dedication of a tower at Durrës in 1225 verse will remain a preponderant feature of epigraphy in *Epirus* throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and especially of inscriptions associated with historical figures from the Byzantine Independent State of Epirus.⁸⁰ These metrical inscriptions will become very significant because of their very specific qualities (discussed by Katsaros) and due to the large number of such inscriptions by comparison with other Byzantine regions.⁸¹ However, it is clear that metrical inscriptions appeared in ecclesiastical and monastic foundations in *Epirus* already during the eleventh and twelfth century that is long before the ruling family of the Komnenodoukes began building in the region.

⁷⁹ Vocotopoulos has photographed this inscription at the Kotini House in Nafpaktos (Vocotopoulos 1973, 399, pl. 352γ). However, it has not been published.

⁸⁰ On the first dedication of the Komnenodoukes at Dyrrachion see Zeqo 1986, 36 (no. 2); Veikou 1998, 75–77. On the 13th–14th c. inscriptions of *Epirus* see: Katsaros 1992, 517–543; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 50–59.

⁸¹ Katsaros 1992, 517–543; Veikou 1998, 170–171; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 50–59.

CHAPTER THREE

MONUMENTAL ART AND SCULPTURE

Middle Byzantine monumental art from the investigated area has not yet been the subject of an extensive and comparative study; respective contexts have been discussed as part of religious architecture.¹ Only recently Vasilakeris has set about an evaluation of Middle Byzantine monumental painting in Aetolia *per se* by reconsidering the earlier dating of one context.² The main reasons for this must be the scarcity, the modest quality, the mostly provincial character and the poor state of preservation of the surviving contexts as well as perhaps the limited interest in the archaeology of Middle Byzantine *Epirus*, explained in the beginning of this study.³ Despite this lacuna of research and although monumental art is such important evidence for local cultures, an art-historical evaluation of the respective material remains from the investigated area largely exceeds the scope of this work. I therefore restrict myself here to a discussion of these material remains in relation to issues of economies, chronology of settlement, and interlocal relations.

On the contrary, during the survey, I came across sculptures dated to the Middle Byzantine period in a great number of the investigated sites. Most of them have been published while all the sculpture in the theme of *Nikopolis* has been the subject of a recent specialized study by Vanderheyde.⁴ I will discuss a small number of sculptures which have been observed at certain sites during survey and which have either not been included in the afore-mentioned literature at all or have only been recorded but not thoroughly discussed and dated. I will discuss these finds not in order to open up the broad issue of sculpture in Middle Byzantine *Epirus per se* but in the general spirit of re-evaluating the dating of the sites from scratch. In the same spirit of re-negotiating dating issues, I will also exceptionally re-examine a few previously published sculptures from two sites, Panagia Trimitou and Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri. Although I

¹ See references below in this section.

² See Appendix I.2, no. F11.

³ See respective account in Part 1 – Chapter 1.

⁴ Vanderheyde 2005.

choose not to get into wide-ranging discussions about sculpture in Middle Byzantine *Epirus*, I think it is absolutely necessary to consider the full record of the existing evidence, in order to draw general conclusions about construction, settlement and interlocal relations.

3.I. OPUS SECTILE, MARBLE-INLAY, MOSAIC AND FRESCO DECORATIONS (APPENDIX I.2, TABLE 10)

One mosaic floor and just a few frescoes dating to the Middle Byzantine period survive in the investigated area today. This is astonishing considering the number of the churches erected. In fact, most of the surviving examples decorate cave-monasteries – where the decoration is more easily preserved due to the isolated environment and the more stable temperature and humidity. This would suggest that the lack of painted decoration in churches may be related to later destruction, repairs or re-painting and not to their being absent from the start.

The tradition of opus sectile and mosaic floors in the investigated area must have been well encouraged as an influence by the excellent earlier works in the churches of Nikopolis.⁵ However, only five contexts survive from later centuries, dated to the seventh, tenth and twelfth century. The earlier ones (OS3, Mo2) come from otherwise important monuments dated between the late-sixth and the eighth century, i.e. Ag. Sophia in Mytikas and Episkopi in Mastro. This seems to imply that the tradition of mosaic floors as part of religious buildings' decoration continued in *Epirus* well into the seventh century. On the contrary to those of Ag. Sophia the mosaic in Mastro survived sufficiently as to allow discerning that it originally covered an extensive part of the church floor and was of good-quality materials and craftsmanship.⁶

The tradition seems to revive again in a tenth-century monastic foundation, Panagia Trimitou on Mt. Arakynthos, where the church was decorated again with both marble inlay and mosaic floors (OS1, Mo1); unlike earlier habits, marble-inlay decoration was now selected for the central nave while mosaic decorated the narthex and probably the aisles.⁷ One

⁵ Good examples are the mosaics of both basilicas on Kefalos island: Sodini 1970, 723–724; Bowden 2003a, 188. For the works in Nikopolis see Sodini 1970, 724ff.; Kitzinger 1951; Hellenkemper-Salies 1987; Dunbabin 2006, 219–220.

⁶ Pallas 1977, 28; Vocotopoulos 1992, 179–181; Paliouras 2004a, 52–53; Sodini 1970, 723, note 42.

⁷ Vocotopoulos 1992, 31, 32, pls. 16α, 17α,β.

Table 10. The Chronology of *Opus Sectile*, Marble Inlay, Mosaics and Frescoes from Middle Byzantine Epirus.

C/N	Context Number	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
<i>Opus Sectile</i> and Marble Inlay Decorations				
1	OS3	7th c.?	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia	Vocotopoulos 1979, 121
2	OS1	10th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	Vocotopoulos 1992, 32, pls. 16β, 17β
3	OS2	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	Bouras, Boura 2002, 93
Mosaic Decorations				
1	Mo1	10th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	Vocotopoulos 1992, 31, pl. 17α–β
2	Mo2	Late 6th or 7th–8th c.	70 – Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi	Pallas 1977, 28; Vocotopoulos 1992, 179–181; Paliouras 2004a, 52–53; Sodini 1970, 723, note 42
Fresco Decorations				
1	F4	–	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia	Vocotopoulos 1979, 123
2	F1	8th–12th c.	9 – Agrinio, Mavrikas, Ag. Triada	Paliouras 2004a, 439
3	F10	850–900 AD	103 – Stamna, Ag. Theodoroi	Koder, Soustal 1981; Katsaros 1983, 153 ff.
4	F2	10th–13th c.	16 – Mt. Arakynthos, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos	Paliouras 2004a, 187–196
5	F11	10th–11th c. or 13th c.	109 – Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres	Vocotopoulos 1967, 325; Paliouras 2004a, 80, 82; Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 536–539
6	F3	11th c.	45 – Gavrolimni, Panagia Panaxiotissa	Vocotopoulos 1992, 86
7	F9	11th c.	84 – Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon	Andreou 1980, 323; Chalkia 1980, 334–335
8	F6	Late 11th or 12th c.	63 – Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Ton Karaviadon	Konstantios 1982b, 354
9	F7	12th or 13th c.	70 – Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi	Paliouras 2004a, 197–199
10	F5	Late 12th c.	50 – Kandila, Ag. Eleoussa	Vocotopoulos 1968, 152–154; Paliouras 2004a, 300–301
11	F8	Late 12th c.	74 – Myrtia, Myrtia Monastery	Vocotopoulos 1967, 330, pl. 240α

cannot resist “reading through the lines” of this tenth-century practice the eventual intention of the founder of this church to accentuate the circulation through the peripheral spaces of this basilica in contrast to its nave, thus creating a sort of ambulatory around the church’s core. Unfortunately, except for their geometric motifs not much more can be deduced from these works due to their extremely fragmentary state of preservation.

Finally, the marble-inlay decorations in the floor of the Katholikon of Varnakova Monastery near Efpalio (OS2) have been discussed by Ch. Bouras and L. Boura in the context of the twelfth-century artistic tradition of the Helladic School.⁸ First of all, the technique of the decoration is closer to that of mosaics rather than the *opus sectile*, as in all of their contemporary similar decorations in Greece.⁹ Furthermore, the decoration consists of geometric and animal patterns arranged in panels. Along the floor of the central nave and the sanctuary, two central rectangular panels alternate with four smaller ones; the central panels depict representations of the miracle of the “loaves and fishes” while the smaller ones hold animal representations and geometric patterns. The panels in the narthex and aisles consist of geometric patterns only. As regards the representations of the miracle of the “loaves and fishes”, those were already common in churches floors in the Middle Byzantine period; a sculpture depicting a similar representation decorated the floor of Panagia in Koronissia.¹⁰ Figural representations (animals) seem to come back in church floors in Greece during the twelfth century and they are thought to denote some contact with Constantinople.¹¹

Remains of fresco decorations have survived in eleven sites only but most of them have not yet or not sufficiently discussed and put in context by art historians. Again, I include the discussion of this evidence not in order to enter art historical territory but only to demonstrate their exceptional survival and to establish their significance for the evaluation of sites.

The earlier frescoes must have been those that were recorded in the site of Ag. Sophia in Mytikas (F4), possibly dated somewhere between the seventh and the tenth century; their thematic and other features are

⁸ Orlandos 1922b, plan 1; Bouras, Boura 2002, 93.

⁹ Bouras, Boura 2002, 445, 446.

¹⁰ See the discussion on floor construction in Part 2 – Chapter 1 above and Table 11, no. 36 below.

¹¹ Bouras, Boura 2002, 445.

unknown.¹² The non-figural frescoes at Ag. Theodoroi Stamna (F10, figs. 113a–b), consisting of panels of geometric motifs and a foliate cross decorating several parts of the church, seem to date to approximately the same period of time. A similar painting in Ag. Dimitrios in Thessaloniki has also been dated to the 9th–10th c.¹³ The frescoes at Ag. Theodoroi are thought to have been made during the second half of the ninth century,¹⁴ a date that goes well with the chronology of both the church masonry and the Byzantine settlement around the modern village of Stamna.

The cave of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos on Mt. Arakynthos offers the only complete programme of painted decoration in the area together with isolated panels (F2). The paintings date to three different phases: a) late tenth – eleventh century, b) twelfth century and c) the early thirteenth century, as discussed in detail by Paliouras.¹⁵

The frescoes at Ag. Triada Mavrika near Agrinio (F1) must have belonged to at least two different phases of decoration and they must be of approximately similar dates to those of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos (late tenth – eleventh century and twelfth – early thirteenth century) according to the excavation's preliminary report; however they still await publication.¹⁶

The wall paintings in Ag. Eleoussa cave-monastery in Kandila (F5) also offer an incomplete iconographic programme dated in the late-twelfth century;¹⁷ the small size of the cave must have been a limiting factor for the painter. The same must have happened in the case of the four frescoes (F11) in the cave-monastery at Ag. Pateres on Varassova North-East, which were recently re-dated to the tenth or the eleventh century at the latest.¹⁸

Isolated panels have survived in most cases of what seems to have perhaps been more or less extensive iconographic programmes of the late-tenth, eleventh, and twelfth–thirteenth century. The examples are the eleventh-century, average-quality paintings in Panagia Panaxiotissa Gavrolimni (F3), the two twelfth-century panels in the sanctuary of the Katholikon of Myrtia Monastery (F8).¹⁹ Such a panel depicting St Anthony in a special iconographic type and dated to the late eleventh or twelfth century, in Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon at Vurnikas, Lefkada

¹² Vocotopoulos 1979, 123.

¹³ Panayotidi 1969, 33–34, pl. 17c.

¹⁴ Koder, Soustal 1981; Katsaros 1983, 153 ff.

¹⁵ Paliouras 2004a, 187–196.

¹⁶ Paliouras 2004a, 439.

¹⁷ Vocotopoulos 1968, 152–154; Paliouras 2004a, 300–301.

¹⁸ Vocotopoulos 1967, 325; Paliouras 2004a, 80, 82; Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 536–9.

¹⁹ Vocotopoulos 1992, 86; Vocotopoulos 1967, 330, fig. 240α; Paliouras 2004a, 197–9.

(F6), is the main argument for dating a settlement in this site to the Middle Byzantine period.²⁰ The fragments of the church apse decoration from the Kastro ton Rogon in Nea Kerassounda (F9) were dated to probably the eleventh century; although they serve as confirmation for the existence of a Byzantine church inside the castle, they offer no other information since they remain unpublished.²¹ Last but not least, the frescoes from Episkopi in Mastro (F7) in the apse of Episkopi church in Mastro have been dated to the late twelfth to thirteenth century.²² However the decoration of the apse depicts one of the extremely few surviving donor portraits from Byzantine *Epirus*, accompanied by an inscription in verse which allows a certain dating to the early thirteenth century, exceeding the limit of this study.²³ Unfortunately, the extremely poor state of preservation of these works does not allow specifying whether they are all contemporary or not.

Finally, isolated dedicatory panels are not absent from this poor sample of monumental art from Middle Byzantine *Epirus*. Some eleventh-century ones are found in the cave of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos on Mt. Arakynthos (F2); two of them have also been identified by their accompanying inscriptions (see Part 2 – Chapter 2).²⁴ One of the panels, which was probably dedicated by the founder of the monastery, depicts the Theotokos Spiliotissa (Virgin Of The Caves), venerated in this area which was full of cave-monasteries (e.g. on Mt. Varassova and in Achaia on the other side of the Gulf of Patras). This veneration is also attested by a, now lost, icon from Mega Spilaio in Achaia which had an inscription from the Paleologan period.²⁵

3.II. ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURES (APPENDIX I.3, TABLE 11)

As mentioned above, a great number of seventh–twelfth-century sculptures have so far been located in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania.

²⁰ Konstantios 1982b, 354.

²¹ Andreou 1980, 323; Chalkia 1980, 334–5.

²² Paliouras 2004a, 197–9.

²³ Surviving donor portraits are dated to the 13th–15th centuries. See Vocotopoulos 1966, 305; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 54–55; Veikou 1998, 91–93, 109, 142–3; For the inscription at Mastro see Katsaros 1992, 531; Veikou 1998, 109–113.

²⁴ Paliouras 2004a, 187–196.

²⁵ See Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985, 354–6, no. 91.

Table 11. The Chronology of Sculptures from Middle Byzantine *Epirus*.

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
1	Sc25	Dosseret		6th–12th c.?	38 – Drymos, Basilica 'A'		
2	Sc51	Capital, Corinthian	Poros	6th–7th c.?	101 – Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery (old church)*	In situ	
3	Sc20	Closure slab	Marble	7th c.?	4 – Aetoliko, Finikia, basilica		Zafeiropoulou 1973–1974, 530, pl. 349; Paliouras 2004a, 50
4	Sc19	Columns, plain and spiral-fluted	Marble	7th c. or later?	4 – Aetoliko, Finikia, basilica		Zafeiropoulou 1973–1974, pl. 349
5	Sc35	Mullion, dossier		7th–10th c.	55 – Kefalos	In situ	
6	Sc23	Dosseret	Marble	7th–11th c.	20 – Arta, Ag. Vassilios	Reused	
7	Sc32–Sc34	Dosserets, capital	Marble	7th–8th c.	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1980, pl. 46
8	Sc13–Sc16	Dosserets, impost capital, corbel		8th–9th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	In situ	Orlandos 1922a, 11–12, fig. 6; Vocotopoulos 1992, pl. 43g; Papadopoulou 2002a, 25
9	Sc1–Sc5	Mullions, mullion-dosserets, capital	Marble	8th–9th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1992, 33, pls. 19a, 22b
10	Sc11–Sc12	Columns, column bases	Marble	8th–10th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1992, 33, pls. 22–23
11		Colonettes with capitals (one identical with no. 12 below)	Marble	9th–10th c.	45 – Gavrolimni, Panagia Panaxiotissa	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1992, 86, pl. 50 α-β; Paliouras 2004a, 417–418; Vanderheyde 2005, 70, no. 102, fig. 91
12		Colonette (identical with no. 11 above)	Marble	9th–10th c.	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill	In situ	Paliouras 2004a, 417
13		Closure slab	Marble	10th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1992, 33, pl. 21f; Vanderheyde 2005, 69, no. 99, fig. 88

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
14		Epistyle	Marble	10th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1992, 33, pl. 18a-b; Vanderheyde 2005, 69, nos. 100–101, figs. 89–90
15	Sc10	Epistyle	Marble	10th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	In situ	
16	Sc6-Sc9	Closure slabs	Marble	10th c.	17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1992, 33, pls. 20a, 21, 23
17	Sc52	Closure slab	–	10th c.	101 – Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery (old church)*	In situ	
18	Sc50	Mullion dossieret		10th c.	101 – Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery (old church)*	In situ	
19		Polylobe capital	Marble	10th c.	18 – Artta, Ag. Theodora	Artta, Parigoritissa Collection	Barsanti 1987, 356–357, fig. 8; Vanderheyde 2005, 40, no. 43, fig. 40
20		Polylobe capital	Marble	10th c.	18 – Artta, Ag. Theodora	Artta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 161, fig. 1; Barsanti 1987, 354–355, fig. 6; Vanderheyde 2005, 40, no. 44, fig. 41
21		Closure slabs (2)	Marble	10th c.	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1970, 301, pl. 261a–b; Paliouras, Katsibinis 1985, 108, figs. 8–9; Vanderheyde 2005, 70–71, nos. 103–106, 107–108, figs. 92–93
22	Sc24	Closure slab or sarcophagus	Marble	10th – first half of 11th c.	31 – Artta, Panagia Kassopitra	Reused	
23		Slab	Marble	10th–11th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, 4th Primary School	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Papadopoulou 1992–93, 187, no. 8, fig. 12 (dates it in the 11th–12th c.); Vanderheyde 2005, 64, no. 86, fig. 76
24		Slab	Marble	10th–11th c.	23 – Artta, Castle	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 139; Orlandos 1935a, 268, fig. 9; Vanderheyde 2005, 45, no. 54

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
25	Sc22	Slab	Poros	10th–11th c.	23 – Arta, Castle	Reused	Moutsopoulos 2002, 14
26	Sc54–Sc55	Dosserets		Ca. 1000	113 – Vlacheria, Vlacheria Monastery	In situ	Moutsopoulos 2002, 60–61, fig. 9
27		Closure slab	Marble	Early 11th c.	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora?	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 166, fig. 12; Orlandos 1935a, 268, fig. 11; Vanderheyde 2005, 36, no. 39, fig. 36
28		Closure slab	Marble	Early 11th c.	Unknown	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 165, fig. 11; Orlandos 1935a, 268, fig. 10; Vanderheyde 2005, 36, no. 38, fig. 35
29		Sarcophagus	Marble	Early 11th c.	Unknown	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 165, fig. 10; Orlandos 1935a, 268, fig. 8; Vanderheyde 2005, 35–36, no. 37, fig. 34
30	Sc17	Door-frame?	Marble	Early- or mid- 2 11th c.	2 – Aetoliko, Panagia Finikia	Reused	
31	Sc18	Mullion	Marble	–	2 – Aetoliko, Panagia Finikia	Reused	
32		Epistyle		11th c.	33 – Arta, Parigoritissa, cell	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1963, 106, fig. 117; Vanderheyde 2005, 37, no. 40, fig. 37
33		Epistyle	Marble	11th c.	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 99–100; Orlandos 1972–1973, 480–482, fig. 3; Vanderheyde 2005, 39, no. 41, fig. 38
34		Capital	Marble	11th c.	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 163, fig. 3; Orlandos 1935a, 267, fig. 4; Vanderheyde 2005, 33, no. 32, fig. 29
35		Capital	Marble	11th c.	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra?	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 163, fig. 4; Orlandos 1935a, 267, fig. 3; Vanderheyde 2005, 34, no. 33, fig. 30

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
36	Slab	Marble	11th c.	59 – Koronissia, Genethlio tis Theotokou	In situ	Orlandos 1969, 19, fig. 7;	
37	Epistyle	Marble	11th c.	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 55, no. 75, fig. 65 Orlandos 1936, 99–100; Orlandos 1972–1973, 480–482, fig. 3;	
38	Closure slab	Marble	11th c.	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Vanderheyde 2005, 39, no. 42, fig. 39 Orlandos 1972–1973, 483–489, fig. 6–7; Vanderheyde 2005, 40, no. 45, fig. 42	
39	Ambo	Marble	11th c.	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 176, fig. 5; Tsouris 1977, 249; Papadopoulou 2005, 288, no. 1, fig. 4; Vanderheyde 2005, 44, no. 53, fig. 47	
40	Capital	Marble	11th c.	Unknown	Arta, Ag. Mercurios, altar	Papadopoulou 2005, 289, no. 2, fig. 5	
41	Slab	Marble	11th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	In situ («Kryfo Scholeio»)	Orlandos 1922b, 31, fig. 19; Vanderheyde 2005, 73, no. 110, fig. 95	
42	Slab	Marble	11th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	In situ («Kryfo Scholeito »)	Orlandos 1922b, 31–32, fig. 20; Vanderheyde 2005, 73, nos. 111–112, fig. 96	
43	Epistyle	Marble	11th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	In situ («Kryfo Scholeito »)	Vanderheyde 2005, 73–74, no. 114	
44	Slab	Marble	11th c.	115 – Vomvokou, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Monastery	In situ	Lazaridis 1966; 268, pl. 263ß; Paliouras 1985, 267, fig. 266; Vanderheyde 2005, 71, no. 109, fig. 94	

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
45		Lintel	Marble	11th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle*	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 68, no. 97, fig. 87
46		Slab	Marble	11th c.	Unknown	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Papadopoulou 1992–93, 185–6, no. 6, fig. 9; Vanderheyde 2005, 64, no. 87, fig. 77
47		Octagonal mullion with dossieret	Marble	11th c.	77 – Nafpaktos, Ag. Dimitrios, Galtani Residence	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Papadopoulou 1992–93, 181–182, no. 2, fig. 2; Vanderheyde 2005, 65–66, no. 91, fig. 81
48		Slab	Marble	11th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 63–64, fig. 6; Vanderheyde 2005, 46–47, no. 55, fig. 48
49		Slab	Marble	11th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 47, no. 56, fig. 49
50		Colonette	Marble	11th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 47, no. 57, fig. 50
51		Slab	Marble	11th c.	25 – Arta, Kato Panagia	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Vanderheyde 2005, 52, no. 70, fig. 60
52		Closure slab?	Marble	11th c.	58 – Mt. Kordovitza, Tryfou Loutra	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Vocotopoulos 1967, 335, no. 101, plan 4; Vanderheyde 2005, 61, no. 83, fig. 73
53	Sc46	Door-frame?	Marble	Mid–11th c.	84 – Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon	Reused	
54	Sc47	Colonette	Marble	11th c.?	84 – Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon	Reused	
55	Sc48	Colonette	Marble	11th c.?	84 – Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon	Reused	
56	Sc31	Slab	Marble	Ca. 1100	7 – Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios	Reused	

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
57	Sc27	Cornice	Marble	11th–12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	Reused	
58	Sc44	Epistyle	Marble	11th–12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle*	Reused	
59	Sc40–Sc43	Door-frame, colonette, mullions	Marble	11th–12th c.	67 – Louros, Ag. Varnavas	Reused	
60		Dossieret	Marble	11th–12th c.	25 – Arta, Kato Panagia	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 164, fig. 9; Orlandos 1935a, 267, fig. 7; Vanderheyde 2005, 51–52, no. 69
61		Columns 3	Marble	11th–12th c.	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros / Pandokratoras	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1980–1981, 362–364; Paliouras 2004a, 294–295
62		Slabs, epistyle, mullions, capital	Marble	11th–12th c.	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros / Pandokratoras	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1980–1981, 362–364; Paliouras 2004a, 294–295
63		Capital	Marble	11th–12th c.	25 – Arta, Kato Panagia	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 82, fig. 14; Vanderheyde 2005, 51, no. 68, fig. 59
64		Capital	Marble	11th–12th c.	Unknown	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 163, fig. 5; Orlandos 1935a, 267; Vanderheyde 2005, 34, no. 34, fig. 31
65		Capital	Marble	11th–12th c.	23 – Arta, Castle, E side	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 163–164, fig. 6; Orlandos 1935a, 267, fig. 5; Vanderheyde 2005, 34, no. 35, fig. 32
66		3 basket capitals, mullion with integral dossieret	Marble	11th or 12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery		Orlandos 1922b, 28–32, nos. 2–3
67	Sc45	Capital		11th–12th c.	79 – Nafpaktos, Ag. Stefanos	Reused	

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
68	Sc26	Slab		12th c., first half 12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	Reused	
69		Dosseret capitals, pilaster capital, column base		12th c.	50 – Kandila, Ag. Eleoussa	In situ	Paliouras 2004a, 300; Vocotopoulos 1968, 153
70	Sc21	Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	23 – Arta, Castle	Reused	
71	Sc36–Sc39	4 dossierets, 4 mullions	Marble	12th c.	56 – Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias	In situ	
72		Screen colonettes	Marble	12th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Vocotopoulos 1972b, 464, pl. 398g; Vanderheyde 2005, 48, no. 62, fig. 55
73		Epistyle or lintel	Marble	12th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	In situ	Orlandos 1922a, 13, fig. 7; Orlandos 1936, 65, fig. 8; Vanderheyde 2005, 48, no. 60, fig. 53
74		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 47–48, no. 59, fig. 52
75		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 47, no. 58, fig. 51
76		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios, basement	Papadopoulou 2005, 289, no. 3, fig. 6
77		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios, basement	Papadopoulou 2005, 289, no. 4, fig. 7
78		2 colonettes with integral capitals	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios, basement	Papadopoulou 2005, 289, nos. 5–6, fig. 8

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
79	Icon	Marble	Marble	12th c.	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Papadopoulou 2005, 301, no. 19, fig. 19
80	Door-frame, slab	Marble	Marble	12th c.	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 44, nos. 51–52, fig. 46; Papadopoulou 2005, 294–295, nos. 12, 16, figs. 12, 16
81	Door-frame, identical with piece number (next)	Marble	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios, basement	Papadopoulou 2005, 289, no. 7
82	Door-frame, identical with piece number (previous)	Marble	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Papadopoulou 2005, 292, no. 8, fig. 9
83	Liturgy vessel	Marble	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios, reused in the basement	Papadopoulou 2005, 298, no. 17, fig. 17
84	Colonette	Marble	Marble	12th c.	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios	In situ	Papadopoulou 2005, 292–293, no. 9, fig. 10
85	Colonette	Marble	Marble	12th c.	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios, N façade	In situ	Papadopoulou 2005, 293, no. 10
86	3 screen colonettes	Marble	Marble	12th c.	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005, 44, nos. 48–50, fig. 45; Papadopoulou 2005, 295–297, nos. 13–15, figs. 13–15
87	Sarcophagus slab	Marble	Marble	12th c.	19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 34, figs. 30–31; Orlandos 1972–1973, 269, fig. 12; Vanderheyde 2005, 43, no. 47, fig. 44; Papadopoulou 2005, 299–301, no. 18, fig. 18

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
88		Closure slab	Marble	12th c.	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1972–1973, 489–491, figs. 10–11; Vanderheyde 2005, 41, no. 46, fig. 43
89		Capital	Marble	12th c.	18 – Arta, Ag. Theodora (Ag. Minas quarter)	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 164, fig. 7; Vanderheyde 2005, 35, no. 36, fig. 33
90		Dossieret capital	Marble	12th c.	56 – Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 136–138, fig. 5–9; Orlandos 1922a, 21, fig. 14, 16, 18; Vanderheyde 2005, 49–50, no. 64, fig. 56
91		Dossieret capital	Marble	12th c.	56 – Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 136–138, fig. 5–9; Orlandos 1922a, 21, fig. 15; Vanderheyde 2005, 50, nos. 65–66, fig. 57
92		Slab	Marble	12th c.	25 – Arta, Kato Panagia	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Vanderheyde 2005, 52, no. 71, fig. 61
93		Slab	Marble	12th c.	113 – Vlacherma, Vlachermae Monastery	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 39, fig. 35; Bouras, Boura 2002, 88–90; Vanderheyde 2005, 53–54, no. 72, fig. 62
94		Slab	Marble	12th c.	113 – Vlacherma, Vlachermae Monastery	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 40; Bouras, Boura 2002, 88–90; Vanderheyde 2005, 54, no. 73, fig. 63
95		Colonette capital	Marble	12th c.	113 – Vlacherma, Vlacherma Monastery	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Orlandos 1936, 22, fig. 16f, 21; Vanderheyde 2005, 54, no. 74, fig. 64
96		Frame of Despotic icon	Marble	12th c.	59 – Koronissia, Genethlio tis Theotokou	In situ	Orlandos 1969, 21–26, fig. 13; Vocotopoulos 1992, 56; Vanderheyde 2005, 55, no. 76, fig. 66

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
97		Polylobe capital	Marble	12th c.	91 – Oropos (f. Paleoroforos) Ag. Dimitrios	Museum of Nikopolis	Petsas 1950–1951, 35–36, fig. 11; Hammond 1967, 51; Orlandos 1952–1955, 337, fig. 295; Panayotidi 1970–1972, 103, 124, no. 73; Barsanti 1987, 349–360; Vanderheyde 2005, 58, no. 77, fig. 67 Vanderheyde 2005, 58, no. 78, fig. 68
98		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	85 – Nea Sampsounda, Agiolitharo, Ag. Apostoloi	In situ	
99		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	58 – Mt. Kordovitzza, Tryfou Loutra	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Vocotopoulos 1967, 335, no. 109, pl. 245y; Vanderheyde 2005, 61, no. 84, fig. 74
100		Capital	Marble	12th c.	58 – Mt. Kordovitzza, Tryfou Loutra	Arta, Parigoritissa Collection	Vocotopoulos 1967, 335, no. 108, pl. 245f; Vanderheyde 2005, 61, no. 85, fig. 75
101		Capital	Marble	12th c.	58 – Mt. Kordovitzza, Tryfou Loutra	Museum of Arta?	Vocotopoulos 1967, 335, no. 107
102		Octagonal colonettes	Marble	12th c.	58 – Mt. Kordovitzza, Tryfou Loutra	Museum of Arta?	Vocotopoulos 1967, 335, nos. 102, 103, 105
103		Octagonal colonette with integral cubic capital	Marble	12th c.	58 – Mt. Kordovitzza, Tryfou Loutra	Museum of Arta?	Vocotopoulos 1967, 335, no. 104
104		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Vocotopoulos 1973, 399, pl. 352*; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 186, no. 7, fig. 11; Vanderheyde 2005, 65, no. 88, fig. 78

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
105		Capital	Marble	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle, near the Ottoman Baths 78 – <i>Nafpaktos, Ag. Georgios Monastery</i>	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Lazaridis 1966, 267, pl. 260β; Chalatsis 1998–1999, 158; Raptopoulos 1998–1999, 33, 35; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 182, no. 3, fig. 3; Vanderheyde 2005, 65, no. 89, fig. 79
106		Epistyle with inscription	Marble	1150–1175	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Vocotopoulos 1973, 398–399, pl. 351β–γ; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 183, no. 4, fig. 4; Vanderheyde 2005, 66, no. 92, fig. 82
107		Screen colonette	Marble	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle, near Profitis Ilias	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Konstantios 1982a, 278; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 180, no. 1, fig. 1; Vanderheyde 2005, 65, no. 90, fig. 80
108		Door-frame	Marble	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle, on the wall of a tower at the SW side of the citadel	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Vocotopoulos 1973, 398; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 184, no. 5, fig. 5, 6 (considers it an epistyle and dates it in the 13th c.); Vanderheyde 2005, 67, no. 93, fig. 83
109		Door-frame	Marble	12th c.	Unknown	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection	Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 188, no. 9, fig. 13; Vanderheyde 2005, 67, no. 94, fig. 84
110		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle, Ickale	Nafpaktos Archaeological Collection, no. 113	Kosti 2004, 589 and pl. 4

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
111		Lintel	Marble	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle, SW tower of inner enceinte	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1973: 398, pl. 351 ^a ; Papadopoulou 1992–1993: 185, fig. 7; Vanderheyde 2005: 67–68, no. 95, fig. 85
112		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle, Profitis Ilias	In situ	Vanderheyde 2005: 68, no. 96, fig. 86
113		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	76 – Nafpaktos, Castle, threshold of an inner gate in the W part of the sea-walls	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1973: 399, no. 4, pl. 352 ^β ; Vanderheyde 2005: 68, no. 98
114		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros / Pandokratoras	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1980–1981: 362, fig. 108 ^a ; Vanderheyde 2005: 59, no. 79, fig. 69
115		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros / Pandokratoras	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1980–1981: 363, fig. 108 ^β ; Vanderheyde 2005: 59, no. 80, fig. 70
116		Cornice	Marble	12th c.	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros / Pandokratoras	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1980–1981: 363, fig. 108 ^γ ; Vanderheyde 2005: 60, no. 81, fig. 71
117		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros / Pandokratoras	In situ	Vocotopoulos 1980–1981: 363, fig. 109 ^a ; Vanderheyde 2005: 60, no. 82, fig. 72
118		Slab	Marble	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery, S nave of Katholikon	In situ	Orlandos 1922b: 31, fig. 24; Vanderheyde 2005: 73, no. 113, fig. 97
119		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	In situ («Kryfo Scholeio »)	Orlandos 1922b: 31, fig. 22–23; Vanderheyde 2005: 74, no. 115, fig. 98

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
120		Epistyle	Marble	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery	In situ («Kryfo Scholeio »)	Orlandos 1922b, 31, fig. 21; Vanderheyde 2005, 74, no. 116, fig. 99
121		Slab	Limestone («Jannina Marble»)	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery, floor of the Katholikon near the entrance	In situ	Orlandos 1922b, 25, fig. 1, pl. 1; Vanderheyde 2005, 74, no. 117, fig. 100
122		Slab	Limestone («Jannina Marble»)	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery, floor of the Katholikon under the dome	In situ	Orlandos 1922b, 25, fig. 12, pl. 1; Vanderheyde 2005, 74–75, no. 118, fig. 101
123		Slab	Limestone («Jannina Marble»)	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery, floor of the Katholikon under the dome	In situ	Orlandos 1922b, 26, fig. 1; Vanderheyde 2005, 75, no. 119, fig. 102
124		Slab	Limestone («Jannina Marble»)	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery, floor of the Katholikon in front of the sanctuary	In situ	Orlandos 1922b, 26, fig. 13, pl. 1; Vanderheyde 2005, 75, no. 120, fig. 103
125		Slab	Limestone («Jannina Marble»)	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery, floor of the Katholikon (covered by the wooden platform of the sanctuary)	In situ	Orlandos 1922b, 26, fig. 14, pl. 1; Vanderheyde 2005, 75, no. 121
126		Slab	Limestone («Jannina Marble»)	12th c.	41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery, floor of the Katholikon in the chorós	In situ	Orlandos 1922b, 26, pl. 1; Vanderheyde 2005, 76, no. 122
127		Epistyle	Marble	12th–13th c.	25 – Arta, Kato Panagia	In situ	Orlandos 1936, 81–82, fig. 13; Vanderheyde 2005, 51, no. 67, fig. 58

Table 11 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact / context no.	Sculpture(s)	Material	Date	Origin (S/N – Site Name)	Storage/ Exhibition place	Bibliography
128		3 pieces, unknown kind		Byzantine	76 – Nafaktos, Castle, E tower near Dapia tou Koukou or Faltsopoorta		Triandaphyllopoulos 1978, 167
129	Sc57	Dossieret		Unknown	117 – Vonitsa, Castle, quayside, Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani	Reused	
130	Sc56	Cornice?	Marble	Unknown	118 – Vonitsa, cemetery, Ag. Ioannis	Reused	
131	Sc53	Closure slabs		Unknown	104 – Stefani, Ag. Varvara	In situ	Triandaphyllopoulos 1976, 223, 227;
132	Sc49	Slab and unspecified		Early- Byzantine?, 13th c.	86 – Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili	In situ	Triandaphyllopoulos 1981, 859–862; Pazaras 1988, 44: no. 52, pl. 40–41
133	Sc28-Sc30	Columns, sprout?, unspecified		Early- Byzantine?	7 – Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios	In situ	

The sculptures are either found *in situ* (in their original or later uses) or they have been collected in at least three known storage rooms (in the Museum of Nikopolis, the Nafpaktos Mosque and beside the Paregoritissa church in Arta). Their locations are shown in Table 11. As shown in Appendix I.3., most sculptures discussed in this section are unpublished or undated. Among the plentiful published evidence shown in Table 11, the sculptures found in Panagia Trimitou and Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri are the only ones also discussed in this section because some precise dating is suggested.

To begin with what seems to be the older sculptures found in the area under consideration, the pieces (Sc19–Sc20) from the basilica in Finikia have not been further discussed or dated to my knowledge.²⁶ One of the two columns, the spiral-fluted one, is similar to those found at Basilica 'B' in Nikopolis. It is a moot point as to whether the column was in its original place or had been re-used in Finikia. When it comes to the closure-slab fragment (Sc20, fig. 126), confronting peacocks are a common motif in seventh-to-ninth-century closure slabs from e.g. Nea Anchialos, Ag. Grigorios Theologos in Thebes and the Panagia church at Skripou as well as on later similar pieces from Anatolia and Bulgaria.²⁷ Compared to the later examples, the sculpture from Finikia is quite geometric and schematic and could date to some time around the seventh century.

The considerable number of sculptures from Ag. Sophia in Mytikas (Sc32–Sc34, S/N 49) – have not been thoroughly discussed or precisely dated by Vocotopoulos.²⁸ The simplicity of the floral design of the capital dossier (Sc32, fig. 138) and its arrangement all over the front as well as the engraved technique suggest a dating in the eighth century as seen for example in similar sculptures from Messene.²⁹ However it may have been an unfinished piece. Indeed, two more sculptures from the site (Sc33 and Sc34, fig. 139, 140) have decoration thematically related to Sc32. The similarity of the motif on Sc32 and Sc33 (figs. 138, 139) is obvious; however Sc33 looks older than Sc32. It seems likely that there would have been two pairs of capitals and dossiers, of which dossier Sc32 either remained unfinished or is a clumsy copy of the original dossier that it was meant to replace. If it was unfinished, then it should be dated to the same period

²⁶ Zafeiropoulou 1973–1974, pl. 349.

²⁷ Soteriou 1929, 83; Panayotidi 1969, 102, pl. 53c and 106–107, pl. 57b; Milanova 2008, 177, fig. 6; Mercangoez 2008, 97, fig 16.

²⁸ Vocotopoulos 1980.

²⁹ Penna, Lambropoulou, Anagnostakis 2008, esp. figs. 1a–7b.

as Sc33 and Sc34, i.e. the seventh century. If, on the other hand, it was a later copy, then the engraved technique takes us to the late seventh or eighth century.³⁰

The dosseret from Drymos Basilica 'A' (Sc25, fig. 133) was photographed yet not discussed or dated by Mastrokostas.³¹ This item is very similar to dosserets found on Kefalos, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias and Skala (see Sc35, Sc37, Sc50) as well as in the Panagia Trimitou (see Sc1–Sc2). I therefore think they should all be dated to a relatively broad chronological span period, i.e. between the sixth and the twelfth centuries. A comparison of all these pieces indicates that this one from Drymos is clearly earlier than all the others. All pieces will be discussed below.

The dosseret from Kefalos (Sc35, fig. 141), published by Barla,³² is decorated with a typical motif found in the dosserets from Drymos (Sc25) but the technique and the style of this piece is different and it should be dated rather later, between the seventh and the tenth century and probably around the eighth century as in other examples from Messene.³³ On the other hand, judging from the small scale of the settlement on Kefalos after the seventh century, the piece could even date as late as the tenth century.

The dosseret from Ag. Vassilios in Arta (Sc23, fig. 131) must obviously date before the construction of the church in the thirteenth century. The motif of the foliate cross had been known since the sixth century but became increasingly popular during the ninth and tenth centuries.³⁴ The style was simple in earlier examples and became gradually more complex. The rendering of the foliage often indicates the dating, since it was plainer and more naturalistic at first and gradually gained movement and fleshiness and became more wind-blown in the latest examples. The piece from Ag. Vassileios indicates a rather early dating in this respect. Similar dosserets dating to the sixth–seventh centuries are found in Samos and Perge in Asia Minor. However, in these cases, the style of the decoration is more naturalistic and the relief much deeper, while the shapes of the crosses are also different.³⁵ Some similar pieces in Basilica 'A' in Nea

³⁰ See sculptures from Mani, Tegea and Messene in Lambropoulou et al. 2001, 209, 213, 218–219, figs. 3, 6, 8 and Penna, Lambropoulou, Anagnostakis 2008.

³¹ Mastrokostas 1971, 190, fig. 8.

³² Barla 1967, pl. 217.

³³ Penna, Lambropoulou, Anagnostakis 2008, 391–392, figs. 12–14.

³⁴ Sklavou-Mavroeidi 2008, 287.

³⁵ Poulou-Papadimitriou 1985, pl. 37; Dennert 2008, 59, 67, fig. 9.

Anchialos, Basilica 'Δ' in Nikopolis and Lefkada also date in the sixth and seventh centuries.³⁶ Yet the piece at Ag. Vassileios is far less close to these early examples in technique: the relief is lower and the stylization of the patterns brings us closer to eleventh-century dossierets from Daphni or Antalya in Asia Minor.³⁷ It is also unlike similar pieces from the twelfth century: there the crosses are outlined and the foliate pattern differently conceived.³⁸ In any case, I think that sculpture Sc23 can only be dated in general terms to the period between the late seventh and the eleventh century.

The five sculptures from Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri (Sc13– Sc16, figs. 121–124) published by Vocotopoulos³⁹ have been mentioned by other researchers but they have not been discussed in detail or precisely dated.⁴⁰ With the exception of the Ionic capital and the pyramidal dossieret, the sculptures are decorated with Latin crosses in relief with flaring terminals. The pyramidal dossieret (Sc15, fig. 123) is decorated with a Greek cross whose execution and design is identical that of the Latin cross on the mullion-dossieret (Sc3) from Panagia Trimitou (fig. 116); both pieces could very well be contemporary and works of the same hand. The decoration on Sc13a is also similar to them (fig. 121, left). Although all pieces from Ag. Dimitrios Katsouri seem to share the same general principles and techniques of decoration, Sc13b, Sc13c, Sc14 and Sc16 are of a slightly different style from Sc15 and Sc13a. The cross on the corbel (Sc16, fig. 124) is ornate with a branch-pattern in low relief while the terminals have curved edges while those on Sc13b and Sc14 are made by deep engraving and low relief. The Ionic impost capital (Sc14, fig. 122) is also decorated with engraved spiral scrolls rather than relief volutes and egg-and-dart pattern; however its execution is much cruder and its motif much more schematic than the piece from Trimitou (Sc5).

The plain, non-naturalistic approach to patterning in all sculptures from Ag. Dimitrios Katsouri, their schematic conception and clumsy – rather hesitant – rendering as well as the low-relief technique suggest they should be dated to the eighth–ninth centuries.⁴¹ Similar sculptures dating to

³⁶ Soteriou 1929, 67 (figs. 72–73); Orlandos 1959, 94, pl. 89γ; Kefallonitou 2004b, 165–166, fig. 3.

³⁷ Grabar 1976, no. 49, pl. XXXIIIb; Alpaslan-Doğan 2008, 127, 134, fig. 8.

³⁸ Drandakis 2002, 239, figs. 360–361, 111; Bouras, Boura 2002, 80, fig. 132.

³⁹ Orlandos 1922a, 11–12, fig. 6; Vocotopoulos 1992, 66, pls. 40a, 42a, 43a–b.

⁴⁰ Moutsopoulos 2002, 36–37; Papadopoulou 2002a, 25.

⁴¹ See Panayotidi 1969, 125.

the same period have been found at Ag. Dimitrios in Thessaloniki (eighth century) as well as in various sites in the Peloponnese: e.g. Tegea, Alikia in Mani and Messene.⁴² The similarities in style and technique between the pieces from Katsouri and the dossieret from Trimitou are an interesting aspect of eighth–ninth century sculpture in the area which will be discussed in due course.

The dating of the sculptures in Panagia Trimitou (Sc1–Sc12) to the original construction period of the building by Vocotopoulos⁴³ is encouraged by comparative analysis based on style and technique. The motifs used in the decoration of the three closure slab fragments embedded in the later church's apse (Sc6–Sc8, fig. 118) are very common in the Middle Byzantine period.⁴⁴ The ivy-leaves especially became popular during the ninth century and remained so in the tenth century.⁴⁵ Similar decoration may be seen in the palmette motif on an octagonal colonette from Zoodochos Pigi at Panion Oros and in the decoration on several sculptures in Attica, in Chalkis (dated to ca. 900), at Ag. Dimitrios in Thessaloniki (early tenth century), the Museum of Zakynthos (which has many tenth-century parallels), at Panagia Krina in Chios (late tenth century) and in the twelfth-century epistyle from Agiolitharo where the carving is much finer (fig. 151).⁴⁶ The slab fragment (Sc9, fig. 119) is so similar to that from Skala (Sc52, fig. 157) that I think they must have been made by the same craftsman or even for the same monument originally, as will be discussed in due course; Sc52 also comes from a monument dated to the tenth century. The epistyle fragment (Sc10, fig. 120a–b) reminds similar epistyles found in Corinth and Smyrna.⁴⁷ The same motifs and rendering are found in the sculptures of Ag. Grigorios Theologos in Thebes, Ag. Anargyroi in Kastoria, Ag. Kordatos in Corinth, Argos and Smyrna all dating from the end of the ninth to the eleventh century.⁴⁸ On the basis of the preceding remarks it is evident that the aforementioned sculptures must be dated to the tenth century. This certainly fits very well with the dating of the buildings estab-

⁴² Panayotidi 1969, 35, pl. 18a; Lambropoulou et al. 2001, 228–229.

⁴³ Vocotopoulos 1992, 34.

⁴⁴ Sodini 2008, 11.

⁴⁵ Soteriou 1924, 19, note 1; Soteriou 1937, 181–2, fig. 15–16; Pallis 2008.

⁴⁶ Tzakou 1979, 210, 212; Frantz 1971, 16, pl. 11 (no. 7); Bouras et al. 1969, 234 (fig. XXIII.2), 204; Panayotidi 1969, 35–36 (pl. 18b), 109 (pl. 62a); Stoufi-Poulimenou 2004, 555–7 (no. M.Z. 928, fig. 24); Pennas 2008, 465, fig. 10.

⁴⁷ Orlandos 1961b, fig. 104; Orlandos 1937, figs. 22, 25.

⁴⁸ Panayotidi 1969, 63, 90, 103, pls. 35, 37, 53a, 54a.; Grabar 1976, no. 24 (pl. XIIb), no. 46; Sodini 1982a, 119–148; Vanderheyde 2008, 354, fig. 4; Varalis, Tsekas 2008, 371, fig. 3.

lished on the basis of typological and morphological criteria and discussed elsewhere.⁴⁹ Therefore these sculptures were surely made for the initial building and they can very well originate from the tenth-century closure. The two mullions (Sc1, Sc2, fig. 114) and matching pyramidal mullion-dosserets (Sc3, Sc4, fig. 116) preserve matching inscribed letters which were probably identifying marks of the manufacturers who provided them ready-made – or almost ready – to be used in the construction of the church. Most examples of this sort of coordination in construction date to the centuries before the Iconoclasm but the practice continued into the Middle Byzantine period.⁵⁰ One mullion-dosseret (Sc3, fig. 116) is decorated with a Latin cross whose execution and design is identical that of the cross on the pyramidal dosseret from Ag. Dimitrios Katsouri (Sc15, fig. 123); both pieces could be works of the same carver dating to the eighth or ninth century. The two mullions from Trimitou are similar but not identical works. Some scattered columns and bases are of different material and sizes and their carving is dissimilar (Sc11–Sc12, fig. 115). Finally, the schematic Ionic capital (Sc5, fig. 117) seems to be of a different style than the closure slabs discussed above. The schematic, asymmetric relief executed on a simplified pattern and the deep cutting point to an 8th–9th century dating; compared with the ionic capital from Mytikas (Sc34, fig. 139), which has been dated in the 7th century, its execution is rather crude and engraved spiral scrolls have substituted relief volutes. Hence the pieces Sc5 and Sc11–12 can be considered as evidence for the sculpted decoration of the tenth-century basilica having integrated *spolia* from earlier buildings at this site.

The sculptures from the old church of Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery in Skala (Sc50–Sc52) have to my knowledge not been published. Some of them must have been made or used in the Middle Byzantine period as I hope to show below. First of all, the mullion dosseret (Sc50, fig. 155) is similar to those found at Panagia Trimitou (see above Sc3–4, fig. 116), Kefalos (Sc25, fig. 133), and Vlacherna (see below Sc54, fig. 158); compared with the one from Trimitou the pieces from Skala and Vlacherna seem to be later, dating probably to the tenth century and around AD 1000 respectively. A similar, later piece (of the eleventh or twelfth century) was found at Varnakova Monastery but this is only known from a drawing by Orlandos.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See Part 2 – Chapter 1.

⁵⁰ Bouras 2002b, 533.

⁵¹ Orlandos 1922b, 28 (no. 2). See Table 11, no. 66.

Secondly, the motif of the slab fragment (Sc52, fig. 157), i.e. a star with multiple – 6, 8, 10 or 12 – points, is very common in eleventh- to twelfth-century sculptures from Mani,⁵² and is also found in *Epirus* on an eleventh-century epistyle from Ag. Theodora in Arta and – more significantly – on the sculptures from the Panagia Trimitou.⁵³ As concerns the latter, a piece of sculpture of identical material and decoration as the one from Skala has been identified in Trimitou (see above Sc9 and fig. 119). Therefore I consider the two pieces not only likely to be contemporary but made by the same workshop or artist or even for the same monument in their first use. Since the material and dimensions of the slabs are also similar, it is also a possibility that the two fragments might have once been part of the same piece; once this piece had been broken, one of the two fragments might have been displaced. The two sites are neither remote nor adjacent. In any case they both date to the tenth century, and the issue of workshops is discussed below, in the Conclusions (Chapter 3.III). Finally, the capital (Sc51, fig. 156) possibly dates around the end of the Early Byzantine period and must have been reused in the Middle Byzantine chapel.

The fragment from Panagia Kassopitra, Arta (Sc24, fig. 132) could have been part of a closure slab or a sarcophagus. It has been published by Orlandos who, however, has not dated it.⁵⁴ Closure slabs and sarcophagi present a history of similar development in their decoration.⁵⁵ The style of the band recalls eleventh-century panels from Kato Panagia in Arta,⁵⁶ Rendina,⁵⁷ Serres and Thessaloniki⁵⁸ as well as the tenth- to eleventh-century sculpture from the Castle of Arta discussed above (the piece embedded on the wall of the Ottoman powder magazine, shown in fig. 129).⁵⁹ The double knots are found on a ninth- or tenth-century closure slab from the crypt of Ag. Dimitrios in Thessaloniki as well as on panels from Corinth and Phokis.⁶⁰

As regards the patterns, decorating the central part of panels with a cross inscribed in a medallion is also seen on a tenth- to eleventh-century

⁵² Drandakis 2002, 109, 70, 110, 144, 183.

⁵³ See Table 11, no. 38.

⁵⁴ Orlandos 1936, 179.

⁵⁵ Pazaras 1996, 60–61.

⁵⁶ See Table 11, no. 51.

⁵⁷ N. Moutsopoulos in Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 539 (no. 737); Pazaras 1988, 36 (no. 38), pl. 26; Moutsopoulos 1984, pls. 1–4.

⁵⁸ Pazaras 1988, pl. 4, 23β.

⁵⁹ See Table 11, no. 24.

⁶⁰ Pazaras 1977, 62–64 (no. 28), fig. 5, pl. XVI.

sarcophagus from Veroia⁶¹ as well as on closure slabs from Ochrid.⁶² Maltese crosses like the one on Sc24 – i.e. with double outline and flared terminals – are also common in Middle Byzantine art; they may be seen for example on a tenth-century epistyle from Ag. Nikolaos Varson Monastery and on a lintel from the old Katholikon at Xenophondos Monastery probably also dating to the tenth century as well as on sculptures from St John's in Ephesos, Anatolia and elsewhere.⁶³ A similar overall arrangement of motifs is found on a tenth-century closure slab from Ag. Nikolaos Varson.⁶⁴

As far as style is concerned, I think that piece Sc24 is stylistically related to one or two sculptures from *Epirus*: a sculpture from the Castle of Arta (fig. 129)⁶⁵ and a slab and an epistyle from Dramesi in Thesprotia.⁶⁶ It also presents analogies with sarcophagus panels from Serres (dated to the first half of the eleventh century), Rendina, Thessaloniki and Smyrna, pseudo-sarcophagi of the late tenth or eleventh century from Cos, and eleventh-century closure slabs from Ag. Georgios Lathrinou and Protothroni at Chalki in Naxos.⁶⁷ On the basis of the preceding discussion, I believe that the sculpture from Kassopitra should be included in the corpus of sculptures from Arta dating to the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century.

The two dossierets from the Vlachernae Monastery (Sc54–Sc55, fig. 158) have been discussed and photographed by Moutsopoulos.⁶⁸ He has observed that dossierets like Sc54 are common in tenth century churches;⁶⁹ in *Epirus* some very similar pieces are in fact found in sculpture from the Panagia Trimitou (Sc2) and Skala (Sc50), as discussed above. The motif of the second dossieret (Sc55) is also found in a late-ninth-century piece from Ag. Grigorios Theologos in Thebes.⁷⁰ It is also found in a door-frame of the Metropolis in Mystras, where it dates to ca. 1400 but it is thought to be a

⁶¹ Pazaras 1988, pl. 5.

⁶² Grabar 1976, no. 69, pl. XLII b–c.

⁶³ Stoufi-Poulimenou 2002, 710, fig. 3, note 15; Pazaras 1987–1988, 43, figs. 39–41; Mercangoez 2008, 90–91, fig. 2; Büyükkolancı 2008, 77, no. 8.

⁶⁴ Stoufi-Poulimenou 2002, 727–729, fig. 21.

⁶⁵ See Table 11, no. 24.

⁶⁶ Vanderheyde 2005, nos. 11–12.

⁶⁷ Pazaras 1988, pls. 4, 23β, 26α; Militsi 2003, 71; Pennas 2000, 22 (nos. 26, 27), 24 (no. 31).

⁶⁸ Moutsopoulos 2002, 61, fig. 9.

⁶⁹ Moutsopoulos 2002, 60.

⁷⁰ Panayotidi 1969, 103, pl. 54a.

copy of tenth- or eleventh-century sculptures.⁷¹ Both dossierets are dated around AD 1000 on the basis of the aforementioned discussion and their position in the apse of the old Katholikon.

The marble band from the nearby Panagia Finikia (Sc17, fig. 125) could have been part of a doorframe. Its design is very simple and the quality of the work is average. Interconnected roundels are known from Early Byzantine sculpture but they became common around the tenth or eleventh century.⁷² Sculptures with similar roundels including palmettes and Maltese crosses are found in two more churches in Byzantine *Epirus*: a lintel in the Nativity of the Virgin in Peskopiye dated to the eleventh century⁷³ and an epistyle in the Panagia Trimitou (see above Sc10 and fig. 120a). Outside *Epirus*, the same patterns are found on an eleventh-century colonette from Ag. Meletios at Megara.⁷⁴ However, the rendering of the decoration at Panagia Finikia recalls work seen in rather earlier sculpture dating from the late ninth to the early eleventh century. For example, it brings to mind closure colonettes from Ag. Grigorios Theologos at Thebes (ninth century), Panagia church at Skripou, the Panagia Damiotissa, Ag. Nikolaos Varson in Arcadia, the Castle of Pydna, as well as a cornice in the Protothroni church at Chalki, Naxos.⁷⁵ Therefore, I think this relief should be classified with the Middle Byzantine sculptures of *Epirus* and that it should be dated to the early- to mid-eleventh century.

The sculptures observed in the *Kastro ton Rogon* (Sc46–Sc48) were obviously part of an earlier church or churches located on this site.⁷⁶ The fragment Sc46 (fig. 152a) is decorated with champlévé technique (for the scroll) and low-relief (for the half-leaves of acanthus). Soteriou published a drawing which resembled it in 1927 saying that the piece was embedded in the S wall (fig. 152b); he did not propose a date.⁷⁷ Another piece of sculpture is indeed embedded in the S wall but its decoration is completely worn away. Whether or not this sculpture was originally one or two fragments, it is useful to examine the decoration when considering the older church. While the technique of champlévé was used throughout

⁷¹ Grabar 1976, no. 153, pl. CXXXVe.

⁷² Stoufi-Poulimenou 2002, 724.

⁷³ Vanderheyde 2005, 13 (no. 1, fig. 1).

⁷⁴ Grabar 1976, no. 86, pl. LXXIV b.

⁷⁵ Panayotidi 1969; 103, pl. 55b; Pennas 2000, 8–9, 17 (nos. 4, 7, 8); Stoufi-Poulimenou 2002, 724–726, fig. 18; Marki 2001, 54, fig. 16.

⁷⁶ The apse of one church dated in the eleventh century has been discovered in the site (see relevant entry in the Inventory, Part 5).

⁷⁷ Soteriou 1927, 109, fig. 6.

the Byzantine period, the contrast between the flat scroll and the high relief leaves resemble the rendering of a similar pattern on a twelfth-century cornice from the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.⁷⁸ The style of the piece from Rogoi seems to be very close to that of an eleventh-century door-frame from Ag. Anargyroi in Kastoria.⁷⁹ It is less close to the style of a similar early twelfth-century sculpture from Volos⁸⁰ and a twelfth-century closure slab from Mt. Pelion.⁸¹ The design of the acanthus leaves is close to that of the same pattern on some eleventh-century sculptures from Daphni, Athens.⁸² On the basis of the similarity of Sc46 to the sculptures from Kastoria, Volos and Daphni in respect of design and style, I think that the sculpture from Rogoi should be dated to the eleventh century. As far as the colonette fragment is concerned (Sc47, fig. 153), that recalls similar sculptures of the eleventh and twelfth century from the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.⁸³ The numerous other pieces scattered around the modern church (Sc48, fig. 154) further confirm the existence of an old church. On the other hand, the dating proposed above for the pieces Sc46 and Sc47 confirm, I think, the eleventh-century dating for at least one Middle Byzantine phase of the church and the castle of Byzantine Rogoi.

The fragment of sculpture which is embedded in the Keep of the Castle of Nafpaktos (Sc44, figs. 14, 145) to my knowledge remains unpublished. As far as the motif of a band formed a scroll surrounding a medallion decorated in high relief is concerned, it is extremely common during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Greece, Asia Minor, the Balkans and Southern Italy; it probably remained in use as late as the thirteenth century.⁸⁴ For example, it is frequently found in Mani and Central Greece (where it dates to the eleventh century), as well as in an eleventh-century epistyle in Vatopedi, in Ag. Nikolaos Varson (dating in the twelfth century) and Ochrid (eleventh–twelfth century).⁸⁵ The schematic and rather clumsy rendering of this common pattern shows that this sculpture was of rather

⁷⁸ Panayotidi 1969, 90; Bouras, Boura 2002, 41, fig. 20.

⁷⁹ Panayotidi 1969, 62, pl. 33b; Grabar 1976, no. 46α, pl. XXXI.

⁸⁰ Xyngopoulos 1925, 107–121; Bouras, Boura 2002, 76–77.

⁸¹ Bouras, Boura 2002, 222.

⁸² Grabar 1976, no. 49, pl. XXXIIIb.

⁸³ Sklavou-Mavroeidi 1999, 154–155 (nos. 210–212).

⁸⁴ Stoufi-Poulimenou 2002, 711; Sodini 2008, 11.

⁸⁵ Drandakis 2002, 4, 12, 22, 26, 74–76, 104, 143–4, 197; Grabar 1976, nos. 1–78; Bouras, Boura 2002, 307; Pazaras 2001, 40, fig. 36; Pazaras 2008, 259, fig. 7; Stoufi-Poulimenou 2002, 708–711, figs. 2, 3, 4; Filipova 2008, 195, fig. 4.

average quality and recalls the workmanship of other sculptures from Nafpaktos e.g. the epistyle fragment found in the same place as Sc44 and published by Kosti⁸⁶ (fig. 146), a tenth- or eleventh-century marble panel⁸⁷ and an eleventh-century mullion (fig. 147) which looks just like one from Kapnikarea.⁸⁸ Our sculpture, though, is of very different style and workmanship from the lintels from the towers of the citadel (figs. 148, 149).⁸⁹ Its workmanship recalls certain eleventh-century sculptures from Glyky and Dramesi in Thesprotia as well as from Hosios Loukas in Phokis.⁹⁰ The whole conception and execution of the iconography and the motifs are very close though not identical to eleventh- and twelfth-century sculptures from Mani.⁹¹ I therefore think that Sc44 should be dated to the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

The sculptures from Ag. Georgios (Sc28–Sc31, figs. 136, 137) have not been published and they have been dated by Paliouras to the Early Byzantine period.⁹² In my opinion, at least Sc31 must be dated to the Middle Byzantine period – maybe around AD 1100. A similar piece has been reused in the same way at the Gorgoepikoos church in Athens during the eleventh or twelfth centuries.⁹³ Unfortunately the piece is hardly visible due to several layers of white paint on top of it (fig. 137); it could have been part of a closure slab but it is too small to say for sure.

The sculpture at Ag. Stefanos, Nafpaktos (Sc45, fig. 150) has been mentioned in the literature but not dated.⁹⁴ It must have been part of a capital. The cross pattern is very common on capitals and dossierets of the Middle Byzantine period. The double cross in particular appeared in Byzantium in the ninth century as more of a political than a religious symbol. It became common in Middle Byzantine *Epirus* after that time as is evident from the number of sculpted representations: the eleventh-century capitals from Glyky,⁹⁵ the twelfth-century sarcophagus from Ag. Mercurios in Arta,⁹⁶ the twelfth-century dossieret from Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias,⁹⁷ and

⁸⁶ See Table 11, no. 110.

⁸⁷ See Table 11, no. 23.

⁸⁸ See Table 11, no. 47.

⁸⁹ See Table 11, no. 108.

⁹⁰ Vanderheyde 1997a, 716 (no. 10), 717 (nos. 11, 12); Grabar 1976, no. 44, pl. XXIIe.

⁹¹ Drandakis 2002, 197, fig. 302; Drandakis 2008, 413, 415, 417 (figs. 4, 8, 12).

⁹² Paliouras 2004a, 51.

⁹³ Panayotidi 1969, 122–125.

⁹⁴ Konstantios 1991, 604; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 191.

⁹⁵ Dranderheyde 2005, 24–25 (nos. 14–15), figs. 13–14.

⁹⁶ See Table 11, no. 87.

⁹⁷ See Table 11, no. 91.

the twelfth-century epistyle from Agiolitharo (S/N 85 and fig. 151).⁹⁸ It is also frequently found in other parts of Greece, as for example on a late tenth-century colonette from the Castle of Pydna, on eleventh- or twelfth-century sarcophagi and closure slabs from Mani as well as on some sculptures from the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.⁹⁹ The motif of the foliate cross had been known since the sixth century but became more and more popular during the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁰⁰ The style was simpler in earlier examples and became gradually more complex while the rendering of the foliage often indicates the dating (as explained above in the discussion of Sc23). The composition and overall style of the sculpture from Ag. Stefanos are related to rather late examples such as those of the eleventh-century capital from Dramesi, while they also recall those of the cornice from Ag. Sophia in Monemvasia, as well as pieces from the Gorgoepikoos church in Athens and the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.¹⁰¹ The workmanship recalls that of certain eleventh-century sculptures from Glyky and Dramesi in Thesprotia.¹⁰² So, on the basis of the above, I would suggest that Sc45 dates during the eleventh or twelfth century.

The unpublished sculptures from Ag. Varnavas in Louros (Sc40–Sc43) are covered by several layers of white paint, so their decoration is barely discernible. In the case of the piers (Sc40, Sc41, figs. 111a, 143) it is safe, I think, to assume that both of them were once part of a single sculpted architectural member. It must have had fittings for other sculpted parts or a door, and seems likely to have been either an epistyle or a lintel.¹⁰³ The pattern of the piers is found in *Epirus* as early as the sixth century on a mosaic in the Basilica 'A' in Nikopolis and in a mid-ninth-century fresco from Episkopi in Evrytania.¹⁰⁴ It is also found in several sixth-, ninth- and mostly eleventh- and twelfth-century sculptures, such as closure slabs from Samos, Tire, Beçin and Smyrna, sculptures from the Panagia church at Skripou and Ag. Nikolaos at Kambinari, Platsa, piers and epistyles from

⁹⁸ See Table 11, no. 98.

⁹⁹ Marki 2001, 54, fig. 16; Pazaras 1988, 164, pl. 13, 15, 26, 29, 67; Drandakis 2002; Bouras, Boura 2002, 180, 549 (fig. 549ε).

¹⁰⁰ Sklavou-Mavroeidi 2008, 287.

¹⁰¹ Vanderheyde 2005, 20, no. 11, fig. 10; Bouras, Boura 2002, 540, fig. 543β; Sklavou-Mavroeidi 2008, 296–297, figs. 3, 5; Etzeoglou 2008, 403, fig. 7.

¹⁰² Vanderheyde 1997a, 716 (no. 10), 717 (nos. 11, 12).

¹⁰³ The surviving piece is too small to be sure. On Byzantine doors see Mamaloukos 2005a, 16.

¹⁰⁴ Orlandos 1959, 96, fig. 6; Panayotidi 1969, 115, pl. 66.

Vatopedi Monastery, Chios, Naxos, Paros, Kos, Demre and Antalya.¹⁰⁵ The technique of the carving has been discussed by Ivison with regard to a surviving ninth- to tenth-century piece with the same pattern in Amorium.¹⁰⁶

The piece Sc42 (fig. 144) was most probably a colonnette or a piece of a door-frame. Colonettes with similar patterns have also been found in two churches at Kitta, Mani and in Hosios Loukas in Boeotia, where they date to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰⁷ Similar patterns are also found on ninth- to tenth-century window-frames from Tirana and on an eleventh- to twelfth-century door-frame from Elliniko, Argolid.¹⁰⁸ Triple-banded whickers, rendered in a much more naturalistic way, are found on sculptures from Asia Minor.¹⁰⁹ The mullions (Sc43) are unfortunately at a height which does not allow close investigation.

Mamaloukos has referred to the embedded sculptures (Sc43) as Middle Byzantine items of modest workmanship; he has not provided more specific dating.¹¹⁰ On the basis of the above discussion, I think these sculptures should be dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries, which would mean they were connected with the construction of the Middle Byzantine church on this site just like the inscription by the entrance discussed above (see Part 2 – Chapter 2, I5).

The two sculptures located inside the Castle of Arta (Sc21–Sc22 – one unpublished and one published but undated –) probably date from the Middle Byzantine period. The first one (Sc22, fig. 128) has a style recalling the sculpture embedded over the gate of the Ottoman powder magazine (fig. 129), which has been dated in the tenth or eleventh century by Vanderheyde.¹¹¹ The conception and execution of the lions in both sculptures are so similar that they may have been made in

¹⁰⁵ Poulou-Papadimitriou 1985, 49, pl. 27; Panayotidi 1969, 106, pl. 57a; Bouras 1980–1981, pl. 33a; Pennas 2000, 11, nos. 1–3, 5, 6, 9, 11 and 34 (no. 49); Pazaras 2001, figs. 36–38; Grabar 1976, no. 25, pl. XIc; Drandakis 2002, 229; Militsi 2008, 437, fig. 5; Alpaslan-Doğan 2008, 132, figs. 3, 4; Mercangoez 2008, 94, figs. 10, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Ivison 2008, 496.

¹⁰⁷ Drandakis 2002, 168–9; Bouras, Boura 2002, 190; Manolossou 2008, 334, no. 11.

¹⁰⁸ Muçaj 2008, 212, fig. 8.

¹⁰⁹ These sculptures come from Beçin, Uşak and Ödemiş, see Mercangoez 2008, 94–96, figs. 11, 12, 14.

¹¹⁰ Mamaloukos 1995, 199, note 25.

¹¹¹ See Table 11, no. 24.

order to decorate the same building. The two sculptures from the castle (i.e. no. Sc22 and the one from the powder magazine) have a style similar to that of the eleventh-century sculpture from Vomvokou Monastery near Nafpaktos (see S/N 115, Table 11 (no. 44), and fig. 130). Moutsopoulos, on the other hand, observed considerable similarity between the lions in the aforementioned sculptures in Arta and lions depicted in twelfth-century sculptures from Chalkis.¹¹² This observation is also valid with respect to earlier sculptures from Chalkis.¹¹³ The two sculptures from Arta are also very reminiscent of a griffon from an eleventh–twelfth-century closure slab in the Christian and Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens and some birds on an eleventh-century sculpture from Glyky in Thesprotia.¹¹⁴ They also recall two other panels depicting lions and dating to the same period: one from Eptapyrgio in Thessaloniki¹¹⁵ and one from the Panagia Gorgoepikoos in Athens.¹¹⁶ However, the close similarity in the execution of the relief in both pieces embedded in the fabric of the Castle of Arta – a similarity all the more obvious if one looks at the animals' heads – indicates in my opinion a very small chronological difference between the two. Therefore, I would date Sc22 to the same period (tenth–eleventh centuries) as has been suggested for the other piece by Vanderheyde; in fact, a date during the eleventh century might be the most likely if other evidence from the Middle Byzantine construction phase of the castle, discussed in Part 2 – Chapter 1, is taken into consideration.

The second sculpture from the Castle of Arta (Sc21) has been part of a sculpted architectural member (possibly an epistyle) decorated on at least both its visible sides (fig. 127). On the front side, the decoration is made in what looks like *champlevé* technique (fig. 127a). As sculptures made with this technique are not common in Arta, it is hard to be sure whether it is indeed *champlevé* or just an unfinished work.¹¹⁷ Though the technique is not common in the area, it is not entirely absent, especially in high quality sculptures.¹¹⁸ The same pattern using the same technique can be seen in a twelfth-century dossier in Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias at Kirkizates.¹¹⁹ This

¹¹² Moutsopoulos 2002, 14; Bouras, Boura 2002, 146, fig. 152β, γ.

¹¹³ Panayotidi 1969, 110, pl. 63.

¹¹⁴ Pazaras 1977, 88 (no. 55, pl. XXX); Vanderheyde 1997a, 715, no. 8.

¹¹⁵ Pazaras 1977, 89 (no. 56, pl. XXXI).

¹¹⁶ Bouras, Boura 2002, 44–49.

¹¹⁷ Bouras 2005, esp. 3.

¹¹⁸ See eleventh-century sculptures from Ag. Donatos in Glyky (Vanderheyde 2005, 29–30, nos. 26–27, fig. 26a–c) as well as the twelfth-century capitals and dossierets in the interior of Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias (See Table 11, nos. 90–91).

¹¹⁹ See Table 11, no. 90.

motif is common on twelfth-century epistyles and door-frames from Ballsh in Albania, Mani and the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.¹²⁰ Judging, moreover, from the shape of the half-leaves the sculpture seems to be unfinished; they look more like the same motif on the unfinished door-frame fragment from the Archaeological Museum of Corinth¹²¹ than similar motifs in *champlevé* technique.

The under side of the sculpture is decorated with an antique pattern dating most probably to the Hellenistic period (fig. 127b). Apparently the piece was a Hellenistic architectural member re-sculpted and reused during the Byzantine period – which indicates that when the piece was embedded in the Keep it was being used for at least the third time. The reuse of antique sculpture to decorate churches was not unusual as is very evident in the Panagia Gorgoepikoos in Athens, where, in fact, antique members with fish-scale decoration seem to have been very popular. Maybe the pattern was still admired in Byzantine times and the initial sculpture on the piece from Arta was intended to be visible in its second use. A Byzantine motif consisting of tongue- and water-leaves has in fact the same basic conception as the fish-scale motif; it was used in sculptures in Istiaia (fourth century) and Magnesia (twelfth century).¹²² An antique member with fish-scale decoration has been re-sculpted and used as an epistyle in Mani in the twelfth century – with the fish-scale side facing down.¹²³ The sculpture in Arta probably served a similar function, when it was re-used, judging from its dimensions. On the basis of the evidence presented above, I think this piece should also be dated to the twelfth century.

Two of the sculptures embedded in the Katholikon of the Varnakova Monastery (Sc26–Sc27) will be discussed here as they seem to come from the Middle Byzantine phases of the church. Sc26 is a fragment with relief decoration depicting the Tree of Life (fig. 134). A lion stands in the usual position for this iconography, i.e. in profile raising his front foot towards the Tree of Life. Normally a band would be folded around the tree which would terminate in a “κῶνος πικύος”, the Dionysiac thyrsus, a symbol of euphoria used to designate the peak of the fountain of life.¹²⁴ This theme,

¹²⁰ Drandakis 2002, 169, 189; Bouras, Boura 2002, 43 (no. B); Muçaj 2008 212, fig. 8.

¹²¹ Bouras, Boura 2002, 570, fig. 561.

¹²² Nikonanos 1997, 104, pl. 50; Gkioles 1998–2000, 16–18, fig. 18–19.

¹²³ Drandakis 2002, 209.

¹²⁴ Boura 1982, 67.

already known from 7th–9th century sculptures from Athens,¹²⁵ became common in Helladic sculpture from the eleventh to the thirteenth century and is represented in two basic groups of architectural members, that is closure slabs and lintels, and less commonly in impost capitals (as the latter offer limited space for decoration).¹²⁶ The emphasis given to this theme, in the wider context of the preference expressed for animal subjects in certain styles of the Helladic School, has been discussed by Boura.¹²⁷ She has considered it a local particularity; the study of stylistic details has, in fact, supported the hypothesis that its popularity is linked with the trade in silks with animal representations. In *Epirus* it is found in three other buildings where it is made of brickwork (see above Part 2 – Chapter 1, Section 1.II.2.A.). It is also very interesting that the same phenomenon has been observed by Boura in the sculpture of Southern Italy in the same period, without any direct connection to Helladic examples being traceable.¹²⁸ From a stylistic point of view, the sculpture in Varnakova monastery seems to be related to the tenth- to twelfth-century lions depicted in sculptures from the Castle of Arta (discussed above Sc22), Chalkis and the Panagia Gorgoepikoos in Athens. In the light of all this I would assume that Sc26 dates to the first half of the twelfth century and therefore was made during the second construction phase of the Katholikon i.e. in 1148 AD.

The sculpture Sc27 (fig. 135) bears a very common motif in the decoration of cornices and epistyles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹²⁹ Therefore it comes from the Middle Byzantine part of the Katholikon and could be dated to either construction phase.

Eight unpublished sculptures decorate the exterior of the windows in Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias: four mullions and their dossierets (Sc36–Sc39). Two dossierets (Sc36) are decorated by highly-stylized palmettes; the relief is extremely low – rather almost flat – and of average quality (figs. 142a–b).

A third dossieret (Sc37, fig. 142c) is decorated with a schematic cross of poor workmanship. Compared to the rest of the capitals here discussed this seems to be an older reused piece; first of all its shape is different from the other three and second, when it comes to its decoration, the motif is not set in a frame like in the other ones, the pattern is clumsy and the

¹²⁵ Dimitrakopoulou 2005, 29–31.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, 66.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, 67.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁹ See Drandakis 2002; Grabar 1976.

carving is hesitant. The motif is certainly very common in the decoration of dossierets and is also seen at Drymos (Sc25), Kefalos (Sc35), and Skala (see below Sc50). A similar cross is found on a pilaster-capital in the interior of the church, which has been dated to the twelfth century.¹³⁰ Crosses of very similar shape to that on Sc37 are common on closure slabs, pilaster-capitals and dossierets of the Middle Byzantine period. Some examples may be seen on eighth- to ninth-century closure slabs from Naxos, on two ninth-century pilaster-capitals from Vathyrema Agias in Thessaly, on an early tenth-century closure slab from Ag. Dimitrios in Thessaloniki, on another tenth-century closure slab from Ag. Nikolaos in S Varassova (S/N 110), and on eleventh- to twelfth-century closure slabs from Mani.¹³¹ Some dossierets from Mani and Ag. Nikolaos in Ochia have similar decoration and date from the twelfth century.¹³² The clumsy execution resembles an eleventh-century altar slab from Ag. Nikolaos Mileas in Mani.¹³³ On the basis of the aforementioned remarks, I think that this sculpture must be dated before the twelfth century, probably to the late-tenth or eleventh century.

The fourth dossieret (Sc38, fig. 142d) bears a cross similar to that found on a capital and a pilaster-capital in the interior of the church; it has been dated to the twelfth century.¹³⁴ This motif is very common in eleventh- to twelfth-century sculptures from Mani and Central Greece (Boeotia, Chalkis, Mt. Pelion) while it is also found in Ephesos and Kos during the same period.¹³⁵

Finally, the four colonettes (Sc39, fig. 142) are commonplace among architectural members in Byzantine churches in Greece.¹³⁶ Similar colonettes to those in Epirus have been found in Nafpaktos (eleventh century, fig. 147),¹³⁷ Rogoi (see below Sc48) and Vlacherna (twelfth century).¹³⁸ All the sculpture on the exterior of Ag. Nikolaos, except for Sc37, dates to the

¹³⁰ See Table 11, no. 91.

¹³¹ Pennas 2000, 14 (nos. 14–16), 15 (no. 18); Nikonanos 1997, 32, pls. 8, 9; Panayotidi 1969, 33, pl. 18b; Drandakis 2002, 20, 183. For the slab from Varassova see Table 11, no. 21.

¹³² Drandakis 2002, 248, 111, 239; Bouras, Boura 2002, 428 (fig. 459).

¹³³ Drandakis 2008, 412, fig. 3.

¹³⁴ See Table 11, no. 91.

¹³⁵ Drandakis 2002, 70, 197; Grabar 1976, nos. 44–45, pl. XIX a–b; Bouras, Boura 2002, 146 (fig. 152στ), 222 (fig. 249α); Militsi 2008, 434, fig. 4; Büyükkolancı 2008, 77, no. 8.

¹³⁶ See Bouras, Boura 2002, 529 for twelfth-century examples from the Christian and Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.

¹³⁷ See Table 11, no. 47.

¹³⁸ See Table 11, no. 95.

twelfth century, i.e. to the initial construction phase of the church, as does also the sculpture of the interior.¹³⁹

On the motif of the dossier from the Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani in Vonitsa (Sc57, fig. 159) see the discussion of sculptures Sc2, Sc25, Sc50, and Sc54 above. Inevitably, no conclusions can be drawn on the pieces from Ag. Varvara in Stefani, Ag. Ioannis in Vonitsa, Panagia Foinikia, Panagia sto Kozili (Sc53, Sc56, Sc18, Sc49).

3.III. CONCLUSIONS

Opus Sectile, Marble-inlay, Mosaic and Fresco Decorations

The remains of *opus sectile*, marble-inlay, mosaic and fresco decorations of this period are too limited to allow any conclusions which could contribute to any discussion of settlement. In particular the two marble-inlay and three mosaic contexts recorded scarcely indicate that these techniques were in widespread use in Middle Byzantine churches; in the single case of the Katholikon in Varnakova monastery the marble-inlay decoration echoes artistic practices taking place in the Byzantine capital. On the other hand, many Middle Byzantine churches have been repeatedly restored up to the present day or replaced by modern buildings constructed on exactly the same site. Therefore, most sites of Middle Byzantine churches and monasteries are in fact very disturbed contexts and a lot of material must have been lost.

A few observations can be made on the sites where fresco decoration has been preserved. First of all those are the iconoclastic paintings at Stamna. On this site three churches have been discovered, all dating to the ninth century. It is certain that a fairly important ninth-century settlement was located in this area and members of that community, including the donor of at least one of these churches, were influenced by the repercussions of the Iconoclastic Controversy in *Epirus*.

Paintings surviving from the tenth and eleventh century, by contrast, appear to have been rather more closely connected with monasteries (Ag. Pateres, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos, probably also Ag. Triada Mavrika) than with individual constructions (Panaxiotissa, church in the Castle of Rogoi), considering the vast number of new, eleventh-century buildings in the area. On the other hand, the frescos surviving from the late eleventh

¹³⁹ See Table 11, nos. 90–91.

and twelfth centuries have been located in both small and peripheral settlement churches (Vurnikas in Lefkada and Mastro) and in monastic complexes (Myrtia Monastery and Ag. Eleousa in Kandila). It is striking that no painted decoration has survived in Nafpaktos and Arta, the settlements which seem to have concentrated the most evidence of other kinds of material culture (e.g. pottery, sculpture, coinage etc.) and the highest quality examples. It could have been that the tradition of fresco painting was not the most significant feature of Middle Byzantine church decoration in *Epirus* judging from the fact that there are few examples and they are of rather provincial character and modest ambition.

Sculptures

Unlike the limited painted decorations, there are nearly 200 sculptures in all dating from the seventh to the twelfth century in the investigated area, as seen in Table 11. This quantity reflects both an incontestable aesthetic interest being taken in the buildings and patrons with significant financial means.

I shall not discuss here any matters related to the origin of materials or recycling of sculpted items, artisans and their techniques, typology and composition of motifs, as these belong to more specialized studies, such as that already published by C. Vanderheyde. The latter has revealed the existence of local workshops, analogies with the sculpture of the Peloponnese and central Greek mainland as well as a remarkable flourishing of art and economic prosperity in the Theme of *Nikopolis*. Evidently these things had been overshadowed in the past by the more celebrated thirteenth-century sculptures in the Independent State of Epirus.¹⁴⁰ However, what I will be more concerned with here is any sort of information that sculptures can provide in relation to settlement.

So, first of all, some remarks can be made on the geographical and chronological distribution of sculptures; this is fairly relative as in some cases the dating of the sculptures is still not very precise. The seventh – ninth centuries are represented by a limited number of pieces on less than ten sites. Between the tenth and the twelfth century the number of sculptures gradually increases. Tenth-century pieces have been located on some eight sites or maybe rather fewer which is not exactly the “tenth century explosion of sculptures” observed in other Byzantine regions.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Vanderheyde 2005, 151–153.

¹⁴¹ Sodini 2008, 19.

This phenomenon is not observed in *Epirus* until the eleventh century, from which period pieces have been found in approximately twenty sites and in large numbers. Finally the great majority of the sculptures is dated to the twelfth century and can be found on approximately twenty sites and in archaeological collections.

The earlier (i.e. seventh- to eighth-century) sculptures appeared in sites of the Early Byzantine period such as Drymos, Kefalos, Mytikas and Finikia near Aetoliko. Ninth-century sculptures do appear in old and new sites yet they are rather hard to date precisely, as is the case in all Byzantine provinces.¹⁴² By contrast tenth-century pieces appeared in new sites, dated to the Middle Byzantine period such as those of Arta, Panagia Trimitou, Panaxiotissa, and the monasteries at Skala and Varassova (Ag. Nikolaos and Kato Vassiliki).

The great majority of sculptures, and especially those of the eleventh and twelfth century, were associated with sites with high concentrations of population (see Part 3 – Chapters 1 and 3) such as Arta, Nafpaktos and several important monastic centres (i.e. Varnakova, Vlacherna, monasteries in and around Arta and Nafpaktos, Koronissia, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias, Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri, Monastiraki and Tryfos). There is little evidence of village workshop activity as in Mani.¹⁴³

It is not easy to use the sculptural evidence to evaluate settlements in terms of their importance, functions or interaction and relations. What has definitely been confirmed by the present discussion is Vanderheyde's observation that the main characteristic of sculptures from the theme of Nikopolis is their heterogeneity.¹⁴⁴ Of all the sites, Arta stands out as having the greatest quantity of sculpture, variety of motifs as well as the highest level of artistic and technical sophistication. The Arta sculptures also present analogies with contemporary sculpture from neighbouring regions such as the central Greek mainland and the Peloponnese.¹⁴⁵ Such similarities with works from other Byzantine regions in the areas of Western and Northern Greece, especially the Peloponnese, Thesprotia and Macedonia, have also been confirmed for a lot of sculptures from many sites in *Epirus*.

¹⁴² Sodini 2008, 19.

¹⁴³ Drandakis 2008.

¹⁴⁴ Vanderheyde 2005, 153.

¹⁴⁵ Vanderheyde 2005, 151.

Many pieces from Nafpaktos, moreover, seem to have been work of local workshops, as Vanderheyde has suggested.¹⁴⁶ In fact, I think this is also confirmed by the two identical and contemporary tenth-century slab fragments found in Skala and Panagia Trimitou, which were previously unpublished. And yet local sculpture seems to have started to spread within the investigated area at least as early as the eighth or ninth century, judging from the cases of the similar dossierets from Trimitou and Ag. Dimitrios Katsouri. In later times, during the eleventh and twelfth century, certain pieces from Nafpaktos, although made locally, show similarity in style and imagery to sculpture from neighbouring areas such as Mani in the Peloponnese, Hosios Loukas in Boeotia and Thesprotia. It is possible that artists could have learnt their craft in established workshops in other regions.¹⁴⁷ The circulation of painters' and sculptors' village workshops within wide geographical areas has already been discussed by Vanderheyde and Panayotidi in relation to the Peloponnese, Macedonia and Epirus.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Vanderheyde 2005, 152.

¹⁴⁷ Panayotidi 2005.

¹⁴⁸ See Vanderheyde 2008, 348; Vanderheyde 1997a, 708, note 75; Panayotidi 2005.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARTEFACTS

In this chapter I shall present and discuss the evidence in respect of artefacts from the investigated sites. All the available evidence, published and recorded during the survey, has been taken into consideration, so as to acquire as accurate a picture of the circulation of Middle Byzantine artefacts as possible. Many problems were encountered in the course of this work. One of them was the often incomplete record and discussion of excavations. Another was the fact that this type of extensive survey does not produce large numbers of finds. Therefore, the available evidence constitutes a rather small sample and is not enough to shed adequate light on the big problem of material culture in Middle Byzantine *Epirus*. Instead I will use the evidence in order to:

- provide relative dating information on sites by defining positive but not negative chronologies, i.e. confirming the use of sites at certain periods but not excluding their use in others
- investigate industrial features and relations between sites within the investigated area, as well as their relations with sites in neighbouring provinces.

4.I. CERAMICS AND TILES (APPENDIX I.4. AND TABLE 12)

Published and new evidence on ceramics and tiles is available for many of the investigated sites. It relates to the numbered contexts shown in detail in Appendix I.4.

While two pottery contexts related to the important Byzantine sites of Nafpaktos and Arta have been discussed by Charitonidou and Papadopoulou, most publications of pottery consist of mere listings of wares types – often undated.¹ A specific investigation into pottery from *Epirus* from the seventh to twelfth centuries is still awaited and absolutely essential. The small-scale investigation which has been part of this study is

¹ See Appendix I.4. for a detailed account of publications.

Table 12. The Chronology of Ceramics and Tiles from Middle Byzantine *Epirus*.

C/N	Artefact/ context no.	Wares	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
1	P3	Coarse with impressed cross decoration	5th–7th c.	38 – Drymos	Mastrokostas 1971, 193
2	P8	Amphorae (ridged)	Early Byzantine?	60 – Kryoneri	Kefallonitou 2004a, 489
3	P19	• Red Slip Wares • Coarse ware (domestic)	Early and Middle Byzantine	3 – Aetoliko, Finikia, Pleuron	
4	P15 C6	• Plain glazed ware (ribbed?) • Tiles with cross-shaped stamps	Early and Middle Byzantine	104 – Stefani, Ag. Varvara	Papadopoulou 1992b, 328–329
5	P6 C1	• Amphorae (ridged) • ARS lamp • Loom weights • Cooking wares, plain and glazed • Fine-sgraffito ware • Painted sgraffito ware • Painted glazed wares • Slip painted ‘dotted or Oyster/Spotted style’ ware	6th–13th c. or later	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill	Paliouras 1985, 229; Paliouras 2004a, 413; Dietz et al. 1998, 294, 303; Dietz 2006, 523
6	P7 C2	• Red Slip Ware lamps • Tiles • Loom weights	End of 6th c. or later	55 – Kefalos (see also P25 below)	Barla 1968, 23, pl. 20

Table 12 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact/ context no.	Wares	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
7	P25	- Coarse wares, plain or ridged or ribbed, amphorae (LR1, LR2, Günsenin type 2 – Riley type 13, LR13?, Günsenin type 3?) - Coarse ware (domestic) - Tile with cross-shaped stamp - Red Slip Ware and imitations	6th c. – Middle Byzantine	55 – Kefalos (see also P7 above)	
8	P24	- coarse wares (ribbed) - plain glazed wares (one with pellets decoration)	6th c. – Middle Byzantine or later	8 – Agios Ilias, tower	
9	P13 C4	- Coarse wares, plain (ridged) - Painted wares - Sgraffito wares - Glazed wares - Bread stamp	6th c. – Middle Byzantine and later	77 – Nafpaktos, Ag. Dimitrios	Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 170; Triantaphyllopoulos 1991, 596
10	P21	- Coarse wares (amphorae and with waving ribbed decoration) - Plain glazed ware - Glazed Green Painted ware	6th–7th c., Middle Byzantine or later	15 – Angelokastro	

Table 12 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact/ context no.	Wares	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
11	P1	Coarse wares	8th–13th c.?	9 – Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada	Paliouras 2004a, 439
12	P37	• Coarse wares, plain or ribbed, amphora (Günsenin type 1 or 3 – Hayes type 65?)	Byzantine (9th–10th c.?)	107 – Varassova E, Ag. Dimitrios	
13	P17	Coarse ware, plain and glazed	10th c.	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos	Paliouras 1998–1999: 294–5; Paliouras 2004a, 425, fig. 26
14	P2	• Monochrome Green Glazed ware with a silver iridescent glaze	11th–13th c.	21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 35, 36 – Arta	Vavyloupoulou- Charitonidou 1984, 453–472
15	P10 P11	• Green and Brown Painted ware • Sgraffito ware • Fine Sgraffito ‘Spiral style’ ware • Incised Sgraffito ‘Medallion Style’ ware • Green and Brown Painted Sgraffito ware • Green and Brown painted ware	11th–12th or 13th c.	72 – Megali Chora, Koimisi Theotokou at the Cemetery	Mastrokostas 1967, 324, pls. 233α–β

Table 12 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact/ context no.	Wares	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
16	P12	• Coarse wares, plain and glazed • Painted Glazed ware • Sgraffito ware • Fine Sgraffito ware • Fine Sgraffito • 'Medallion Style' ware • Painted Fine Sgraffito • 'Spiral Style' ware • Slip Painted ware • Green and Brown Painted • Proto-Maiolica	11th–12th or 13th c.	75–83 – Nafpaktos	Raptopoulos 1998–1999, 33, 35; Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 167; Papadopoulos 1990c; Petritaki 1987, 169; Papadopoulos 1998–1999
17	P36	Amphora (Günsemin type 2?)	11th–12th c.?	106 – Trigardo, ancient Oeniades	
18	C3	Roof tiles	Middle Byzantine	70 – Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi 101 – Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery	Vocotopoulos 1992, 20
19	P33 C5	Coarse wares (ribbed or ridged), storage vessels, amphorae (Günsemin types 1 or 4?)	Middle Byzantine		
20	P18	• Coarse ware, plain, ribbed or ridged • Green glazed ware • Lamp	Middle Byzantine (and later?)	120 – Vonitsa, Panagia Peninsula, Panagia	Kefallonitou-Konstantiou 1987, 329

Table 12 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact/ context no.	Wares	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
21	P26	- Coarse ware (domestic) - Glazed White Ware	Middle Byzantine or later	62 – Lefkada, Koulmos, Castle	
22	P30	Coarse ware (domestic)	Middle Byzantine or later	73 – Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros	
23	P34	Coarse ware (domestic, <i>pitthoi</i>)	Middle Byzantine or later	102 – Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies	
24	P35	- Coarse wares, amphora (Otranto type) - Coarse ware (domestic)	Middle Byzantine and/or later	105 – Stratos	
25	P29	Glazed Green Painted red ware	Middle Byzantine or later	72 – Megali Chora, Koimisi Theotokou at the Cemetery	
26	P4	- Painted glazed ware - Sherd with incised cross	Middle Byzantine?	48 – Kandila, Glosses, Castle	Knauss 1995, fig. 19
27	P5	Unspecified	Byzantine	44 – Evinochori, Calydon	Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 86; Katsaros 1985, 1530
28	P9	Unspecified	Byzantine	69 – Macheras, Paleochoiri, Vristiana / Vlyziana	Papatrechas 1981
29	P16	Unspecified	Byzantine	109 – Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres	Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 539
30	P14	- Sgraffito wares - Maiolica ware	Byzantine and later	100 – Riza, Castle	Chrysostomou 1980, 316–320, pl. 162

Table 12 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact/ context no.	Wares	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
31	P23	Plain brown-glazed	Byzantine?	7 – Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios	
32	P20	• Plain glazed wares • Coarse wares (ribbed)	Byzantine?	5 – Aetos, Castle	
33	P27	Polychrome (Brown and Green) Sgraffito ware	Ottoman period	63 – Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon	
34	P32	Painted Glazed wares	Ottoman period	86 – Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili	
35	P40	Slip painted glazed ware (jug)	Ottoman period?	121 – Zalongo, Taxiarches	
36	P22	Plain coarse wares		37 – Astakos, Castle	
37	P28	Plain Glazed ware		64 – Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki	
38	P31	coarse wares (storage vessels)		84 – Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon	
39	P38	• Plain coarse ware (storage vessel) • Slip painted ware		116 – Vonitsa, Castle	
40	P39	Coarse ware (ribbed)		119 – Vonitsa, Panagia Alichniotissa	

based on relatively restricted evidence, lacking all kinds of statistical data and with no possibility of studying excavation finds from the investigated area. But it has produced preliminary observations, which remain to be confirmed by future specialized research. From among the listed contexts in the Appendix I.4, I shall discuss here the few more or less diagnostic pieces regarding the chronology of settlement on the basis of evidence provided by recent studies on Middle Byzantine ceramics.²

Pottery

A very important find of the survey was the identification of one type of locally manufactured medieval ceramics. The examples of domestic coarse pottery (but not tiles)³ have been identified during the survey on the basis of their fabric: a dark purplish-red fabric, coarse-grained with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture. This category is made up of domestic wares used in the preparation and serving of food and liquids and for storage. Fragments of this type of pottery have been identified at the sites of Stratos (P35), Kefalos (P25, no. 4), Koulmos (P26), Monastiraki (P30, fig. 194), Stamna (P34, fig. 197) and Pleuron (P19, fig. 177). The aforementioned distribution of these wares allows at this stage a provisional location of the fabric source somewhere towards the Western part of the investigated area.⁴ The finds from Dyo Ekklesies near Stamna were rim fragments from large storage vessels (pithoi) while those from Stratos, Koulmos, Monastiraki and Pleuron were small pieces of tableware, handles and body fragments.⁵ The dating of these survey finds is of course problematic; yet their presence in a number of sites with Middle Byzantine remains cannot be accidental and it suggests, in my opinion, that their production during this period is very possible. Some more facts and ideas about this type of pottery are further discussed in relation to other kinds of evidence in the Conclusions of this chapter.

² Bakirtzis 1989; Bakirtzis 2003; Vroom 2003; Kalopissi-Verti 2003; Bardill 2004; Vroom 2005.

³ Tile fragments of identical fabric have been identified in neighbouring areas excluded from this study.

⁴ Issues related to production and fabric provenance will be discussed in a forthcoming study.

⁵ For similar artefacts see Bakirtzis 1989, 25 (pl. 3), 26 (pl. 5); Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 58 (no. A3).

As regards other pottery, several wares dating from Late Antiquity to the late twelfth–early thirteenth century and later have been identified. They are discussed here in approximately chronological order.

To begin with the potsherd decorated with an impressed cross, which was found in a secular context near Drymos (P3, fig. 162), it has been characterized as “possibly part of a lamp”.⁶ However it could also have been part of a dish. Since this potsherd is no longer available for examination, the original photo is all we have on which to base conclusions on this piece. The shape and decoration seem to point rather to a stamped dish than to a lamp fragment; in fact identical crosses are found on dishes of Phocaeen Red Slip Wares from West Turkey.⁷ Thus it is highly probable that this item should be dated between the mid-fifth – mid-seventh centuries.

Many sherds with ridged surfaces, found at Kryoneri (P8, fig. 172),⁸ seem to have belonged to amphorae, probably mostly of the LR2 type dating to approximately the same period, i.e. the late sixth or seventh centuries.⁹ The same type of pottery was found at the site of Kato Vassiliki (see fig. 167) on the other side of Mt Varassova a short distance to the east.

The island of Kefalos was also full of pottery dating to the sixth and seventh centuries (P25). It included sherds of Red Slip Wares and imitations (fig. 189), locally manufactured pottery (see fig. 190 and relevant discussion below in this section) as well as coarse ware sherds, plain or with ridged and ribbed surfaces, among which fragments from the bodies, necks, shoulders and handles of LR2 amphorae and other transport vessels of the Early Byzantine period or later can be distinguished (figs. 183a–f). There are also sherds of Günsenin Type 2 (Riley type 13) dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries¹⁰ and LR1 amphorae (figs. 183a, c).¹¹ The neck and handle of light brown/orange fabric (figs. 184, 186) may belong to LR13 amphorae of the seventh to ninth centuries¹² while the vertical round handle of orange fabric might also be part of Günsenin Types 2 or 3, dating to between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries (fig. 187).¹³

⁶ Mastrokostas 1971, 193.

⁷ Vroom 2005, 36, fig. 2.4 (after Hayes 1972).

⁸ Kefallonitou 2004a, 489.

⁹ See Bonifay, Villedieu 1989, 24; Vroom 2005, 52.

¹⁰ Günsenin 1989, 271; Bonifay, Villedieu 1989, 26.

¹¹ Bonifay, Villedieu 1989, 24, fig. 2.

¹² See Günsenin 1989, 271+273; Van Doorninck 1989, 249, fig. 1; Bakirtzis 1989, plate 16 (plan 3), plate 17 (plan 2).

¹³ Vroom 2005, 94–98.

The pale orange handle with an orange-pink core containing organics and several small lime inclusions and voids (fig. 185) must have belonged to an Otranto I amphora of the tenth to eleventh centuries.¹⁴

The large amount of surface pottery from Ag. Ilias (P24) can be dated to between the fourth and the fifteenth century. The preponderant type was ribbed coarse wares which could perhaps date from the sixth century to the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁵ Later finds were Plain Glazed Red Ware sherds (figs. 181a–b) which could date to the Middle Byzantine period,¹⁶ including the chafing dish handle with pellet decoration and drops of transparent glaze (fig. 182).¹⁷ Two plain handles from small storage pots (one preserving part of the rim) are impossible to date but again a chronology in the Middle Byzantine period is not unlikely.¹⁸

The excavation finds from Ag. Varvara in Stefani (P15) included plain glazed potsherds perhaps with ridged surfaces.¹⁹ This pottery has not been published, but an indication that it should be dated to between the Late Antique period and the eleventh century is provided by the chronology of the site.²⁰

The area of Pleuron produced many antique and medieval coarse ware fragments, including RSW imitations and domestic medieval pottery (fig. 177).²¹

Finds from Angelokastro (P21) consist of a large amount of variable surface pottery roughly dated to between Late Antiquity and the Late Byzantine period. They consisted of coarse wares including Early Byzantine amphorae and a handle from a closed vessel,²² and of Plain Glazed Ware and of Glazed Green Painted Ware (fig. 180), possibly dating

¹⁴ Vroom 2003, 155–157; Vroom 2005, 102–103.

¹⁵ See Bakirtzis 1989, pl. 2.1, 2.6, 5.4, 41^a, 43^a; Armstrong 1989, 187, fig. 2.1; Hoti 2003, 238, figs. 1.1, 1.9, 1.10; Marki, Cheimonopoulou 2003, 704 (figs. 1, 2), 705 (fig. 6); Gini-Tsofopoulou, Chalkia 2003, 757, fig. 2.2; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989, 238–241; Van Doorninck 1989, 249, 255; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2003, 212 (fig. 3); Gayraud 2003, 559, figs. 1–3; Blondé et al. 2003, 775, figs. 4, 5.

¹⁶ See Hayes 2003, 530, fig. 6; Reynolds 2003, 733, fig. 3.4.

¹⁷ See Sanders 2003, 43, fig. 12/3; Vroom 2005, 73.

¹⁸ See Bakirtzis 1989, fig. 8.2, 8.4, 8.5; Marki, Cheimonopoulou 2003, 704 (no. LP95/1–2, fig. 1, 2); Gini-Tsofopoulou, Chalkia 2003, 756, figs. 1/5, 6, 3; Bakourou et al. 2003, 235, fig. 7; Hoti 2003, 238–239, figs. 1/7, 2/18, 7; Bikić 2003, 194 (fig. 5/2), 196 (fig. 3/6); Toydemir 2003, 255, fig. 1/41; Mackay 1967, 297, fig. 5.1.

¹⁹ The treatment is described as “pleated” (πτυχωτή) by Papadopoulou (1992b, 328–329).

²⁰ See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 – Chapter 2, below.

²¹ See relevant Inventory entry in Part 5 – Chapter 2, below and Appendix I.4.A.

²² Perhaps of *Africana grande* or LR4 types?

to the Middle Byzantine period²³ or later.²⁴ Another [very similar] glazed green painted potsherd has been found in Megali Chora: a fragment of a closed vessel of Glazed Green Painted Red Ware type (P29, fig. 193) and of similar date. Two handmade potsherds with single and multiple linear and wavy incised decoration seem to be the only finds recalling the Middle Byzantine “Slavic Ware” variants and probably date to the seventh to ninth century²⁵ (fig. 179).

The sites on and around Mt. Varassova produced a lot of Byzantine pottery, much of which has been dated to the Middle Byzantine period. While the relevant reference to the site of Ag. Pateres in Varassova North–East is vague²⁶ (see P16 in the Appendix), the pottery found at Ag. Nikolaos in Varassova South (P17) included plain coarse ware and a plain glazed jar dated to the tenth century (fig. 176).²⁷

According to Paliouras, pottery dated to the Early and Middle Byzantine period has also been found across the whole surface of the nearby Ag. Triada hill in Kato Vassiliki (P6).²⁸ The upper part of the body of an amphora (fig. 164) and an ARS lamp with a bird in relief of the sixth or seventh century (fig. 165) were surface finds from the NW part of the hill-top in 1996.²⁹ The Middle Byzantine pottery found in the refectory was both coarse ware and tableware and consisted of:³⁰

1. A large number of sherds with ridged surface treatment (fig. 167). They could have belonged to amphorae of the LR2 type dated to between the fourth and the seventh centuries.³¹ The site of Kryoneri across the bay produced similar finds (fig. 172).
2. Fragments of cooking-pots among which a Plain Glazed one (τρυκάλιον) with one handle similar to Bakirtzis’ type A2 (fig. 168).³² Similar vessels are found from the seventh to the fourteenth century,³³ but those with

²³ See Poulou-Papadimitriou 2003, 221, figs. 30–31.

²⁴ See e.g. a 16th–18th-c. jug in Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 71 (no. A28).

²⁵ For similar decoration see, Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 241, figs. 6.19, 6.18; Hoti 2003, 238–9, figs. 1–2; Van Doorninck 1989, 249, figs. 1.8, 1.11, 1.12; Toydemir 2003, 255, fig. 1.40.

²⁶ Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 539.

²⁷ Paliouras 1998–1999, 294–295; Paliouras 2004a, 425, fig. 26.

²⁸ Paliouras 1985, 229; Paliouras 2004a, 413.

²⁹ Dietz et al. 1998, 294, 303; Dietz 2006, 523.

³⁰ Paliouras 1985, 227–8.

³¹ Vroom 2005, 55.

³² Bakirtzis 1989, Group A2, 33–38, Table 2–3.

³³ Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 58–62.

a single handle are more common during the second millennium.³⁴ However, similar vessels found in the Athenian Agora, at Delphi, on Aegina, and Samos have been dated between the seventh and the ninth century³⁵ but also later in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;³⁶ compared to these later examples the vessel from Kato Vassiliki seems to have been made using a rather inferior technique.

3. A Fine Sgraffito shallow dish decorated with a dragon pattern was also found (fig. 169).³⁷ It dates to the twelfth century.³⁸ A similar vessel of the mid-twelfth century is part of the Benaki Museum's Collection in Athens.³⁹
4. More sherds of Fine Sgraffito, Painted Sgraffito and of Painted Glazed shallow dishes were found (figs. 170a, c–e). The decoration of some of them (figs. 170a, c) recalls that of Fine Sgraffito vessels of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.
5. A potsherd of Slip Painted, Dotted or Oyster/Spotted Style Ware (fig. 170b) dated around the late eleventh or twelfth century.⁴⁰

Many sea shells and plain coarse ware sherds were observed at Ag. Dimitrios in Varassova East (P37). Some potsherds had ribbed surfaces. Of the two recorded fragments of handles one belonged to a small vessel of orange–red fabric while the second was part of a Byzantine amphora of orange fabric coated with creamish slip (fig. 199); the amphora may have been of the Günsenin 1 (ninth–tenth century)⁴¹ or Günsenin 3 type (Hayes type 61 or 65).⁴² As far as the sea shells are concerned, in the specific context they have probably originated from food consumption; otherwise, they might have been stored after the consumption of food for other home-keeping or industrial uses.

Among the pottery found at Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery near Skala (P33) one can recognize coarse ware fragments with ribbed surfaces (including sherds of amphorae and other storage vessels as well as table-

³⁴ Bakirtzis 1989, 36.

³⁵ Robinson 1959, 120, pl. 34, group M, no 386; Felten 1974, 67–69, pl. 21, no. 93; Poulou-Papadimitriou 1985, pl. 152.

³⁶ S. Doukata-Demertzi in Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 348, nos. 397–9.

³⁷ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 279, fig. 11.

³⁸ See Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 28–30, 32–33, nos. 12, 13.

³⁹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi et al. 1999, 59, nos. 150, 80.

⁴⁰ Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 78; Sanders 2000, 160–161; Vroom 2005, 81.

⁴¹ See Günsenin 1989, fig. 1.

⁴² See Hayes 1992, 74, fig. 26.6; Günsenin 1989, 271–4, figs. 8–10; Vroom 2003, 153–4, fig. 6.7.

ware). The amphorae (fig. 196) seem to be of a Günsenin Type 1 dating to the tenth or eleventh century.⁴³ The tableware consists of unglazed cooking pots, jars of various sizes and storage pots. All the ceramics are made of a homogenous fabric which seems to be soft and medium-coarse, of dark orange colour with medium to large lime inclusions and voids (fig. 196). One cooking pot is decorated with a thick, incised, wavy line under the rim (fig. 196, first pot on the left) while the body of another is covered with ribbed (combed) decoration (fig. 196, middle).

The fabric of the unglazed coarse jar base – and body – fragment (P26, fig. 191a), found at Koulmos in Lefkada, recalls the unglazed domestic wares of Boeotia, listed by Vroom under the Middle Byzantine types which remain hard to date.⁴⁴ The two fragments of a shallow dish rim from Alykes near Koulmos (P26, fig. 191b) seem to have been part of a Glazed White Ware II vessel with yellow, opaque glaze. Vessels of similar rim shapes and technique have been dated to the Middle Byzantine period (late ninth – late twelfth century),⁴⁵ though plain glazed wares were also very common in later periods.

A dating of the Plain Glazed Red Ware dish base from Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki (P28, fig. 192b) to the Middle Byzantine period, specifically around the late eleventh or twelfth century, is not unlikely. The potsherd also recalls thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Monochrome Sgraffito Ware (from Corinth?),⁴⁶ but our fragment does not have any inscribed decoration, although it comes from the central part of the vessel.⁴⁷

A. Vavylopoulou–Charitonidou traced two groups of pottery which can be dated to the twelfth century (P2) among the large quantity of Late Byzantine pottery from Arta.⁴⁸ The first group consists of sherds of Monochrome Green Glazed Ware with a silver iridescent glaze. Charitonidou notes that this technique for producing an iridescent surface on pottery is mentioned in an early twelfth-century text.⁴⁹

⁴³ See Vroom 2005, 94, 100.

⁴⁴ Vroom 2003, 157.

⁴⁵ See Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 63, no. A14 (10th–11th c.); Kanonidis 2003, 73, fig. 10 (late 9th–late 12th c., with parallels from Saraçhane, Constantinople); Sanders 2000, 163–166.

⁴⁶ For similar vessels see Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 60, no. Ag; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 32–33, 115, 142 (nos. 12, 13, 131, 162).

⁴⁷ See Vroom 2005, 112–113.

⁴⁸ Vavylopoulou–Charitonidou 1984, 453–472.

⁴⁹ *Theophilus, On Arts*, 47, p. 230; Vavylopoulou–Charitonidou 1984, 468; Vroom 2000, 255.

The second group of vessels comprises bowls and jugs of the Green and Brown Painted ware (fig. 160). This type of pottery comes from the excavations of the *Kourti*, *Manara*, *Bakayani* and *Bandalouka Plots* and the ancient theatre. It is dated from the eleventh century onwards but is rather more common from the middle until the end of the twelfth century.⁵⁰ Charitonidou has dated it within the same time span but noted that she tended to favour a thirteenth-century dating, since this material has been found in contexts where the coin finds were mainly of the thirteenth century.⁵¹ One should note that some of these pieces seem to be similar to Archaic Maiolica Ware.⁵²

With reservations, due to the fact that this material has not been closely examined, I should also point out that some of the pieces published by Charitonidou could well be dated as early as the twelfth century (especially since pre-thirteenth-century strata have been discovered in the aforementioned sites). For example, the imported Fine Sgraffito dish from the *Bakayani Plot* (fig. 161a) with 'Spiral Style' decoration⁵³ has parallels in certain pots from Corinth, which appeared after AD 1085 and became more common between 1120 and 1200,⁵⁴ while it looks very similar to the vessel found in Nafpaktos (see below, Nafpaktos, no. 1).⁵⁵ The fragment of a sgraffito dish from the *Bakayani Plot* (fig. 161b) has many parallels from Corinth, dating to the twelfth century.⁵⁶ Fragments of bases of sgraffito open vessels (dishes?) from the *Bakayani Plot* (nos. 171A–B, fig. 161c) have many parallels from Corinth, dating to the twelfth century.⁵⁷ A base fragment of an Incised Sgraffito vessel with 'Medallion Style' decoration from the *Bakayani Plot* (no. 117, fig. 161d) is similar to mid-twelfth- to

⁵⁰ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 37–39. Similar artefacts have been found in Corinth (Group II by Morgan 1942, pl. XXIII), in the Athenian Agora (Frantz 1938, 429; Kalopissi-Verti 2003, A65), Phokis (Armstrong 1989) and Crete (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2003, 221–224, fig. 32–39).

⁵¹ Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 458–462, 465–471.

⁵² See similar artefacts in Morgan 1942, Groups I–II, pl. XXXVI.

⁵³ Morgan 1942, 120–123, pl. XLI.

⁵⁴ Sanders 2000, 160–161.

⁵⁵ See also Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 31, 33, 135; Papanikola-Bakirtzi et al. 1999, 67–70, 78, 81.

⁵⁶ Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 470–471.

⁵⁷ Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 470–471.

thirteenth-century examples from Corinth, Argos, and Crete and in the Benaki Museum.⁵⁸

Finally, one should note the similarities between vessels nos. 106 and 142 from the *Bandalouka Plot* and no. 111 from Pyrou St. (figs. 161e–g) and the earlier examples among the eleventh- to fifteenth-century pottery from Central and Northern Albania.⁵⁹ Connections with the West are also evident in the case of the glazed and coarse ware pottery, dated in the late twelfth and the thirteenth century, found in the *Spai-Yanaki Plot*; as briefly discussed by Tsouris, 95% of them were imported wares from Italy.⁶⁰ It would be interesting to know whether the imported pottery from the deposition pit of the *Greka Synagogue* also falls into that category, as well as the date and type of wares with Islamic influence.⁶¹

The excavation finds from Nafpaktos showed Middle to Late Byzantine pottery concentrations (of the glazed and sgraffito types) in the area of the castle and mixed Early Byzantine to Post-Byzantine pottery (including green sgraffito wares) in the city centre, at the foot of the castle mount (see P12 in the Appendix).⁶² Papadopoulou has published some of these finds.⁶³ However, she does not provide information about where exactly this pottery comes from. Since the dish with a dragon's head in her fig. 11⁶⁴ is known to have been found in Kato Vassiliki (fig. 169), not in Nafpaktos, the evidence published in this work should probably be assumed to relate to the pottery of the whole area of Nafpaktia and SE Aetolia.

Thus the types of pottery discovered were as follows (fig. 174):

- plain and glazed coarse wares (lamps, cups and bowls)
- painted glazed ware (jug)
- sgraffito and painted sgraffito wares (dishes and bowls).

⁵⁸ Morgan 1942, 156–157 and no. 1436, fig. 125, pl. XLVIII; Sanders 2000, 161; Oikonomou-Laniado 2006, 346; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2003, 218–219, fig. 19–20; Papanikola-Bakirtzi et al. 1999, 93 (no. 178), 90 (no. 172).

⁵⁹ See Kommatas 2003, 242, fig. 2 (esp. β, γ, ε, στ, θ) and 243, fig. 3 (esp. β, γ, στ, ζ, η, κ, λ).

⁶⁰ Tsouris 1992, 499–501.

⁶¹ Papadopoulou 1992a, 390.

⁶² Raptopoulos 1998–1999, 33, 35; Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 167; Papadopoulou 1990c; Petritaki 1987, 169.

⁶³ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 273–290.

⁶⁴ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 279 and 288, fig. 11.

Among the sgraffito and painted sgraffito wares discussed by Papadopoulou the following items have been identified:

1. A Fine Sgraffito dish with white slip, clear glaze and a central medallion with 'Spiral Style' decoration (fig. 174a).⁶⁵ It is dated to the eleventh or twelfth century.⁶⁶
2. A Fine Sgraffito dish with white slip, clear glaze and sgraffito decoration consisting of birds and floral motifs covering the whole surface of the vessel (fig. 174b).⁶⁷ It is dated – with reservations – to the second half of the twelfth century.⁶⁸
3. Painted Fine Sgraffito dishes with painted, green spirals in the central medallion and clear or dark green glaze on the interior (figs. 174c–e), which have been dated by Papadopoulou to the twelfth century⁶⁹ and should perhaps be dated to the third quarter of the century.⁷⁰
4. Painted Fine Sgraffito dishes with engraved birds and floral motifs covering the whole inner surface of the vessel, enhanced by spots of green colour and a layer of clear glaze (figs. 174f).⁷¹ It perhaps dates to the mid-twelfth or the thirteenth century.⁷²
5. Slip-Painted Ware, represented by a few examples dating from the eleventh century onwards.⁷³
6. Green and Brown Painted bowls (figs. 174g).⁷⁴ As discussed above, this kind of pottery was common from the middle to the end of the twelfth century⁷⁵ and during the thirteenth century. The vessels from the Nafaktos area look very similar to pottery found in Arta and dated to within a similar time span; however, the latter seem more likely to come from the thirteenth century as they have been found in contexts where the majority of coin finds were thirteenth-century issues.⁷⁶

⁶⁵ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 277, no. 1, fig. 1.

⁶⁶ See Papanikola-Bakirtzi et al. 1999, 31–33, 67–70, 78, 81, 135 (no. 148); Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 277; Vroom dates this style somewhat later, from the mid-12th to the early 13th c. (2005, 85).

⁶⁷ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 278, fig. 7.

⁶⁸ See Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 32.

⁶⁹ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 277–278, no. 2–3, fig. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

⁷⁰ Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 91–92.

⁷¹ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 278–9, fig. 8, 9, 10.

⁷² See Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 38, 40.

⁷³ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 279; Sanders 2000, 160–161.

⁷⁴ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 280, fig. 12, 13.

⁷⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 37–39.

⁷⁶ Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 458–462, 465–471.

7. A Proto-Maiolica dish has a representation of a ship in dark brown, yellow and blue covering the whole inner surface of the vessel. It has been dated to the thirteenth century.⁷⁷ It is very similar to a dish found in Corinth and also dated to the thirteenth century.⁷⁸

The fragment of a probably Middle Byzantine amphora from Trigardo (P36, fig. 198) was probably of Günsenin type 2 (dating to the eleventh–twelfth century) or of Günsenin type 3 (dating to the twelfth–thirteenth century).⁷⁹ A local pottery workshop was established there in antiquity.⁸⁰ Among the latest evidence concerning this study are the potsherds taken to the Museum of Agrinio in 1967, one from the village of Megali Chora and the other of unknown provenance (P11, fig. 173).⁸¹ The potsherd from Megali Chora (fig. 173a) was a part of the base of a Green and Brown Painted cup. It had a reddish fabric and its interior – and maybe its exterior, though this has not survived – was covered with a whitish yellow slip. Its painted decoration had a fish pattern. Green and Brown Painted Ware is dated from as early as the eleventh century, but is more common from the mid- to the late-twelfth century.⁸² It is found mostly in Central Greece and the Peloponnese and to a lesser extent in other parts of the Mediterranean;⁸³ in the investigated area more pieces have been found in Nafaktos and Arta, as discussed below.

The second potsherd from Agrinio (fig. 173b) has been described as a fragment of a dish with green and brown painted sgraffito decoration. Yet the surviving part of the vessel is tiny and the only picture is in black and white. The style looks like the Late Byzantine Polychrome (Brown and Green) Fine Sgraffito Ware.

⁷⁷ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 281, fig. 14.

⁷⁸ Morgan 1942, no. 804, fig. 84; Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 471; Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 281.

⁷⁹ For similar artefacts see Bakirtzis 1989, 4th Group, pl. 21; Günsenin 1989, type 3; Hayes 1992, 74 (types 60, 61, 67 and fig. 26).

⁸⁰ Tsandila 2004, 322.

⁸¹ Mastrokostas 1967, 324, pls. 233α–β.

⁸² Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 37–39. Vroom (2005, 83) dates the ware rather later, from the second half of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th c.

⁸³ Vroom 2005, 83. In neighbouring areas it has been found in Corinth – group II by Morgan (1942, pl. XX–XXIII) which has been exactly dated by Sanders (2000, 160–161) – and Phokis (Armstrong 1989). Among other examples some are known from Athens (Frantz 1938, 439, no. A7; Kalopissi-Verti 2003, A65) and Crete (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2003, 221–224, fig. 32–39).

The sherds from Glosses Castle in Kandila, Ag. Georgios, Ag. Dimitrios in Nafpaktos, Vristiana, Calydon, Aetos, and Panagia near Vonitsa are all imprecisely dated. The two sherds from the Castle of Glosses in Kandila (P4) are only vaguely thought to have been part of medieval vessels. This dating is suggested by the techniques of painted glazed and incised decoration employed as well as the incising of the cross symbol.⁸⁴ The second potsherd with an incised cross resembles the lid of a closed vessel or maybe even a clay seal (fig. 163). The plain brown-glazed potsherd (P23) built into the enceinte at Ag. Georgios can also only be dated in a general way to the medieval or modern period.

The information about potsherds from 'Byzantine dishes' mentioned in the literature relating to the site of *Vristiana* / *Vlyziana* (P9) is also to be treated with caution.⁸⁵ Only if another piece of information from the same source, concerning eleventh-century sigillographic evidence, is reliable, can this pottery be suggested to date partly to the Middle Byzantine period. Byzantine pottery has also been mentioned in literature relating to the site at Calydon (P5), yet the survey did not produce any diagnostic examples.⁸⁶

The Byzantine pottery from the excavation at Ag. Dimitrios Nafpaktos (P13) consisted of plain coarse ware sherds with ridged surfaces as well as painted, sgraffito and glazed wares.⁸⁷ Although the pottery has not been published in detail, the laconic description vaguely suggests that the site was inhabited between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The excavation finds from the Panagia Monastery on the Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa (P18) included potsherds of coarse ware, either plain or with ribbed or ridged surface treatment, as well as one from a green glazed vessel and a small lamp.⁸⁸ These finds have not been published in detail; again their brief description might suggest that the site was inhabited between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The ribbed and plain glazed sherds from Aetos (P20, fig. 178) and Panagia Alichniotissa (P39) belonged to coarse wares vaguely dated to the Middle Byzantine period or later.⁸⁹ The pottery from Ag. Triada Mavrika

⁸⁴ Knauss 1995, fig. 19.

⁸⁵ Papatrechas 1981.

⁸⁶ Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 86; Katsaros 1985, 1530.

⁸⁷ Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 170.

⁸⁸ Kefallonitou-Konstantiou 1987, 329.

⁸⁹ Plain glazed wares are found throughout the Middle Byzantine period (Sanders 2000, 160–161, 163–166). For a similar shape and glaze see, Blondé et al. 2003, 774, fig. 3d (6th c.); Gini-Tsofopoulou, Chalkia 2003, 756 (no. 4); Marki, Cheimonopoulou 2003, 704 (no. PL95/1, fig. 1).

(P₁) is unfortunately still unpublished.⁹⁰ The pottery finds from the excavation at Riza (P₁₄) dated from the Classical to Post-Byzantine periods (fig. 175).⁹¹ In the illustration one can see potsherds of Sgraffito (lower right) and Maiolica wares (on the left); however this pottery has not been published. Coarse ware potsherds from the Kastro ton Rogon (P₃₁), the Castle of Vonitsa (P₃₈), Monastiraki (P₃₀) and Astakos (P₂₂) were non-diagnostic.

The finds from Stratos, Panagia sto Kozili, Riza, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon and Zalongo seem to be Late and Post-Byzantine and therefore refer to later habitation of these sites. The shape and fabric of the amphora handle of light yellowish beige fabric from the forum of Stratos (P₃₅, fig. 195) recall thirteenth- and fourteenth-century vessels.⁹² In the evidence from Riza one can identify potsherds of Proto-Maiolica and possibly of Polychrome Lead-Glazed Type 'RMR' Wares.⁹³ The pottery recorded in Panagia sto Kozili (P₃₂) must be dated to the Ottoman period while the slip-painted jug fragment from Zalongo (P₄₀, fig. 200) has a base of a rather unusual shape for Byzantine pots of the same type as well as two drops of slip; thus it should be dated later as well.⁹⁴ Finally, the bowl embedded on the E wall of the church of Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon (P₂₇, fig. 192a) is of the Polychrome (Brown and Green) Sgraffito Ware, which dates from the Post-Byzantine period or later,⁹⁵ thus confirming the dating of the reconstruction of the upper part of the apse during that period.

Other Ceramics and Tiles

Some loom-weights were among the excavation finds from Kefalos (C₂, fig. 166b); yet their dating is unclear. According to Paliouras, around 200 of them were found collected in a corner of the storage room of the tenth-century chapel on Ag. Triada Hill in Kato Vassiliki (C₁, fig. 166a). The weights from Ag. Triada Hill were of various shapes (pyramidal, cone or discoid) and many had a workshop's identifying mark on their base.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Paliouras 2004a, 439.

⁹¹ Chrysostomou 1980, 316–320, pl. 162.

⁹² See Vroom 2005, 102–103; Günsenin 1989, 270, fig. 4.

⁹³ Vroom 2003, 167–169; Vroom 2005, 126–129.

⁹⁴ See Vroom 2005, 80–81, 152–153.

⁹⁵ Such vessels usually date from the 15th to the 17th c. but in Epirus they date up to the 18th or 19th c. (Vroom 2005, 144–145).

⁹⁶ Paliouras 2004a, 414.

Some of them used a head of Hercules similar to the one depicted on the Hellenistic bronze coinage found at the same place and which was evidently still in use. These objects could have been produced in the nearby kiln discussed elsewhere;⁹⁷ they must have been considered of great value – for artisanal or other purposes? – since such a great number of them was preserved. One hypothesis is that, since the whole area of Nafpaktos was known as a silk-producing area, the monastery at Kato Vassiliki might have been a local centre of such production. However, a totally different use is not implausible either.⁹⁸

A small ceramic bread stamp was found together with mixed Roman, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine finds in disturbed strata during the excavation at Ag. Dimitrios in Nafpaktos (C4, fig. 171b). To my knowledge the stamp has not yet been published in detail but it has been provisionally dated by Triantaphyllopoulos to the sixth century.⁹⁹ From the published illustration one can tell that it was a round bread stamp decorated with the common motif of a cross in a medallion accompanied by inscriptions. The cross is of the Greek type with flared terminals, though not exactly a Maltese cross. The medallion is formed by a circular wreath of which large parts survive. Two small crosses have been incised above and below the central cross and an inscription in three lines has been incised to the left and right of the cross, all within the medallion. As far as one can tell from the photo, the inscription is in plain, not reversed, script (i.e. reading from the left to right) and the text is “ΙC XC | YC ΘΥ | ΝΙΚΑ” evidently corresponding to the phrase “Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Υἱὸς Θεοῦ Νικᾷ” (Jesus Christ Son of God conquers), the Eucharistic formula used by John Chrysostom to distinguish the *prosphora* from ordinary bread.¹⁰⁰ This type of decoration of a cross-in-medallion with elements placed between the arms of the cross constitutes the standard composition used on bread stamps dated before the year 700 AD.¹⁰¹ A similar style of decoration is found on a sixth-/seventh-century example from Egypt and another from the Athens Byzantine and Christian Museum of ca. 600 and I think the stamp from Nafpaktos should be attributed to a similar date.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ See Part 2 – Chapter 1.I.5. above.

⁹⁸ See Part 1 – Chapter 2, above and Part 3 – Chapter 1.IV.

⁹⁹ Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 170; Triantaphyllopoulos 1991, 596.

¹⁰⁰ Galavaris 1970, 65.

¹⁰¹ Galavaris 1970, 59–60.

¹⁰² Galavaris 1970, 120, fig. 67; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 195–196.

Workshops producing such artefacts from the fifth to the early seventh century have been located in two sites not far from Nafpaktos: Delphi and Patras.¹⁰³ The object found in Nafpaktos is very different from those produced in Delphi.¹⁰⁴ However, when compared to a late sixth- or early seventh-century artefact produced in Patras, the bread stamp from Nafpaktos presents remarkable similarities in shape and as regards the style of some of its decoration (e.g. the wreaths are almost identical); however the iconography differs quite a lot. According to Koumoussi and Moutzali the stamp from Patras is one of the later examples of the ceramic workshop's products.¹⁰⁵

When it comes to bricks and tiles, those found on Kefalos have two kinds of stamps. The first one has the shape of a Greek cross-in-medallion.¹⁰⁶ The second stamp has a cruciform pattern reminiscent of a bar-monogram (C2, fig. 188); a similar one, recorded by Soteriou in Ag. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, is thought by Bardill to have belonged to the sixth or seventh century.¹⁰⁷ There are no photographs of the tiles "with cross-shaped stamps"¹⁰⁸ found during the excavation of Ag. Varvara in Stefani (C6), yet it seems likely that they would be similar to those found in Kefalos.

Most of the bricks and tiles from the church of Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi in Mastro (C3), which measured approximately $7 \times 2.8 \times 3.4$ cm, had wavy lines or horseshoe-shaped fingermarks made with one, two or four fingers (fig. 171a).¹⁰⁹ According to Vocotopoulos, they probably belonged to the original building on the site, thus dating to the late seventh or eighth century.¹¹⁰ Tiles and bricks, some of which have fingermarks similar to those from Mastro, have been found during the excavation of the Middle Byzantine chapel at Skala (C5, fig. 196), although they have not been published. They were made of a deep orange fabric, similar to the Middle Byzantine pottery found in the excavations, some of which can be securely dated to the tenth or eleventh century (see the discussion on P33 above). They have fingermarks consisting of straight or wavy lines made with two or three fingers (possibly part of an original loop

¹⁰³ Koumoussi, Moutzali 2005.

¹⁰⁴ Petridis 2010, 110–113, pl. 37.

¹⁰⁵ Koumoussi, Moutzali 2005, 19–20.

¹⁰⁶ Barla 1968, 23, pl. 20.

¹⁰⁷ Soteriou 1952, pl. 94γ; Bardill (2008, 200) notes that brick stamps similar to those from Ag. Demetrios were also found at Louloudies (no reference).

¹⁰⁸ Papadopoulou 1992b, 328–329.

¹⁰⁹ See Bardill 2004, 401–402 and pls. 1746.1a, 1746.2a.

¹¹⁰ Vocotopoulos 1992, 20, pl. 4–5.

pattern).¹¹¹ Such fingermarks were considered to help the bricks adhere to the mortar, though they could have taken different shapes probably associated with different brickmakers or workshops.¹¹² The examples from Mastro and Skala seem quite similar; however, it has been impossible to compare fabrics since the material from Mastro was not found in situ. However, if any connection between them is right, then some of the tiles from Mastro should be dated during the reconstruction of the upper part of the church in the tenth century.¹¹³

4.II. METALWORK (APPENDIX I.5. AND TABLE 13)

No metal finds have been located in the sites investigated by the survey. The evidence discussed in this section is derived from the publication of earlier research into the investigated area and it is cited to give a general picture of the presence of metal objects at the sites. In addition, however, since in these publications the objects M2, M4–M9 have been presented but not discussed in detail or precisely dated, it has been necessary to discuss them further here. Artefacts M1 and M3 have been discussed and dated; however, additional evidence has come up which will be mentioned. This discussion aims to contribute to the overall account of metalwork in the investigated area, which has been the focus of another study.¹¹⁴

Metal finds from Kefalos include iron nails, a copper-alloy cross and a weight (M7–M9). The cross (fig. 206) was probably of Type VIII, according to Pitarakis' classification.¹¹⁵ It dates to between the Early Byzantine period and the eleventh century. However, later examples are often much larger (i.e. approximately 7×5 cm).¹¹⁶ A similar artefact found in the Theatre basilica in Messene has been dated to around the seventh century.¹¹⁷ The metal weight (M9, fig. 209) was found in what is probably a seventh-century context in Basilica B (no precise find site or stratigraphic information was mentioned in the publication). It is a discoid-type, iron weight with a denominational value of 12 *nomismata*. This was the most common type of weight from the seventh until the early ninth century, as can be seen

¹¹¹ See similar signs in Bardill 2008, fig. 1; Bardill 2004, 401–402 and pl. 1747.1a.

¹¹² Ousterhout 1999, 131–132; Bardill 2004, 28.

¹¹³ See Part 2 – Chapter 1.I.2.

¹¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of metal finds from *Epirus* see also Veikou, *Buckles*.

¹¹⁵ Pitarakis 2006, 30.

¹¹⁶ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 107: no. 96, 503: no. 689, 504: no. 691, 505: no. 695.

¹¹⁷ Oral communication (N. Tsivikis, April 2010).

Table 13. The Chronology of Metalwork from Middle Byzantine *Epirus*.

C/N	Artefact or context number	Artefact	Metal	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
1	M6	Fibula, animal-shaped type	Copper alloy	6th–7th c.	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill	Dietz et al. 1998, 303
2	M5	Belt buckle, 8-shaped type	Iron	7th–9th c.	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill	Paliouras 1985, 224–225; Paliouras 2004a, 413
3	M4	Nails	Iron	7th–9th c.	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill	Paliouras 1985, 224–225; Paliouras 2004a, 413
4	M9	Weight, discoid type	Iron	7th–9th c.	55 – Kefalos, Basilica 'A'	Barla 1970, 95, pl. 143
5	M3	Belt buckle, rectangular type	Copper alloy	7th–10th c.	38 – Drymos, Basilica 'A'	Mastrokostas 1971, 186–187
6	M1	Reliquary Cross (Pitarakis Type 4)	Copper-alloy	9th–11th or 13th c.	9 – Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada	Paliouras 2004, 39 and 35; fig. 7
7	M11	Belt buckle, simple square type	Copper-alloy	7th–8th c.	100 – Riza, Castle	Chrysostomou 1980, 320; Idem 1983, 30
8	M7	Nails	Iron	6th–10th c.?	55 – Kefalos, Basilica 'A'	Barla 1966a, 101, fig. 7; Barla 1966b, 91
9	M8	Cross (Pitarakis Type 8)	Copper alloy	6th–10th c.?	55 – Kefalos, Basilica 'A'	Barla 1966a, 101, fig. 7; Barla 1966b, 91
10	M2	Tools, jewels, utensils	Iron Copper alloys	12th–13th c.	26–27 – Arta, Komenou Ave. – Mourgas St.	Tsouris 1992, 501; Papadopoulou 1989b, 293; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 550 (no. 752); Papadopoulou 1988b, 331–333
11	M10	Dishes	Copper-alloy	Byzantine?	69 – Macheras, Paleochori, Vristiana	Papatrechias 1981

from “closed” archaeological contexts such as the Yassi-Ada shipwreck or others in Athens and Corinth.¹¹⁸ Most such artefacts are classified as miscellaneous finds: they are simply marked with the relevant denomination and perhaps with some decorative motif. The closest parallel to ours seems to be a weight now in Geneva (fig. 207), which has been dated to the sixth or seventh century;¹¹⁹ the dating is confirmed on the basis of its resemblance to weights from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.¹²⁰

However, what is special about the artefact from Kefalos is the material of which it is made: iron. Four materials were commonly employed in the manufacture of Byzantine coinage weights: bronze, lead, glass and marble, the latter being the rarest.¹²¹ So far I have not located any other examples of iron discoid coinage weights dated between the seventh and the ninth century in excavations of Byzantine sites. I have therefore decided to consider this a significant feature of this artefact, as explained elsewhere.¹²²

A few things can be said about the plain figure-of-eight-shaped iron buckle (M5, fig. 204) found together with some rather poorly preserved nails (M4, fig. 203)¹²³ inside grave E in the Middle Byzantine chapel at Ag. Triada Hill, Kato Vassiliki. This shape is very common in Byzantine copper-alloy buckles. Many examples have been found in Corinth (seventh century),¹²⁴ Tigani in Mani,¹²⁵ Athens,¹²⁶ and Eleftherna (dated precisely to the first half of the seventh century with the help of numismatic evidence).¹²⁷ More examples dating to the seventh – eighth centuries have been found in Corinth¹²⁸ and Kruje, N. Albania.¹²⁹ It seems that during this period this type of buckle was also popular outside the borders of the Byzantine Empire.¹³⁰ However, the example from Ag. Triada Hill is made of iron, not copper alloy.¹³¹ Pieces of iron jewellery and dressing accessories also seem to be quite common grave goods in particular seventh-

¹¹⁸ Entwistle 2002, 612–613.

¹¹⁹ Bendall 1996, 9, 50, no. 134; Geneva 143.

¹²⁰ Ross 1962, vol. I, pl. XLVI.

¹²¹ Entwistle 2002, 612.

¹²² See below Conclusions in Chapter 4.VI. The industrial features of metalwork from *Epirus* are discussed in Veikou, *Buckles*.

¹²³ Paliouras 1985, 224–225; Paliouras 2004a, 413.

¹²⁴ Davidson 1952, pl. 113, nos. 2181, 2182, 2183.

¹²⁵ Drandakis, Gkioles 1980, 255–256, pl. 149δ.

¹²⁶ Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 234.

¹²⁷ Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 234 (type I.δ.), 246 (no. 13).

¹²⁸ On no. 2180, see Pallas 1955, 344–345, pl. 64.1a.

¹²⁹ Anamali 1964, 181, pl. IX, nos. 7, 154, 163.

¹³⁰ Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 234.

¹³¹ See the relevant discussion in Veikou 2010.

to ninth-century archaeological contexts (the so-called “Slavic” ones) in the Zagori (Neochoropoulo and Kato Pedina), Corinth, Olympia, Azoros, Ag. Triada at Elis and elsewhere.¹³² So, the possible occupation of the site during the seventh – ninth centuries is an interesting issue, which will be discussed in due course.

The copper-alloy, bird-shaped fibula (M6, fig. 205) found close to the tower on the same hill and vaguely dated to the Byzantine period,¹³³ was decorated with impressed dots and incised geometrical patterns.¹³⁴ Its decorative technique (and the specific style with the central ‘X’ and the punched, dotted circles) is very common in copper-alloy metalwork and ivories from the seventh century onwards,¹³⁵ especially on fibulae and buckles – including some animal-shaped ones¹³⁶ – found in the Peloponnese and the Crimea.¹³⁷ Very similar chunky, bird-shaped, fibulae with almost the same decoration have been found in Corinth;¹³⁸ one piece in particular appears quite similar to that from Kato Vassiliki though it has unfortunately survived in a very bad state of preservation.¹³⁹ Davidson identified similar examples of this type of fibula from Northern and Western Europe and dated all of them to the Roman period. However, similar fibulae and buckle-plates have also been found in Zogeria, Spetses, not far from the Peloponnesian coast, all dated to the end of the sixth or seventh century.¹⁴⁰ An artefact from Zogeria, quite similar in style and technique to the fibula

¹³² See also Part 2, Chapter 1.I.1.3. For the artefacts see Vocotopoulou 1967, 344, pl. 248; Davidson 1952, 230, pl. 105; Vikatou 2002, 244–247, 253–258 esp. 254 (note 50); Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2005; Isdem 2006.

¹³³ Dietz et al. 1998, 303.

¹³⁴ Veikou, *Buckles*.

¹³⁵ See Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 210–211, 295: no. 312, 366, 368, 395: no. 486, 414–415: nos. 522 and 524; Anamali 1971, pl. IX: no 3, pl. X: no. 6, pl. XI: no. 5.

¹³⁶ On the technique see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 210–211, 295: no. 312, 366, 368, 395: no. 486, 414–415: nos. 522 and 524; Anamali 1971, pl. IX: no 3, pl. X: no. 6, pl. XI: no. 5. On fibulae and buckles with these kinds of patterns see Avraméa 1997, pls. IIc2210, IId2216, IVa3, IVb8, IVc1, IVc3, IVe2; Ajbabin 1990, 4–84, 181: no. 196 and pl. VII, 220: nos. 1, 5, 7, 12, 15, 24 and pl. VIII, 221: nos. 9, 21 and pl. IX; Bortoli-Kazanski, Kazanski 1987, 458–461, fig. 8: nos. 11, 12, 21, 26, 28, 39, 40; Anamali 1971, pl. VI: nos. 1, 2. See animal-shaped fibulae with similar decoration from Spetses Museum in Avraméa 1997, pl. IVe2, and from Corinth in Davidson 1952, pl. 113: no. 2173.

¹³⁷ Avraméa 1997, pls. IIc2210, IId2216, IVa3, IVb8, IVc1, IVc3, IVe2; Ajbabin 1990, 181: no. 196 and pl. VII, 220: nos. 1, 5, 7, 12, 15, 24 and pl. VIII, 221: nos. 9, 21 and pl. IX; Bortoli-Kazanski, Kazanski 1987, fig. 8: nos. 11, 12, 21, 26, 28, 39, 40; Anamali 1971, pl. VI: nos 1, 2.

¹³⁸ Davidson 1952, pl. 113: no. 2173.

¹³⁹ Davidson 1952, 113: nos. 2170, 2162.

¹⁴⁰ Avraméa 1997, 91: pl. IVe2.

from Kato Vassiliki, has been precisely dated to the seventh century.¹⁴¹ Thus M6 should also be dated to the same period.

The copper-alloy buckle of the Simple Square Type found in Riza (M11), which was said to have been like the one from the seventh or eighth century found in Kruje in Albania (shown in fig. 208),¹⁴² must have been an example of another very common type of buckle: the simple version of the Square/Parallelogram Type, almost square in section, with a knob at the centre to hinge on. Other examples have been found in Durrës and Bukel, Albania, in Corinth and Eleftherna, Crete – in each case they belonged to a seventh-century context.¹⁴³ This buckle type belongs to the same group of Simple Buckles as the figure-of-eight-shaped one from Chalkis – in fact in Kruje the two types were found together.

The rectangular-type buckle from Drymos (M3) furnished a second burial in a grave. This type of buckle, originating in Hellenistic times, as was first suggested by Pallas, is usually decorated with animal patterns in relief.¹⁴⁴ In the Byzantine examples, lions seem to have been a very common motif. Stylized lions and birds were in any case popular motifs in metalwork from the sixth century onwards and throughout the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁴⁵ Mastrokostas recognized an ancient tradition in the meander pattern of the frame on the obverse.¹⁴⁶ Back in 1971 the buckle was dated to between the sixth and eighth centuries based on stylistic criteria.¹⁴⁷ We are now able to update that view on the basis of new evidence. Several examples of this buckle type have been found in Greece: e.g. in Corinth in the Peloponnese (also depicting lions albeit different in other details, e.g. fig. 12),¹⁴⁸ Servia and Philippi in Macedonia,¹⁴⁹ Attica,¹⁵⁰ Messene¹⁵¹ and Samos.¹⁵² Other examples were also found in Sicily,¹⁵³ in

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴² Chrysostomou 1983, 30; Anamali 1964, 181 (pl. IX, no. 4), 154, 163.

¹⁴³ Anamali 1971; Tartari 1984, 245, pl. III, no. 12; Davidson 1952, 269, 274, pl. 115 (no. 2228); Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 234 (type 1^a), 246 (no. 10).

¹⁴⁴ Pallas 1955, 357: note 1.

¹⁴⁵ Davidson 1952, 268, 273, pl. 115: nos 2213–2215, and 2220; A. Tsitouridou in: Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 393–394. For eagles on copper-alloy jewellery see *ibid.* 449–450: nos 603, 606, 607.

¹⁴⁶ Mastrokostas 1971, 186–187.

¹⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, 188.

¹⁴⁸ Davidson 1952, 268, 273, pl. 115, no. 2213–2215, 2220; Pallas 1955, 344–345, pl. 64.1.a.

¹⁴⁹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 393; no 482; Pennas 1973–1974, 844, pl. 634δ.

¹⁵⁰ Lazaridis 1960, 69–72, pl. 57δ; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 394–395: no. 485.

¹⁵¹ Oral communication from N. Tsivikis, October 2009.

¹⁵² Tolle-Kastenbein 1974, 104.

¹⁵³ Orsi 1912, 202, fig. 22.

Varna (Sofia Museum) and south of the Caspian Sea or are of unspecified origin, kept in private collections.¹⁵⁴ All these examples have been dated to between the seventh and the ninth or early tenth centuries. I therefore suggest a dating in this period.

The metal reliquary cross from the G. Papatrechas Private Collection in Agrinio (M₁), published by Paliouras and Pitarakis,¹⁵⁵ is another very common artefact of which numerous examples have been found around the Mediterranean.¹⁵⁶ It has been suggested that the piece from Agrinio comes from Constantinople or Anatolia and dates to the tenth to eleventh century.¹⁵⁷ However, according to Pitarakis a vast quantity of Type-IV crosses were produced by local Balkan workshops, imitating models from Constantinople and Anatolia;¹⁵⁸ since two crosses almost identical to the Agrinio piece were found at Metsovo and Ioannina one cannot help wondering whether all three objects might not fall into this latter category.¹⁵⁹

Finally, the metal objects revealed at the *Spai-Yanaki*, *Seryani*, *Tachou-Muller* and *Kostadima Plots* in Arta have been dated to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. Since they have not been published in detail, it is impossible to say which ones date to the twelfth century, if indeed any of them do. Therefore, a simple list of the objects has been cited in the Appendix (M₂). Unfortunately no photographs or dating or any other information is available with respect to these objects, so they are only useful as indicative statistical data.

4.III. GLASS (APPENDIX I.6. AND TABLE 14)

No glass artefacts have been found during the survey; the only available evidence comes from finds recorded in published excavations. I present the finds associated with specific sites in the investigated area in Appendix I.6. and Table 14. However, with the exception of some artefacts from Arta, there are no known detailed descriptions or discussions of other glass finds; i.e. no published evidence is available on this subject. So I will comment on what may be some relevant evidence here.

¹⁵⁴ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 394; nos 483–484.

¹⁵⁵ Paliouras 2004a, 39 and 35 (fig. 7). Pitarakis 2006, 208: no. 69.

¹⁵⁶ For other examples see Pitarakis 2006, esp. 204–207: nos 56–63.

¹⁵⁷ Pitarakis 2006, 208: no. 69.

¹⁵⁸ Op. cit., 182.

¹⁵⁹ Op. cit., 205, 208: nos 56 and 68.

Table 14. The Chronology of Glasswork from Middle Byzantine *Epirus*.

C/N	Artefact or context number	Artefact	Date	Site Number – Name	Bibliography
1	G5	Unspecified	6th–10th c.?	55 – Kefalos	Barla 1966b, 91; Barla 1966a, 101
2	G4	• Vessels • hitched-bead	7th–10th or 13th c.?	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill	Paliouras 1985, 224–225, 228
3	G6	Unspecified	Middle Byzantine	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos	Paliouras 1998–1999, 291–322; Paliouras 2004a, 180–182, 421–432, especially 426 and 430 (fig. 29)
4	G3	Unspecified	Middle Byzantine	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia	Vocotopoulos 1980a, 35
5	G2	Unspecified		48 – Kandila, Glosses, Castle	Knauss 1995, 154
6	G1	Vessels	13th century?	21–22, 24–28, 36 – Arta	Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 468; Tsouris 1992, 501

The considerable quantity of fragments from glass vessels found in several sites throughout the city of *Arta* (G1) form a homogenous group of high quality artefacts; they are made of very thin glass and decorated with gold, silver and enamel.¹⁶⁰ It has been suggested that many are similar to vessels which have been considered products of Corinthian workshops and dated between the eleventh and twelfth or even – according to a more recent opinion – as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century.¹⁶¹ At the *Spai-Yanaki Plot* (S/N 24) these types of vessels have been found in late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century strata; it has therefore been suggested previously that they might perhaps have been manufactured during the

¹⁶⁰ Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 468.

¹⁶¹ Davidson 1940, 297–324; Morgan 1942, pl. 58, nos 743, 744; Tsouris 1992, 501. For a discussion of the later dating see Whitehouse 1991; Leontsini 1996–1997, 330.

eleventh – twelfth century and kept for many years as heirlooms. It is, moreover, also possible that they were later imports from Apulia, Italy, as suggested by Tsouris (see below).¹⁶² In any case, the publication of these artefacts and excavated contexts is forthcoming.¹⁶³

The glass fragments (G3) found in the W Room of the later settlement to the north of Ag. Sophia in Mytikas are hard to interpret, especially since the north part of this room was destroyed by fire.¹⁶⁴ No details of those finds are available. It seems that fragments of glass artefacts were also abundant in the nearby castle at *Glosses* (G2) but they have not been published in detail.¹⁶⁵

Fragments of glass artefacts, dated to the Middle Byzantine period, have been found in two nearby Aetolian monasteries at Ag. Nikolaos in Varassova South (G6) and Ag. Triada Hill in Kato Vassiliki (G4, fig. 210). The glass from the first site is awaiting publication (fig. 211).¹⁶⁶ From the only published illustration examples of three different types of bottles can be identified:

- 1) Three probable examples (necks and rims) of the characteristic gilt and enamelled blue glass bottles.¹⁶⁷
- 2) Three examples of large bottles of thin, pale blue-green, transparent glass, with globular body and wide flaring rim.¹⁶⁸
- 3) Two examples of smaller bottles of dark coloured glass, with cylindrical bodies and everted rims.¹⁶⁹

The evidence from Kato Vassiliki, consisted of many fragments of light-coloured glass vessels and window panes, some of which are shown in fig. 210.¹⁷⁰ As far as one can tell from the photo, these seem to have included a coil bowl base and rim and body fragments, part of the flat base from a second vessel and a handle from another glass vessel, perhaps

¹⁶² Tsouris 1992, 501.

¹⁶³ Oral communication from C. Tsouris.

¹⁶⁴ Vocotopoulos 1980a, 35.

¹⁶⁵ Knauss 1995, 154.

¹⁶⁶ Paliouras 1998–1999, 291–322; Paliouras 2004a, 180–182, 421–432, esp. 426 and 430 (fig. 29).

¹⁶⁷ Figure 211, first and fourth artefact from the left in the front, third artefact from the left at the back.

¹⁶⁸ Figure 211, second and third artefact from left in the front, first artefact from left at the back.

¹⁶⁹ Figure 211, second and fourth artefact from left at the back.

¹⁷⁰ Paliouras 1985, 224–5.

a bottle or a lamp.¹⁷¹ One such artefact, a bead-shaped piece of glass, was among the offerings of Grave E in the tenth-century chapel.¹⁷²

Abundant fragments of glass artefacts (G5) have also been found around the island of Kefalos during the excavations; they are unpublished.¹⁷³ Together with the large quantities of pottery witnessed on the site the presence of glass speaks in favour of dense settlement of the tiny island by inhabitants who were anything but poor. Metal finds also support this probability.¹⁷⁴ It is a pity that the glass cannot be examined and dated.

The dated comparative material for Byzantine glass vessels is scanty; vessels of similar shapes and pale transparent greenish blue colour have been found in Amorium, but they remain undated.¹⁷⁵ As far as the characteristic gilt and enamelled blue glass bottles are concerned, they were originally considered to be Corinthian products, dated to the eleventh–twelfth century.¹⁷⁶ This dating was reconsidered by Whitehouse on the basis of later (thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century) evidence from Otranto, Apulia.¹⁷⁷ The similar vessels found in Arta have also been re-evaluated recently by Tsouris and dated to the early to mid-thirteenth century (ca 1200–1265).¹⁷⁸ Phillipe, on the other hand, has suggested Constantinople as the place of origin of these pots.¹⁷⁹ Leontsini observed that, this type of artefact seems to be Byzantine in origin, but the lack of extensive architectural remains of glass workshops (other than kilns) and the lack of an exhaustive and combined study of all the artefacts found in Corinth excavations are serious obstacles to establishing the type of glass manufacturing which took place in Corinth during the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁸⁰ Laiou has suggested that Corinth was possibly a big Middle Byzantine centre of production and export of glass; she noted that two fragments of glass vessels from Amorium, dating to between the seventh and the tenth century, are very similar to Corinthian vessels and confirm that the glass workshop

¹⁷¹ See similar shapes from the Amorium excavations in Gill 2002, 33–58, 63, 68–75.

¹⁷² Paliouras 1985, 228.

¹⁷³ Barla 1966b, 91; Barla 1966a, 101.

¹⁷⁴ See discussion in Section 4.II. above.

¹⁷⁵ Gill, Lightfoot 2002, 35–63, 131–169.

¹⁷⁶ Davidson 1940, 320–324, figs. 20–22; *Idem* 1952, 115, pls. 58, 146a, fig. 14, no. 750; Philippe 1970, 67.

¹⁷⁷ Whitehouse 1991, 77.

¹⁷⁸ I am grateful to Professor Constantinos Tsouris for sharing with me the results of his forthcoming study.

¹⁷⁹ Phillipe 1990, 40–45.

¹⁸⁰ Leontsini 1996–1997.

in Corinth must definitely be dated earlier than the thirteenth century.¹⁸¹ In any case, gilt and enamelled bottles and cups, dating as early as the twelfth century, have also been found in Corinth, Constantinople, Paphos, Russia, Armenia, Egypt and Italy.¹⁸² J. Henderson and M. Mango seem to probably suggest their Byzantine origin and their dating as early as the eleventh or twelfth century.¹⁸³ In any case, the distribution in important Epirote sites, such as Arta and Varassova, certainly confirms the circulation of these products along the main Ionian trade route from Italy to Corinth (and perhaps also the establishment of the aforementioned sites as popular trading posts, as suggested by Leontsini in relation to Corinth).¹⁸⁴ However, until detailed publications of the relevant excavation projects appear, this information cannot help answer questions regarding either their place of origin (if we assume there was a single place of manufacture) or the dates of their manufacture.

4.IV. LEAD SEALS (APPENDIX I.7. AND TABLE 15)

No seals have been found during the survey; the only available evidence comes from published excavation reports and museum collections. The published evidence relating to seventh- to twelfth-century lead seals associated with the investigated area present many difficulties, as the seals are scattered throughout many archaeological collections around the world and their exact provenance has rarely been recorded. This evidence, initially collected by V. Laurent, N. and W. Seibt, J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, is very rich in information, although it has only recently started to be thoroughly investigated. New projects and studies, currently being undertaken, promise to systematize and interpret the available material. They include a project on the sigillography of Epirus and the ecclesiastical history of Nafpaktos announced by C. Stavrakos and currently being developed in a collaboration between the University of Ioannina and the Austrian Academy of Vienna and a project concerning the sigillography of Nikopolis (both the city and the Theme) by

¹⁸¹ Laiou 2006, 105. This remarks concerns the artefacts nr. 277–278 (Gill 2002, 259–264).

¹⁸² Laiou 2006, 107, 123.

¹⁸³ Henderson, Mango 1995, 47.

¹⁸⁴ Leontsini 1996–1997, 325.

Table 15. The Chronology of Lead Seals Evidence from Middle Byzantine *Epirus*.

C/N	Owner's name	Owner's title and office	Date	Place of origin or preservation	Bibliography
1	Ioannis	Archbishop of Nikopolitans	Late 7th or 8th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection	Prinzing 1997a, 186
2	Ioannis	Archbishop of Nikopolis	Late 7th or 8th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection	Prinzing 1997a, 186
3	Ioannis	Dux of Nikopolitans	First third of the 8th c.	Fogg Collection 1186	Zacos, Veglery 1972, no. 1241; Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1991, 2.13; Vassileiou-Seibt 2007, 587–8
4	Lykastos	Hypatos imperial spatharios and strategos of <i>Kephalenia</i>	8th c.	Istanbul Archaeological Museum no. 542 (815)	Pančenko 1903, 117; Ebersolt 1914, 404; Zacos, Veglery 1972, 628–9; Oikonomides 1965, 118; Zapandi 1992–1994, nos. 1, 20–21
5	Theophanis	Hypatos, imperial spatharokandidatos and strategos of <i>Kephalenia</i>	8th c.		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1782; Zapandi 1992–1994, 21 (no. 2)
6		Imperial spatharios and strategos of <i>Kephalenia</i>	750–800 AD		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1429; Zapandi 1992–1994, 22 (no. 5)
7	Constantinos	Protopatharios and strategos of <i>Kephalenia</i>	750–850 AD		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1039; Zapandi 1992–1994, 21 (no. 3)

Table 15 (*cont.*)

C/N	Owner's name	Owner's title and office	Date	Place of origin or preservation	Bibliography
8	Gregoras	Imperial spatharios and strategos of <i>Kephallenia</i>	750–850 AD		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1094; Zapandi 1992–1994, 21 (no. 4)
9	Nicetas	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Kephallenia</i>	8th–9th c.		Zakythinis 1962, 49; Zapandi 1992–1994, 25 (no. 16)
11	Ioannis	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Kephallenia</i>	Late 8th or early 9th c.		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1144; Zapandi 1992–1994, 22 (no. 6)
12	Vassileios	Archbishop of Nikopolis	9th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection	Prinzing 1997a, 186
13	Leon	Archbishop of Nikopolis	9th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection	Prinzing 1997a, 186
14		Protospatharios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	9th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection	Prinzing 1997a, 186–187, fig. 147
15	Leon	Imperial spatharios and strategos of <i>Kephallenia</i>	9th c.		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1187; Zapandi 1992–1994, 22 (no. 7)
16	Theophylaktos	Imperial spatharios and strategos of <i>Kephallenia</i>	800–850 AD		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1377; Zapandi 1992–1994, 22 (no. 8)
17	Minas	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Kephallenia</i>	9th c.		Yannopoulos 1984, 616; Zapandi 1992–1994, 22–23 (no. 10)

Table 15 (cont.)

C/N	Owner's name	Owner's title and office	Date	Place of origin or preservation	Bibliography
18	Joseph	Kommerkiarios of Thessaloniki and <i>Kephalenia</i>	9th c.		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 467; Zapandi 1992–1994, 23 (no. 12)
19	Irinokalos	Imperial kommerkiarios of <i>Hellas, Peloponnese</i> and <i>Kephalenia</i>	9th c.		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1058; Zapandi 1992–1994, 23 (no. 11)
20	Nikephoros	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Kephalenia</i>	9th c.		Zakythinios 1962, 49; Zapandi 1992–1994, 25 (no. 18)
21	Nikephoros	Protonotarios of <i>Kephalenia</i>	9th c.		Zacos, Veglery 1972, 916; Zapandi 1992–1994, 23 (no. 13)
22	Stefanos	Imperial spatharios and strategos of <i>Kephalenia</i>	9th c.		Zakythinios 1962, 49; Zapandi 1992–1994, 25 (no. 17)
23	Nicolaos	Spatharios and tourmarches of the ploimon of <i>Kephalenia</i>	Second half of 9th c.	Médailleur de la Bibliothèque Vaticane	Laurent 1962, 94–98 (no. 96); Zakythinios 1962, 51; Zapandi 1992–1994, 26 (no. 21)
24	Andreas	Protospatharios (?) and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Last third of 9th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection, no. 58.106.4832.	Zacos, Veglery 1972, 2620; Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 328 (no. 1)
25	Ioannis	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Late 9th c.	Istanbul Archaeological Museum no. 530 (245)	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 346; Ebersolt 1914, 402

Table 15 (*cont.*)

C/N	Owner's name	Owner's title and office	Date	Place of origin or preservation	Bibliography
26	Leon (Toxeas?)	Imperial spatharios and protonotarios of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Late 9th c.	Fogg Museum no. 1188	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 339–341 (no. 14)
27		Spatharokandidatos (?) and tournarches of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Late 9th c.	Zacos Collection	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 342 (no. 16); Zacos, Veglery 1972, no. 2576
28	Joseph (?)	Imperial kandidatos (?) and koumerkarios of <i>Thessaloniki</i> and <i>Nikopolis</i>	Late 9th c.	Zacos Collection	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 342–343 (no. 17); Zacos, Veglery 1972, no. 2221A
29	Joseph	Vestitor epoptes of <i>Nikopolis</i> and <i>Peloponnese</i>	Late 9th c.	Ermitaž no. M 7066 Fogg Museum no. 1428	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 343–344 (no. 18); Schlumberger 1884, 180 ff (no. 5); Zacos, Veglery 1972, no. 2068
30	Andonios	Archbishop of <i>Nikopolis</i>	9th or 10th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection	Prinzling 1997a, 186–187, fig. 148
31	Pavlos	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Early 10th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection nos. 58.106.4789 – 55.1.1606	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 329–330 (no. 2)
32	Leon	Imperial spatharokandidatos and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Early 10th c.	Ermitaž no. M 4852	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 330 (no. 3); Pančenko 1903, 204 (no. 4)

Table 15 (*cont.*)

C/N	Owner's name	Owner's title and office	Date	Place of origin or preservation	Bibliography
33	Leon	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	First half of 10th c.	Wien Kunsthistorisches Museum, Munzkabinett nos. 170, 172	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 331 (no. 4)
34	Prokopios	Imperial strator and exartistes of Nafpaktos	First half of 10th c.	Wien Kunsthistorisches Museum, Munzkabinett no. 613	Stavrakos 2007
35		Spatharokandidatos and protonotarios of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Ca. second quarter of 10th c.	Ermitaž no. M 1384	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 341–342 (no. 15)
36	Theofovos (?)	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Ca. second quarter of 10th c.	Wien Kunsthistorisches Museum, Munzkabinett no. 171	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 332–333 (no. 5)
37	Andreas (?)	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Kephallenia</i>	Second quarter of 10th c.	Archaeological Museum of Argos no. 82.1.1.	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 333–334 (no. 6); Yannopoulos 1984, I, 615–8
38	Nikephoros	Imperial protospatharios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	930–1000 AD	Zacos Collection	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 334–5 (no. 7)
39	Michael	Imperial spatharios and protonotarios of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Second quarter of 10th c.	Shown in Auktion Münz-Zentrum (Köln) 10–12/01/2001, no. 2144.	Vassileiou-Seibt 2007, 590 (no. 2)
40		Imperial vestitor (?) and krites of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Second half of 10th c.	Fogg Museum no. 2447	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 336–7 (no. 10)

Table 15 (cont.)

C/N	Owner's name	Owner's title and office	Date	Place of origin or preservation	Bibliography
41	David	Spatharokandidatos, assikrites and krites of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Last third of 10th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection no. 47.2.116	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 337–8 (no. 11)
42		Anthypatos patrikios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Last third of 10th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection no. 55.1.2859	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 335 (no. 8)
43		Imperial protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou and krites of <i>Nikopolis</i>	Late 10th–early 11th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection no. 55.1.2810	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 338 (no. 12)
44	Leon	Spatharokandidatos and chartoularios of <i>Kephallenia</i>	10th–11th c.	Ermitaž	Pančenko 1903, 94; Zapandi 1992–1994, 25 (no. 19)
45	Michael	Kensor and krites epi tou hippodromou and of <i>Kephallenia</i>	10th–12th c.		Zacos, Nesbitt 1984, 293 (no 580; Zapandi 1992–1994, 24 (no. 14)
46	Philipos	Protospatharios exactor and krites of <i>Kephallenia</i>	10th–12th c.		Zacos, Nesbitt 1984, 326 (no. 674); Zapandi 1992–1994, 23 (no. 12).
47	Leon Karenos (or Varenos?)	Protospatharios and krites of <i>Kephallenia</i> and <i>Nikopolis</i>	First half of 11th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection no. 58.106.3670	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 338–9 (no. 13); <i>PBW</i> , nr. 2042
48	Constantinos (?)	Patrikios and strategos of <i>Nikopolis</i>	First half of 11th c.	Ermitaž no. M 85	Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 336 (no. 9); Pančenko 1903, 203ff. (no. 3)

Table 15 (*cont.*)

C/N	Owner's name	Owner's title and office	Date	Place of origin or preservation	Bibliography
49	Ioannis Pegonites	Strategos of Nikopolitans	First half of 11th c.	Zacos Collection, unpublished	Vassileiou-Seibt 2007, 590–591 (no. 3)
50	Efstratios	Metropolitan of Nafpaktos	First half of 11th c.		Laurent 1963, 513–514; Schlumberger 1884, 175; Charalambopoulos 2000, 35
51		Tourmarches of <i>Kephallenia</i>	11th c.		Schlumberger 1884, 208; Zapandi 1992–1994, 25–26 (no. 20)
52	Ioannis	Protospatharios and krites of <i>Kephallenia</i>	11th c.	S/N 69 – Macheras, Paleochori, Vristiana / Vlyziana	Se2; Papatrechas 1981; Papatrechas 1998, 132
53	Leon Semnos	Archithytes (Metropolitan) of Nafpaktos	12th c.	Dumbarton Oaks Numismatic Collection no. 58.106.1	Laurent 1963, 514–515 (no. 680); ¹⁸⁵ <i>PBW</i> , nr. 2050.
54a	Leon Sgouros		End of 12th c. or beginning of 13th c.	S/N 19 – Arta, Ag. Mercurios	Se1; Andreou 1977, 153; Triandaphyllopoulos 1977, B, 167, note 45; Koltsida-Makre 1990; Papadopoulou 1992a, 382; Papadopoulou 2002a, 19; Papadopoulou 2005, 287; <i>PBW</i> , nr 1942.

¹⁸⁵ In relation to this seal see also the inscription from the Castle of Nafpaktos, at Part 2, Chapter 2, no. I6.

A.K. Vassileiou-Seibt both announced in 2002; some preliminary results from these two projects have already been published.¹⁸⁶

So, while awaiting completion of the aforementioned projects, I will confine myself to presenting and briefly discussing a simple record of available data in a chronological chart shown in Table 15. This will allow us to identify overall patterns in the presence of secular officials and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the area. Because the exact provenance of these seal finds is unknown, it is not possible to take the information they provide on specific historical figures into consideration for the time being. The seals, which are associated in a very general way with the Themes of *Nikopolis* and *Kephallenia*, have not proved very helpful in a topographical study either. Finds with known provenance are the exceptions in this respect (Se1, Se2 below).

The twelfth–thirteenth-century overstruck lead seal (Se1) has been found in excavations around the church of Ag. Mercurios in Arta (fig. 212).¹⁸⁷ According to I. Koltsida-Makre, the seal was sent by Ioannis Vranas to Leon Sgouros, and from him to someone in Arta.¹⁸⁸ Ag. Mercurios used to be the episcopal church of Arta, where the *Episkopeion* (bishop's palace) was also located, so perhaps the third person was the bishop. The findspot of the seal seems to confirm that the area around the castle was the centre of the (ecclesiastical) administration of the settlement, as is suggested by other kinds of evidence such as architecture, sculpture and oral tradition.

However unsafe it may be to rely on lost evidence, it is very tempting to include G. Papatrechas' mention of the lead seal (Se2 from Vristiana / Vlyziana) whose inscription was read by Oikonomides as “Ἰωάννη πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ Κριτῇ Κεφαλληνίας” and which had once belonged to a protospatharios [and] krites (judge) of the Theme of *Kephallenia*, in this study. The seal was dated to the eleventh century.¹⁸⁹ First of all, if the dating is correct, only one krites of *Kephallenia* is mentioned in the eleventh century. During the first half of the century, as can be seen from the seal of the protospatharios and krites Leon Karenos, the office of krites was shared between the two Themes of *Kephallenia* and *Nikopolis*, which obviously constituted a single unit of civil administration at that

¹⁸⁶ Stavrakos 2007; Vassileiou-Seibt 2007.

¹⁸⁷ Andreou 1977, 153; Triantaphyllopoulos 1977, 167, n. 45; Papadopoulou 1992a, 382; Papadopoulou 2002a, 19 (photograph); *PBW*, no. 1942.

¹⁸⁸ Koltsida-Makre 1990.

¹⁸⁹ Papatrechas 1981; Papatrechas 1998, 132.

time.¹⁹⁰ A new official interest in the civil and military administration of *Kephallenia* seems to be indicated by the officials (*kritai*, *chartoularios* and *tourmarches*) sent to that Theme alone from the second part of the tenth century and during the eleventh. This interest may be a sign of new concerns about some population increase or keeping the Western border of the empire at the Ionian coast protected.

Secondly, the findspot of the seal (Sc2) suggests a direct link between modern Acarnania (Xeromero) and the territory of *Kephallenia* as late as the eleventh century. However, the site of Vristiana is not located on any major land route of that period but on a secondary road leading from the Ambracian gulf to Astakos/Dragameston (another important site of that period). It is therefore striking that the seal of a civil official and dignitary should have been lost at such a place. In my opinion, the nature of the sites at Vristiana and nearby Aetos definitely necessitates further investigation in relation to the Theme of *Kephallenia*.

4.V. NUMISMATIC FINDS (APPENDIX I.8. AND TABLE 16)

No coins have been found during the survey; the only available evidence comes from numismatic finds recorded in published excavations. I present the finds associated with specific sites and findspots in Appendix I.8., while a detailed record of available data arranged in a chronological chart is shown in Table 16. The account offered in this section will allow us to map the overall pattern of coin circulation in the investigated area during the seventh to twelfth centuries. The discussion also includes the numismatic evidence recorded for the sixth century, purely for the purpose of indicating the presence of coins which could have remained in use for several decades after their initial circulation.

The earlier documented coin finds concerning this study date to the sixth century and come from some important Early Byzantine sites in the area of the Ambracian Gulf: the city of Nikopolis, the island of Kefalos and the church of Ag. Varvara in Stefani. As the 13 copper coins from Ag. Varvara (N67) have not been published in detail, they do not help this discussion but they indicate considerable coin circulation on this site during that century.¹⁹¹ Among numismatic finds from the excavations in Nikopolis the follis issued by Justinian in 557 (N64) and found at the foundation level of the fortification walls provides a date for the construction works.

¹⁹⁰ On the *kritai* see Ahrweiler 1960, 83 ff.

¹⁹¹ Papadopoulou 1992b, 328–9; Papadopoulou 2006, 561.

Table 16. The Chronology of Numismatic Finds from *Epirus*.

C/N	Artefact or Context Number	Coin Type	Issue – Mint	Date	Site Number – Name
1	N43	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Anastasios I Constantinople	491–518	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
2	N34	Vandal 3		527–565	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
3	N47	Vandal 2			55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
4	N64	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Justinian Constantinople	557	88 – Nikopolis
5	N44	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Justin II and Sophia Antioch	573/4	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
6	N33	Copper follis (forty nummi)		6th c.	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
	N67	(Copper) 13		6th c.	104 – Stefani, Ag. Varvara
7	N48	Copper half-follis (twenty nummi)		6th–7th c.	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
8	N35	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Maurice	585/6	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
9	N45	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Maurice Constantinople	590/1	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
10	N46	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Phocas Nicomedia	602–610	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
11	N49	Copper half-folleis (twenty nummi) 2	Heraklios	610–641	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
12	N50	Copper folleis (forty nummi) 7	Heraklios	610–641	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
13	N38		Heraklios	610–641	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
14	N51	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios Constantinople	610–641	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
15	N39	Copper follis (forty nummi), with family	Heraklios Constantinople	615–641?	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
16	N36	Copper follis (forty nummi), with own portrait	Heraklios Nicomedia	610/11	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
17	N37	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios	611/2	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
18	N52, N53	Copper follis (forty nummi), 2	Heraklios	612/3	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')

Table 16 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact or Context Number	Coin Type	Issue – Mint	Date	Site Number – Name
19	N54	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios Constantinople	612/3	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
20	N55	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios	613	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
21	N56	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios Constantinople	613/4	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
22	N57	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios Constantinople	615/6	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
23	N58	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios Ravenna	616/7	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
24	N59	Copper half-follis (twenty nummi)	Heraklios Thessaloniki	617/8	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
25	N60	Copper follis (forty nummi)	Heraklios Thessaloniki	617/8?	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'B')
26	N40	Anonymous follis		697–989	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
27	N62	Folleis 2	Theophilos	830/1–842	82 – Nafpaktos, Town Hall
28	N70	Tetarteron		9th c.?	110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos
29	N41		Romanos I Lekapenos	920–944	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
30	N41	– Constantine VII in obverse (overstruck on number 31)	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus	944–959	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
31	N18	Follis	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus Constantinople	945–ca. 950	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
32	N61		John I Tzimiskis	969–976	69 – Macheras, Vristiana / Vlyziana
33	N42	Anonymous follis		969–989	55 – Kefalos (Basilica 'A')
34	N19	Anonymous folleis 8 Class A2		976–ca. 1030/35	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
35	N30	Anonymous follis Class A2		989–1028	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia

Table 16 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact or Context Number	Coin Type	Issue – Mint	Date	Site Number – Name
36	N32	Folleis		10th c.	54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill (hoard)
37	N1	Anonymous follis Class B		1030/ 35–1042	4 – Aetoliko, Finikia, basilica
38	N20	Anonymous folleis 6 Class B		ca.1030/ 35–1042?	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
39	N69	Anonymous follis Class B		1040	105 – Stratos
40	N21	Anonymous follis Class D		1050–ca. 1060	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
41	N24	Follis	Romanos III Diogenis Constantinople	1068–1071	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
42	N22	Anonymous folleis 2 Class H		1070–ca. 1075	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
43	N61	–	Michael VII Doukas	1071–1078	69 – Macheras, Vrístiana / Vlyziana
44	N31	Anonymous follis Class I		1075–ca. 1080	49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia
45	N23	Anonymous folleis 2 Class I		1075–ca. 1080	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
46	N7	–	Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078–1081	24, 27, 36 – Arta
47	N25	Folleis 3	Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078–1081	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
48	N26	Folleis 4 Class K	Alexios I Komnenos Constantinople	1081–1118	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
49	N27	Tetartera 5	Alexios I Komnenos Thessaloniki	1081–1118	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
50	N63	(Copper) 5	Comnenian Emperors	1081– 12th c.	87 – Neochori, 'Sti Skamia'

Table 16 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact or Context Number	Coin Type	Issue – Mint	Date	Site Number – Name
51	N16 N17	↯, 3	Comnenian Emperors	1081– 12th c.	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra
52	N8	Hyperpyron	John II Komnenos Constantinople	12th c.	24, 27, 36 – Arta
53	N2			1118–1143	72 – Agrinion Hoard
54	N28	Tetarteron	John II Komnenos Thessaloniki	1118–1143	39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Drossato Hoard
55	N68	Hyperpyron	Manuel I Komnenos Constantinople	11th–12th c.	105 – Stratos
56	N29			12th c.	43 – Ermitsas River, Taxiarchis
57	N3			1143–1180	72 – Agrinion Hoard
58	N12 N15	Half-tetartera 2 Type A	Manuel I Komnenos Thessaloniki	1143–1180	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra
59	N4	Hyperpyron	Andronikos I Komnenos Constantinople	1183–1185	72 – Agrinion Hoard
60	N5	Hyperpyron	Isaac II Angelos Constantinople	1185–1195	72 – Agrinion Hoard
61	N6	Hyperpyron	Alexios III Angelos Constantinople	1195–1203	72 – Agrinion Hoard
62	N11	Aspron trachy	Alexios III Angelos	1195–1203	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra
63	N14		Alexios III Angelos Constantinople	1195–1203	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra
64	N9	Aspron trachy	Alexios III Angelos Constantinople	1195–1203	24, 27, 36 – Arta

Table 16 (*cont.*)

C/N	Artefact or Context Number	Coin Type	Issue – Mint	Date	Site Number – Name
65	N10	Aspron trachy imitations	Alexios III Angelos Constantinople	1195–1203	24, 27, 36 – Arta
66	N10	Aspron trachy Latin imitations	Alexios III Angelos Constantinople Thessaloniki	1195–1203	24, 27, 36 – Arta
67	N13	Trachy		12th or 13th c.	30 – Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra
68	N65			Byzantine?	95 – Platanos
69	N66	(Bronze)		Byzantine	100 – Riza, Castle

The site of Kefalos provides the only large and important sample of sixth- to mid-seventh-century coins from the excavations of the two basilicas (N33–N39, N43–N60). A total of 73 bronze Byzantine coins dating from the time of Anastasios (491–518) to the reign of Heraklios (610–641) have been recorded. In addition five Vandal coins (N47, N34) – of which three dating to the sixth century – were found in both basilicas. Of the 73 Byzantine coins, 27 are issues from the first seven years of the reign of Heraklios.

Folleis found in the later annexes of both basilicas were issues by Maurice (dating to the years 585–591) and Heraklios; the coins of Heraklios found in Basilica ‘A’ (N33–N39) were early issues of the years 610–612, while those found in Basilica ‘B’ were issues of the years 610–618. The identified issues were struck in the mints of Thessaloniki, Constantinople, Nikomedia and Ravenna. The excavation of Basilica ‘B’ produced 27 copper coins (N43–N60) of which 15 were found inside the annexe described as Room E. Several coin finds from Room ‘E’ were quite damaged (N47–N49, N52). Of the 27 coins, three were issues by Justin II and Sophia (N44, 573/574), Maurice (N45, 590/591) and Phocas (N46, 602–610) while all the rest were issued by Heraklios (fig. 209).¹⁹² It is not unlikely that Room ‘E’ and adjacent spaces might have served as a sort of treasury for the complex

¹⁹² Barla 1970, 96–97.

for a short period of time i.e. from some time during the 570s until the mid-seventh century. The coins of Heraklios also provide a *terminus post quem* for the use of the complex as a burial place, since one of these *folleis* was found inside a grave (N54).

After a two-century break, two ninth-century coins appear in the thematic capital, Nafpaktos. They are copper *folleis* issued by Theophilos (830/831–842 AD, fig. 213), a sign that monetary transactions were taking place in the town at this time. A ninth-century *tetarteron* (N70) is also mentioned in the literature in relation to the cave-monastery of Ag. Nikolaos (Varassova South); however, this coin is now known to be a tenth-century issue at the earliest (from the reign of Nikephoros II Phocas). Therefore, although the piece is important, because it may indicate a monastic settlement owning sufficient land to pay taxes, the specific period of time to which this information refers is unclear.

By contrast, the number of tenth-century issues from the area is higher while the majority of the relevant finds (N18–N23, N30–N32, N40–N42) seem to come from reused sixth- and seventh-century religious buildings on four sites (Ag. Sophia at Mytikas, Kefalos, Kato Vassiliki, and Nea Koukoura/Drossato), thus providing evidence that these sites had regained some importance in this period. The three tenth-century coins from Kefalos (N40–N42, figs. 208, 214) provide a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the annexes and the chapel built on the site of Basilica ‘A’. In two cases though the tenth-century issues were part of contemporary or later hoards; the large number of coins (11 in Kato Vassiliki and 8 in Nea Koukoura/Drossato) and the hoards indicate greater availability of coins at these sites than at Mytikas and Kefalos during the same period of time.

The types of tenth-century coins represented in the area are issues by Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos (N41, fig. 216)¹⁹³ as well as anonymous *folleis* of the years: (a) 967–989 (N40, N42, Basilica ‘A’ on Kefalos, fig. 216), (b) 989–1028 (N30, N32 and fig. 215)¹⁹⁴ from Ag. Sophia, Mytikas and Kato Vassiliki.

The hoard from Nea Koukoura/Drossato (N18–N28) seems to have been buried during the reign of John II Komnenos as his issues constitute the latest items in the hoard.¹⁹⁵ It contained 34 small denominations of which

¹⁹³ See Grierson 1973, vol. 3, part 2, 565–7.

¹⁹⁴ Vocotopoulos (1972a, 113) notes that it was similar to a coin found in the Athenian Agora, Thompson 1954, 73, no. 1864 (anonymous *folleis* class A2); Morrisson 1970, II, 597 (no. 41/Cp/AE/40).

¹⁹⁵ Galani-Krikou et al. 2002, 85.

the earliest in date were *folleis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (ca 945–950). After that came 18 anonymous *folleis* of Classes A2, B, D, H and I, dated in the years 976–1080, and *folleis* issued by Romanos III Diogenes (1068–1071), Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081), and Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and a few *tetartera*, issued by Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and John II Komnenos (1118–1143).

Anonymous Class B *folleis* dating to 1030/35 – 1042 have also been found in two sites in Aetolia (Stratos and the basilica in Finikia, Aetoliko), while *folleis* dating to 1075–1080 (N31) were found in Ag. Sophia, Mytikas.¹⁹⁶ The coin finds from the excavation of the forum of Stratos (N68–N69, fig. 214) indicate settlement during the fourth century and between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. The presence of an eleventh-century coin (N1) at the site of the Basilica in Finikia near Aetoliko (S/N4) should be associated with the eleventh-century settlement of Anatoliko mentioned in the sources as well as with two other sites (S/N2 and S/N3), in one of which a sculpture indicates an eleventh-century religious building in the area (Sc17). The eleventh-century coin from Ag. Sophia is evidence that the site was still occupied at that time.

The coins N7–N9 from the cemetery at Pyrou St. in Arta indicate that the cemetery was in use during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Later numismatic finds, such as issues of twelfth-century Comnenian emperors, were found together with thirteenth-century coins as part of a hoard in the area of Agrinio (*hyperpyra*, N2–N6),¹⁹⁷ and in graves near Neochori (N63),¹⁹⁸ and the Ermitsas River (N29).¹⁹⁹ It is therefore unclear whether the Comnenian coins had been reused in the thirteenth century, though this would explain their poor state of preservation. Tsouris has suggested that late twelfth-century *trachea* – issued by Alexios III Angelos Komnenos (1195–1203) – were in circulation in the thirteenth century in relation to sites within the city of Arta (the *Bandalouka- and Spai-Yanaki Plots*, see N9–N10).²⁰⁰

The excavation of the interior of the church of Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra also produced twelfth- and thirteenth-century coins (N11–N17) at a level approximately 1.80–1.90m deep; two of them (N12, N15) were certainly twelfth-century issues.²⁰¹ The excavation of the church's courtyard

¹⁹⁶ See Grierson 1973, vol. 3, part 2, 676, no.B.1 ff.

¹⁹⁷ Metcalf 1980; Oikonomidou et al. 1992, 117.

¹⁹⁸ Vocotopoulos 1967, 330, pl. 239β–γ; Koder, Soustal 1981, 202.

¹⁹⁹ Kefallonitou 1998, 24.

²⁰⁰ Tsouris 1992, 502.

²⁰¹ Vocotopoulos 1972b, 461.

produced the numismatic finds N14–N20 dating the Late Roman level at 2.30m below the 1972 ground-level, thus confirming the relevant geological evidence (plan 1 and Part 1, Chapter 2.III.)²⁰² A *trachy* issued by Alexios III Angelos (N14) was found at the level of the original church floor, which was evidently in use at the end of the twelfth century.²⁰³

Finally, the vague mentions in this study of “Byzantine” (sic) coin finds in Platanos and Riza (N65–N66) are only intended to serve as indications for future research.

4.VI. CONCLUSIONS

The attempt to interpret the ceramics, metalwork, seals and coinage found within the investigated area from the seventh to twelfth centuries indicated first of all that the specialized investigations and comparative studies in each category of artefacts still awaited are absolutely essential. The small-scale investigation which has been part of this study is based on relatively restricted evidence, lacking all kinds of statistical data and with no opportunity to study excavation finds from the investigated area. But it has produced the following preliminary observations, which remain to be confirmed by future specialized research. The contribution these observations can make to our knowledge of the chronology, the evolution and the economic and administrative aspects of settlement is further discussed in Part 3 of this study.

Pottery and Other Ceramics and Tiles

The recorded pottery represented both coarse and fine wares, used for cooking, serving, transporting and storing food. Only in very special cases was this pottery possible to date with precision. The following datable wares were found:

Coarse wares

1. Early Byzantine amphorae, fourth – seventh century
2. Middle Byzantine amphorae, eleventh – twelfth century or earlier
3. Plain glazed wares dating from the ninth – tenth century onwards

²⁰² Vocotopoulos 1972b, 463.

²⁰³ See Hendy 1969, pl. 23 (nos.1–5).

4. Coarse ware sherds of dark purplish-red fabric, coarse-grained with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture, medieval.

Fine wares

5. Plain, Green-Glazed Ware of the twelfth century
6. Slip-Painted Wares dating from the eleventh century onwards
7. Green and Brown Painted Sgraffito wares of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries
8. Fine Sgraffito Glazed Wares of the twelfth century
9. Fine Sgraffito Glazed Ware of ‘Spiral Style’ dated to the twelfth century
10. Incised Sgraffito Glazed Ware of ‘Medallion Style’ dated to the twelfth – thirteenth centuries
11. Proto-Maiolica Ware of the twelfth – thirteenth centuries
12. Slip-Painted Dotted- or ‘Oyster/Spotted-Style Ware dated in the late eleventh or twelfth century
13. Plain Yellow-Glazed White Ware, undated
14. Glazed Green Painted red ware, undated
15. Polychrome (Brown and Green) Sgraffito Ware dated to between the late fifteenth and eighteenth centuries
16. Plain, brown-glazed ware, undated

According to the above evidence on coarse ware, a) the continuous use of transport vessels indicates that the trade in agricultural products never ceased in the area and time-period investigated, and b) Middle Byzantine table and storage wares consisted of:

- plain, plain-ribbed and plain glazed wares
- imported and domestic wares.

Indeed, a significant feature associated with *Epirus* is pottery type no. 4, i.e. the coarse ware of dark purplish-red fabric, coarse-grained with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture. This type of pottery was the typical medieval coarse pottery in *Epirus*, as demonstrated by the frequency with which it appears in sites dated to the Middle Byzantine period as well as by evidence from other projects.²⁰⁴ The sites where it has been located by survey are scattered and are otherwise dated to between

²⁰⁴ The same type of pottery has been found in Pandanassa and dated rather later, during the 13th–14th c, by Vocotopoulos. See Glade Moore 2000, 139, n. 11.

the sixth–seventh and the thirteenth century.²⁰⁵ Judging by the site distribution (mostly along the western part of the investigated area) and evidence from other projects,²⁰⁶ the area of domestic production of ceramics and their distribution may have extended along the coast of the Ionian Sea and the Ambracian Gulf and their hinterland.

According to M. Glade Moore, who published the pottery dated between 300 BC and AD 500 produced by the Nikopolis Project, it seems that medieval coarse wares from *Epirus* were completely different from the more homogenous antique and Late Antique coarse wares.²⁰⁷ In my opinion, that signifies:

- a change in the industrial features of the production of pottery (availability of different materials, different techniques) and
- that coarse pottery was produced locally in workshops which have not yet been identified (see above Part 2 – Chapter 1.I.5.).

The investigated area has produced a restricted assortment of fine Middle Byzantine pottery consisting mainly of plain glazed, sgraffito and slip-painted wares. Of these the later ones are the easiest to date (i.e. sgraffito wares of the late eleventh and the late twelfth or early thirteenth century). Many of the fine wares show a relationship between *Epirus* and Corinth, which either suggests that they were all produced in Corinthian workshops or that the two regions had the same markets for their pottery.

The absence of seventh- to ninth-century “Slavic ware” variants, except perhaps for two pieces from Angelokastro (P21.2), in Boeotia and in many coastal sites of the Peloponnese,²⁰⁸ is rather surprising given the historically-attested Slavic presence in the investigated area. This type of ware has already been identified in some sites of the Epirote hinterland and Western Macedonia.²⁰⁹ Some other Middle Byzantine wares, known to have been circulating around the Adriatic and Ionian coasts and the Peloponnese, have also not been identified (i.e. Fine Orange-Red

²⁰⁵ See detailed account in section 4.I. above.

²⁰⁶ The issue of local medieval pottery from this area is discussed in another forthcoming study.

²⁰⁷ Glade Moore 2000, 139.

²⁰⁸ See discussion by Vroom 2003, 141.

²⁰⁹ It has been found in the area of Ioannina (Vocotopoulou 1967, 343–344), Zagori (*ibidem*), and Mariolata in Phokis (Mailis, *Mariolata*). The pottery from Grevena seems to have been Slavic (Rosser 2005).

Burnished and Unglazed Incised jugs).²¹⁰ However, these absences may also well be circumstantial. The pottery finds discussed here are of heterogeneous derivation (survey, excavation, random) and often inaccessible; therefore one has to rely on the original (often laconic) publication and a B/W photo.

Further issues for future research would include: a) specification of the ratio of domestic to imported ceramics from Middle Byzantine sites, especially as regards the earlier (seventh–tenth) centuries, b) distinguishing between different types of local ceramics, c) clarification of the types and origin of imported ceramics. The latter could be a particularly fruitful area for research, as it has already provided hints for more than one type of local ceramics. For example, all ceramics found in Skala (P33, C5) seem to have been made of similar fabric and they consist of many different types of transport, table and storage vessels as well as of tiles with similar finger-incisions (generally considered to be workshop signs).

As regards other ceramics, bricks and tiles definitely necessitate a specialized, detailed investigation. Examinations of fabric and comparison of shapes and dimensions exceeded the limits of this research. However, three kinds of workshop marks have been identified: a cross-in-medallion stamp of unknown date, a cruciform bar-monogram stamp of the sixth to seventh century and a fingermark probably dated to the tenth century. The recent excavations in Nikopolis will hopefully provide more evidence for dating the two earlier examples.

The case of the bread stamp is also interesting, because it seems to confirm the circulation of decorative motifs in the ceramics industry – if not of domestic ceramic products themselves – at a provincial level along the Ionian coast through the functioning of a marine route, known from other sources.²¹¹

Last but not least, an interesting find from Kato Vassiliki revealed that building material was not the only thing that was being recycled in medieval settlements built on the sites of Antique or Late Antique ones. Although the precise way in which the 200 variable loom-weights were used is not known, the fact that they were stored in the monastery confirms that antique artefacts could continue in use well into the Byzantine period.

²¹⁰ Vroom 2003, 145–146; Vroom 2005, 68–71, 82–83.

²¹¹ See the relevant discussion in Part 3 – Chapter 1.III.

Metalwork and Glasswork

The only metal artefacts dated to the Middle Byzantine period were nails, three belt-buckles, two crosses, a fibula and a weight. There is nothing exceptional about these objects, which were simple artefacts in widespread circulation in Byzantium and its areas of influence. Yet a significant feature shared by some of them (e.g. the buckle from Kato Vassiliki and the weight from Kefalos) in relation to the industrial features of Epirote metalwork in general is the fact that they are made of iron, while all known parallels from other Byzantine areas are made of other materials. This is most striking in the case of the weight: no other iron example has been located in the available literature. This supports the hypothesis that there was local production of iron metalwork in *Epirus* at least in the early tenth century, as suggested by written sources of this period, as has been discussed elsewhere.²¹² The discrepancy between the information from tenth-century texts and the very small number of artefacts datable to this period discovered is an indication of how small the existing sample of Middle Byzantine material culture from this province is.

On the other hand, this very limited evidence makes it possible to incorporate the investigated area in a region that shares a more or less common vocabulary in metalwork, i.e. the Western Byzantine provinces and neighbouring areas sharing the “Komani-Kruje” material culture. The latter consisted of assemblages of grave-goods (jewellery, pottery and small weapons), represented a specific regional expression of the change in funerary practices amongst the local population, and is usually dated between the late fifth or sixth and the early ninth centuries.²¹³ This common vocabulary is expressed in the finds from the Peloponnese, Epirus and Albania, which are discussed in detail above in section 4.II. The common industrial features of metalwork within this region may be roughly described in relation to: a) a production characterized by simple design and basic decoration (i.e. the buckles²¹⁴ discussed above and the “Komani-Kruje” metalwork), b) a production of the same types of objects in different metal alloys (i.e. buckles made in both bronze and iron as in Kato Vassiliki and Durrës), and c) a wider use of iron than in earlier periods (as in the weight from Kefalos and the jewellery from

²¹² See Veikou, *Buckles*.

²¹³ See Dzino 2010, 84–87; Nallbani 2004; Bowden 2003a, 195–201; Bowden 2003b, 59–62; Popovic 1984. E. Nallbani (2005; 2007, 56–57) has suggested a re-dating of the beginning of this culture to the late fifth century which has not been entirely accepted by Dzino (2010, 85).

²¹⁴ With the exception of M3 – see below.

Kruje, Zagori and other sites from Greece discussed above). Chemical analyses of these artefacts' alloys might clarify whether metalwork in the aforementioned areas also shared other features associated with manufacturing techniques and common sources of metal including earlier recycled items.

Compared to the items produced within the aforementioned cultural context, the reliquary cross from Agrinio and the rectangular buckle from Drymos (artefacts M₃ and M₁) seem to refer to a very different – and probably later – artistic tradition where more sophisticated artefacts, including ones clearly recognizable as “Byzantine”, were produced.

Similarly glass objects could not have been rare, as they have been found in all major systematic excavations. The use of the glass bead as a grave good in Kato Vassiliki perhaps indicates that even the value of the raw material itself was considered something exceptional. However, the listed glass finds have not been analyzed and dated, apart from some vessels from Arta which were previously thought to be eleventh- to mid-twelfth-century products of Corinthian workshops. However, they have since been redated to the thirteenth century and other places of origin have been proposed (such as Apulia and Constantinople). Similar vessels found in Kato Vassiliki remain unpublished; thus the issue of the origin and date of these artefacts remains open.

Lead-seals

To begin with some statistical remarks, the list of sigillographic evidence from *Epirus*, presented in Table 15, shows a stable presence of seals of Byzantine officials from the seventh to the twelfth century. Most of them belong to the *strategoi* (military commanders) of the Themes of *Nikopolis* and *Kephallenia* (24 out of 53 known pieces), while the rest belong to various other state and church officials. From the two aforementioned Middle Byzantine Themes, the seals dating from 700–850 refer to the Theme of *Kephallenia* while the seals of the archbishops of *Nikopolis* refer to the town rather than to the Theme of *Nikopolis*. An exception is the mention of a duke of the *Nikopolites* from as early as the beginning of the eighth century. However, on the basis of the material listed in Table 15 no *strategoi* of the Theme of *Nikopolis* are mentioned until two of them appear in the ninth century. Nevertheless during the same century the number of seals of dignitaries from the Theme of *Kephallenia* (13) is still greater than those from the Theme of *Nikopolis* (7). By contrast, one observes that from the late ninth century onwards seals belonging to dignitaries of the Theme of *Nikopolis* far outweigh those from the Theme of *Kephallenia*

(22: 6). A single seal of an eleventh-century judge mentions that he had authority over both Themes.

In any case, as regards the chronological distribution of seals during the Middle Byzantine period, of the 29 dignitaries mentioned during the seventh to ninth centuries most are ecclesiastical and military (5 archbishops plus 18 *strategoi*, a *doukas* and *tourmarches*) while very few are financial or legal functionaries (4 *kommerkarioi*, a *protonotarios*, and an *epoptes*). During the tenth–twelfth centuries the 22 dignitaries mentioned in the seals once again represent the military administration (11 *strategoi*, an *exartistes* and a *tourmarches*), to a greater extent than the civil administration (2 *protonotarioi*, 6 *asekretes* and *kritai*, 1 *chartoularios*), while as regards ecclesiastical officials there are just 2 archbishops. A similar phenomenon has been observed in the seals from the Theme of *Hellas* by Olga Karagiorgou.²¹⁵ However, the number of military officials in *Hellas* seems to have been reduced from the tenth century onwards, while in *Nikopolis* and *Kephallenia* their numbers do not seem to have declined in relation to the total number of seals.

If one can draw any conclusions about the administration of Middle Byzantine *Epirus* on the basis of this perhaps incomplete record (since two more *corpora* are in the pipeline – see Chapter 4.IV. above), the following remarks may be worth noting.

First of all, things seem to have changed in the administration of the Late Antique city of *Nikopolis* and its hinterland as early as the early eighth century. While it is still the archbishopric of *Epirus Vetus* (as seen in the seals nos 1–2 of Table 15, adding two more names to the bishops' list provided by texts),²¹⁶ it is also the seat of a *dux* (Table 15, nr 3), an independent command assigned by the emperor with military tagmata seconded to thematic duty.²¹⁷

Shortly after this, in the mid- to late eighth century, the Theme of *Kephallenia* was established, controlling the Ionian Islands, to protect imperial communications with Italy and defend the Ionian Sea from Arab raids. From ca. 750 to the second half of the ninth century, it is represented mainly by 12 different thematic generals, the Theme's fiscal administration authority, responsible for military finance (*protonotarios*), a naval commander, a *kommerkiarios* shared with Thessaloniki, and an

²¹⁵ Karagiorgou 2006, 35.

²¹⁶ See above Part 1 – Chapter 2.IV., § *Habitation*.

²¹⁷ Haldon 2008, 549.

imperial *kommerkiarios* shared with *Hellas* and *Peloponnese*.²¹⁸ Thematic administration in *Kephallenia* is less well attested from the second quarter of the tenth century to the end of the eleventh, by seals of one thematic general, an official of the military administration (*chartoularios*), a naval commander as well as by a series of judges responsible for administration and justice during this period.²¹⁹ Among the judges of *Kephallenia*, one was shared with the Theme of *Nikopolis* (first half of the eleventh century). Two others are also mentioned as *krites of the hippodrome* and *exactor* (Table 15, nos. 45, 46); these offices were also found together on other seals belonging to judges and dated to the second half of the eleventh century.²²⁰

The Theme of *Nikopolis*, on the other hand, is regularly represented by thematic generals' and senior officers' lead seals, but only during the period from the late ninth to the eleventh century.²²¹ The two archbishops of *Nikopolis*, Vassileios and Leon (Table 15, nos. 12–13), were obviously now located in *Nafpaktos*, since the ninth-century *Taktika* mention the Epirote Episcopal sees as subordinate to the Metropolis of *Nafpaktos*.²²² Furthermore, at the end of the ninth century the Metropolis of *Nafpaktos* changed its name to "Nafpaktos of *Nikopolis*" (μητρόπολις Ναυπάκτου Νικοπόλεως) and we know that around this time *Nafpaktos* became the capital of the Theme of *Nikopolis*.²²³ It was therefore the seat of three more archbishops (seals nos. 30, 50, 53) as well as of the 11 thematic generals (Table 15, nos. 14, 24–25, 31–33, 36, 38, 42, 48, 49) represented by their seals. There were also a military commander, heading the theme's army garrison (*tourmarches*, Table 15, no. 27) and other officials of the military administration (*exartistes*, no. 34). According to Stavrakos the *exartistes* of the imperial fleet indicates that there was probably a neorion here in the second half of the 9th c., where the imperial fleet of *Nikopolis* – and maybe also *Kephallenia* – was being repaired.²²⁴

Civil administration in the Theme is represented by its fiscal authorities (*protonotarioi*, nos. 26, 35, 39), an *epoptes* charged with control of taxation

²¹⁸ Table 15, nos. 44–11, 15–23. The seals of the *kommerkiarioi* are specifically discussed on the next page.

²¹⁹ Table 15, nos. 37, 44, 47, 51–52; Haldon 2008, 541.

²²⁰ Stavrakos 2000, nos. 261, 283, and p. 339.

²²¹ Table 15, nos. 14, 24–29, 31–36, 38–43, 47–49.

²²² Darrouzès 1981, 236, 261, 266: *notitiae* 3, 4, 5.

²²³ For a detailed account see the Inventory entries on *Nafpaktos* and *Nikopolis* in Part 5, below.

²²⁴ Stavrakos 2007, 579.

in the province (no. 29), a *kommerkiarios* (no. 28) as well as thematic judges (nos. 40, 41, 43).²²⁵

Among the generals and senior officers sent to *Kephallenia* and *Nikopolis*, most were quite high-ranking court dignitaries. Thematic generals held relatively high ranks in the imperial hierarchy (imperial *spatharokandidatoi*, *protospatharioi*, imperial *protospatharioi*, imperial *spatharioi*, *hypatos*, *anthypatos patrikios* and *patrikios*), as was usually the case.²²⁶ The tenth- to eleventh-century *chartoularios* was ranked *spatharokandidatos*. As was common, the judges were all ranked *protospatharioi* – including one imperial *protospatharios* of the Chrysotriklinos; exceptions were one imperial *vestitor*, a *spatharokandidatos*, and a *kensor*. Two *protonotarioi* were also held high rank as *spatharokandidatos* and imperial *spatharios* respectively. Only an eleventh-century general (Table 15, no. 49), an eleventh-century *tourmarches* (no. 51) and a ninth-century *protonotarios* (no. 21) seem to have held no dignity at all, when these seals of theirs were made.

Among those officials the last names of only four are certain: Ioannis Pegonites, Leon Karenos, Leon Semnos and Leon Sgouros. The thematic general Ioannis Pegonites (no rank mentioned) seems to have been a member of a prominent Epirote family; the family produced, among other eleventh-century, high-ranking Byzantine officials in *Epirus* and Western Macedonia, a series of generals of Dyrrachium during the first half of the eleventh century, including the well-known *patrikios* Nicetas.²²⁷ Leon Karenos is otherwise unknown.²²⁸ The case of Leon Semnos has already been discussed above, in relation to an inscription from Nafpaktos.²²⁹ Judging by the date of his seal, Leon Sgouros could well have been the magnate from Nafplion, known for his belligerent attempts to become independent ruler of Southern Greece during the early thirteenth century.²³⁰

In order to understand the network of relations of *Epirus* with neighbouring areas, it is important to note that some functionaries (*kommerkarioi* and a taxation officer) on ninth-century seals in Table 15 seem to have had authority over the population of more than one Theme:

²²⁵ Bury 1911, 87.

²²⁶ According to the 10th-c. *Kletorologion* by Philotheos, these dignities were ranked between fifth and eleventh in the imperial hierarchy (*Kletorologion*, 708–711 in: Bury 1911, pp. 133–135).

²²⁷ Wassileiou-Seibt 2009, 303–308.

²²⁸ PBW, *Leon* 20203.

²²⁹ See Part 2 – Chapter 2, no. 16.

²³⁰ Niavis 1993; Savvides 1988.

- of *Kephallenia* and *Thessaloniki* (*kommerkarios*, ninth century)
- of *Nikopolis*, *Hellas* and the *Peloponnese* (*imperial kommerkarios*, ninth century)
- of *Nikopolis* and *Thessaloniki* (*kommerkiarios*, late ninth century.)
- of *Nikopolis* and the *Peloponnese* (*epoptes*, late ninth century).

A judge of the first half of the eleventh century was also responsible for both *Nikopolis* and *Kephallenia* (no. 47). The joint duties of these functionaries support the idea that the provinces of Western Greece maintained close relations with one another due to their geographic proximity and the unimpeded functioning of a network of land- and water-routes.

The case of the two *kommerkiarioi* and an *imperial kommerkarios*, however, necessitates one further comment. All these seals date to the ninth century and belong to customs officials who, at this time, are known to have been attached to specific Themes and associated with the collection of duties on trade and exchange activities with lands outside the Empire.²³¹ There is also, however, a question as to whether *kommerkiarioi* were actually still involved in supplying the army with weapons.²³² The ninth century in *Epirus* seems indeed to have been a period of economic recovery, following the securing of Byzantine territories against the Arab threats and based on the thematic administration and the development of a new network of settlements, some of which operated as hubs for long-distance traffic.²³³ The combinations of Themes on the aforementioned officials' seals in *Epirus* (*Kephallenia* and *Thessaloniki*; *Nikopolis*, *Hellas* and the *Peloponnese*; *Nikopolis* and *Thessaloniki*) refer to the geographical areas of contemporary Northwestern, Southwestern and Central Greece, which were provinces of the West (*Dysis*) important to both Byzantine trade and defence.

Thus the aforementioned combinations and their ninth-century date seem to confirm Dunn's suggestion that *kommerkiarioi* still had a regulatory role in areas (such as *Dysis*) of policed exchange of a wide range of regulated exports and imports, in some of which (e.g. timber, arboreal products and iron ore) a fiscal agent concerned with military and naval needs would also have taken a considerable interest.²³⁴ However, these *kommerkiarioi*,

²³¹ Haldon 2000, 234; Brandes 2002, 48–62, 239–426; Haldon 2008, 541.

²³² The opinion that they were has been suggested by M. Hendy (in his *Studies in Byzantine Monetary Economy*, Cambridge 1985, 624, 626–634, 654–662) and by J. Haldon (1990, 235–238) and revised by N. Oikonomides (2001, 238–239).

²³³ This issue is further discussed in Part 3, Chapters 1 and 3, below.

²³⁴ Dunn 1993, 14–15.

operating in theatres of war and frontier provinces in the ninth to eleventh centuries, seem to have been operating in collaboration with other officials (in this case, known by their seals as “*kommerkiarioi* of the West”), who are likely to have remained fiscal agents of the state of the kind known in connection with the *Apotheke*. Instead of an *Apotheke*, though, the *Dromos* (in this case the *Dromos of the West*) was now the organization principally responsible for the acquisition and redistribution of the materials in which the state/fisc dealt (e.g. taxes in kind, the products of imperial *kouratoreiai*, equipment and provision for the armies and fleets) and required the services of *kommerkiarioi* as fiscal agents also working with the provincial fiscal administration.²³⁵

This theory is further supported by the fact that, shortly thereafter, at the beginning of the tenth century, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennitos mentions a collaborative arrangement for military purposes between the very same Themes, as those mentioned on the aforementioned seals of *kommerkiarioi* in *Epirus*. Constantine mentions specifically that the *stratego*i of *Nikopolis*, *Thessaloniki* and the *Peloponnese* agreed to manufacture weapons and offered to send them to be used in the campaign against the Arabs in Crete in the years 911/912.²³⁶ These activities would include not only the provision of large quantities of iron ore but also the distribution of the end products. Thus it seems that these tasks of great importance to the Byzantine defence could be left in the hands of officials operating in the area of these themes within an already well-functioning, relevant administrative framework.

Coinage

Finally, of the 70 types of coins found in the investigated sites, seventh-century issues are preponderant both in number and variety: most of them come from the special site of Kefalos used as an island-refuge. The discovery of coinage dated to the reign of Heraklios is very common in this category of site.²³⁷ The appearance of a large number of coins in specific rooms of the two basilicas on Kefalos may indicate either that the coins had been taken there for safe-keeping or that these rooms were used for activities which involved monetary transactions. The twelve-*nomismata*

²³⁵ Dunn 1993, 20–22.

²³⁶ See above Part 1 – Chapter 2.IV. (Human Geography, § Economy).

²³⁷ For an account of available evidence see Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

weight found there²³⁸ suggests the site had some relationship to a military presence and that it had been carefully chosen and used strategically also for military purposes (possibly by the inhabitants of the city of Nicopolis).

There is an absence of coins throughout the eighth century. The monetization of transactions in a small provincial capital of the ninth century is shown by the two *folleis* finds in the centre of modern Nafpaktos. The *follis* issued by the Emperor Theophilos is, in fact, the archaeological find signifying the re-appearance of currency in Byzantine sites after the break in the eighth century, and it has been found in abundance in Corinth.²³⁹ The *tetarteron* from Ag. Nikolaos on Varassova South is of uncertain date, despite testifying to the economic capacity of the site in the Middle Byzantine period.

Many more issues date to between the tenth and the late eleventh century. Equally, many are eleventh- and twelfth-century issues of emperors of the Comnenian and Angelos dynasties and imitations thereof. Bronze denominations – mostly anonymous *folleis* – predominate among the finds of this period, consisting of 34 bronze *folleis*, 7 bronze *tetartera* and half-*tetartera*, 5 bronze issues of unspecified type, an unknown number of 5 gold and 4 billon issues as well as 5 unspecified coins. The distribution of bronze coin finds is relatively evenly spread across the investigated area, although a great number come from the Drossato hoard found near Nafpaktos. Three of the tenth-century *folleis* were found in Kefalos Basilica 'A' showing that the settlement was still active. The rest of the bronze coin finds indicate the following sites were settlements where monetized transactions took place:

- Kato Vassiliki, Mytikas, Vristiana and Nafpaktos / Efpalio in the tenth century,
- Aetoliko, Stratos, Arta and Nafpaktos / Efpalio in the eleventh century, and
- Arta, Neochori / Mastro, area of Agrinio, Stratos and Nafpaktos / Efpalio in the twelfth century.

The phenomenon of hoards containing large quantities of copper coins, such as the one buried at Drossato, has also been observed in Corinth during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It has been interpreted in that case

²³⁸ See M9 in section 4.II. in this chapter.

²³⁹ At least 150 pieces have been found in Corinth but many less in Athens. See Sodini 1984, 396, no. 160.

as a reflection of the changing face of society itself, and has been associated with alert owners of family businesses and small estates rather than wealthy landowners (who would have saved gold coins).²⁴⁰ This assumption might well be appropriate to the Nafpaktos area as well.

The gold and billon coins date to the late twelfth to early thirteenth century and come from the areas of Arta and Agrinio. The presence of such coinage is evident at this time in the new capital of *Nikopolis*. It is noteworthy that 2 bronze issues and 3 unspecified issues all dated between 1081 and the twelfth century, as well as 3 billon and 2 bronze issues dated between 1143 and 1203, were found in the Monastery of Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris, indicating that the site had gained economic importance.

Of course, one difficulty in attempting to evaluate the quantity and denominations of coins in order to discern demographic fluctuations and settlement evolution should be acknowledged: it has to be constantly borne in mind that old coins sometimes remained in use for a very long period of time. This is confirmed by the Drossato Hoard, found near Nafpaktos and containing tenth- and eleventh-century *folleis* along with mid-twelfth-century coins, all buried together in the mid-twelfth century or later. Thus, the earlier coins can potentially serve as evidence for the evolution of settlement in both their period of issue and their period of use. Unfortunately these two periods are often hard to define and distinguish, because the precise archaeological context of most coin finds has rarely been recorded.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Penna 2002, 650.

²⁴¹ For a detailed account of the coin finds' locations see Appendix I.8.

PART THREE

HABITATION

CHAPTER ONE

THE CHRONOLOGY, TYPOLOGY, TRANSFORMATION, NETWORKS AND ECONOMY OF SETTLEMENTS

1.I. THE CHRONOLOGY OF SETTLEMENTS

On the grounds of the evidence discussed in previous chapters Middle Byzantine settlements can be identified among the archaeological sites dated with certainty to the Middle Byzantine period (seventh–twelfth centuries). The evidence confirming a positive dating of certain sites within the aforementioned period consists of references in historical sources¹ and material remains.² These sites are listed in Table 17 and marked on maps 16 and 17.

By contrast, the analysis of evidence from other sites is insufficient to provide a secure basis for dating them. However, their residential use during the aforementioned period cannot necessarily be excluded according to available indications. These sites are listed in Table 18 and marked on the same maps.

1.II. THE TYPOLOGY AND TRANSFORMATION OF SETTLEMENTS

As regards the typology of investigated settlements, a fundamental distinction can be made between fortified settlements of various sizes, unfortified settlements and monastic settlements. These will now be discussed in relation to contemporary communication networks and in more or less chronological order.

1.II.a. *Fortified Settlements*

This broad category involves two main forms of settlement:

- relatively large sites consisting of a (single, double or triple) line of fortification walls surrounding a small number of buildings and related to nearby smaller unfortified sites,
- smaller free-standing fortifications.

¹ See more details below in Part 5.

² See more details above in Part 2.

Table 17. The Chronology of Settlements and Monuments.

S/N	Site Name	Certain dating	Possible dating
		4th–6th c.	7th c. 8th c. 9th c. 10th c. 11th c. 12th c. 13th– 15th c. Post-Byzantine periods
1	Acheloos		
2	Aetoliko, Panagia Finikia		
4	Aetoliko, Finikia, basilica		
5	Aetos, Castle*		
6	Agia Sophia (f. Mokista), Ag. Sophia		Before 13th c.
7	Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios		
9	Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada		
10	Ambelia, Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou		
11	Ambrakia/Amprakia		
12	Amfilochia, Castle*		
14	Analipsi (f. Dervekista), Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Monastery		
15	Angelokastro*		Before 1215
16	Arakynthos, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos		
17	Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou		

Table 18. Settlements and Monuments Possibly Partly Dating from the 7th to the 12th Centuries.

Certain dating		Possible dating			
S/N	Site Name	4th–6th c.	7th–12th c.	13th–15th c.	16th c. onwards
3	Aetoliko, Finikia, Pleuron (<i>Kastro Kyra-Rinis</i>)				
8	Agios Ilias, tower*		9th–12th c.?		
13	Analipsi (f. Dervekista), Castle*		11th c.?		
21	Arta, Agiou Vassiliou St.		11th–12th c.?		
22	Arta, anc. Small Theatre (Mikro Teatro)		11th–12th c.?		
24	Arta, Highway E951 (Ethniki Hodos Arta – Ioannina)		11th–12th c.?		
29	Arta, New Bridge, church				
34	Arta, <i>Perivleptos Monastery</i> (<i>Μονή Περιβλήτρου</i>)		12th c.?		
35	Arta, <i>Synagogue Greca</i> (<i>Συναγωγή «Γρέκα»</i>)*		12th c.?		
39	Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Ag. Ioannis and Metochi Paleopanagias				
42	Embessos, Castle*				
43	Ermitsas r., Taxiarchis		12th c.?	13th–14th c.	
44	Evinochori (f. Bochori), Calydon				
46	Kalamos isl., Episkopi			13th c.	
47	Kambos (f. Koftra), Paliokastro*				
51	Katochi, tower (Koulia kyra-Vassilikis)			14th c.	

Table 18 (*cont.*)

S/N	Site Name	4th–6th c.	7th–12th c.	13th–15th c.	16th c. onwards
52	Kato Chryssovitssa*				
53	Kato Makrynou				
64	Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki*				17th c.
75, 80, 83	Nafpaktos, Athinon St., Noti Botsari St., Tzavela St.				
89	Nikopolis, Analipsi, Basilica				16th c.
90	Ochthia, Ag. Georgios Kissiotis				Ottoman period
92	Paleros*				
95	Platanos*				
97	Preveza, Agios Thomas, Ag. Minas				Modern period
98	Rachi, Ag. Nikolaos*				;
100	Riza, Castle*			14th c.	15th c.
108	Varassova N-E, Ag. Dimitrios*				
111	Varassova W, Ag. Nikolaos		10th c.?		
114	Vlochos, anc. Acropolis of Glas*			13th–14th c.	
117	Vonitsa, Castle, quayside, Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani (old church)*				
118	Vonitsa, cemetery, Ag. Ioannis*		10th c.?		
119	Vonitsa, Panagia Alichniotissa			14th c.	
121	Zalongo (f. Kamarina), Taxiarches				

Extensive Fortified Sites

Nikopolis comes into this first category. The important Roman and Early Byzantine settlement seems to have shrunk after the seventh century – possibly due to certain shortcomings it presented in relation to the new conditions – however, the fortifications were restored and the settlement survived, in a rather uncertain form until the eleventh century. As to what those shortcomings were, I think that its geographical location – totally exposed and very difficult to defend against external threats – must have been a decisive factor in the eventual abandonment of the settlement. An equally important factor must have been the lack of natural springs, which made it necessary to dig wells every time damage occurred along the long route of the old aqueduct due to natural wear and tear or intense geological phenomena (e.g. landslides).³ All indications suggest that the settlement which succeeded Nikopolis after the eleventh century, referred to in the literature as *Palaiopreveza*, must have been located not on the site of modern Preveza but around the harbour of Vathy and Ag. Thomas peninsula, an area where the relief has been greatly altered as a result of natural causes since that time. It was probably possible to travel from this area to Acarnania using the two old harbours on the Ag. Thomas peninsula towards Vonitsa – not Aktion, which by that time had become an area of swamps.⁴ Some forthcoming publications based on the latest projects undertaken by the Greek Archaeological Service in conjunction with Boston University may soon help us to understand the exact chronology, form and evolution of Nikopolis between the seventh and the eleventh centuries.

The Castle of Astakos was one of the first fortified settlements, appearing around the seventh century and surviving until the thirteenth under the Slavic name of Dragameston according to the historical and archaeological evidence.⁵ It was developed in a very advantageous location, on a hill near the Ionian coast which was not only naturally fortified but also well concealed so as to be invisible from the sea. Additionally, it had

³ See Part 1, Chapter 2.

⁴ For a discussion of the geology of this area see Jing, Rapp 2003, 158.

⁵ The main arguments for this dating are briefly: the dating of the fortifications on the basis of masonry techniques within the Middle Byzantine period (seventh–twelfth century), the dating of the Basilica ‘A’ in the tenth–eleventh century, the Slavic place-name, the mention of a bishopric with that name during the thirteenth century and the mention of a settlement with the same name in narratives referring to ninth-century Arab attacks and included in thirteenth-century texts.

ancient fortification walls, which were extensively restored, surrounding a large elevated area with a flat surface appropriate for construction. A water source was available at the foot of the concealed, northern side of the hill, which could be accessed from the fort by a path hidden from the eyes of outsiders. Finally, this hill was located on the only land route leading from the Ionian coast to the heart of Acarnania, the settlements of Vristiana and Aetos, from where land routes led to the Acheloos valley and northern Acarnania.

So populations previously inhabiting the coast and plain around modern Astakos (areas of Agios Pandeileimon and Agia Varvara) may have moved to this advantageous hilltop site with the remains of the ancient city of Astakos. Yet, the only Christian church from this period on the plateau dates to the tenth–eleventh century. The presence of Slav populations is indicated by the Slavic name of the settlement. Therefore, the formation of the settlement must be dated shortly after the invasion of the Slavs during the sixth–seventh centuries and probably during the period of Arab incursions from the sea judging from the dating of the material remains to between the sixth to the eighth century onwards and the mention in the Life of St Varvaros. The importance of the protected harbour of Astakos as well as the other advantages of the site (i.e. the availability of building material, drinking water and other pre-existing facilities as well as the visual control over the gulf of Astakos from the hilltop) made Dragameston a long-lived medieval settlement and trade centre.

The site at the Castle of Aetos also seems to have developed on a well concealed, fortified hilltop in the mountains at least from the ninth century onwards (probably a little earlier). Security was enhanced by a double line of massive walls partly dating to this period and partly later additions and repairs. In this case scarcity of drinking water was a problem, as is well illustrated by the name for the land of western Acarnania (Ξηρόμερο, Xeromero meaning Dry Place). The extensive construction of cisterns was evidently an attempt to solve this problem. Although regularly mentioned in texts as a bishopric from the ninth to the seventeenth century, it seems that the remoteness and difficulty of access to this site as well as the lack of water must have been factors inhibiting the prosperity of the settlement, as the paucity of material remains (other than fortifications and cisterns) would seem to indicate. Furthermore, the settlement does not easily fit into a network of nearby sites, with the exceptions of Vristiana (on the road to Astakos) and maybe Ligovitsi (on the road to Acheloos) which are nonetheless located relatively far away.

The Castle at Glosses, Kandila, may well have flourished in the Middle Byzantine period in association with the small settlement in Mytikas but this has not yet been confirmed by concrete archaeological evidence.⁶ However, the building techniques of the castle and the dam repair in Glosses are very similar to those seen in the post-seventh-century settlement in Mytikas as described by Vokotopoulos. Nevertheless the paucity of other material remains and the lack of historical evidence make it impossible to confirm such a dating.

The Castle at Episkopi, Kalamos, is mentioned in the literature as a fort but it too has not yet been investigated. If its dating in the sixth century is correct, then it could have served the inhabitants of Mytikas and Kandila as an isle of refuge.⁷ The location of Episkopi would be very appropriate for the development of such a settlement as it is very close to the Acarnanian coast and hidden from anyone coming from the Ionian Sea. However, at the moment this remains hypothetical as is any settlement formation on the island between the seventh and the twelfth centuries.

An Early Byzantine settlement that flourished on the east coast of Lefkada seems to have survived during the Middle Byzantine period preserving its name (Leucas) as is evident from both the historical and archaeological evidence. The post-sixth-century settlement was most probably associated with the Middle Byzantine phase of the fortification seen in the remains at the Castle of Koulmos, near Karyotes. Koulmos also seems to have been a well fortified and concealed location with a flat hilltop suitable for the development of a settlement. Additional advantages were the availability of building material provided by the remains of the ancient settlement and the possibility of exercising visual control over the western coast of Acarnania. References to it as an archbishopric and small harbour-town from the ninth century onwards seem likely to be associated with a rather small-scale, fortified settlement. However, the buildings inside and outside the fortifications, which have been attested by Rondoyanis, have not yet been investigated and thus the scale of this settlement must remain hypothetical.

The Castle of Nafpaktos is also built in a location with similar features to those described above. It enables visual control over the entire Northern Gulf of Corinth, it is exceptionally well fortified naturally, it has sources of drinking water and a relatively fertile hinterland, while its harbour is

⁶ On the settlement in Mytikas see below §Unfortified Settlements.

⁷ On the isles of refuge see below Part 3, Chapter 3.

located on an important sea route of that period. These features must have made Nafpaktos a very safe and appropriate location for settlement from the sixth century onwards, thus possibly justifying its later selection as a military and administrative centre for the entire theme. The location chosen for the capital, on a very protected spot deep into the enclosed Northern Gulf of Corinth – actually much closer to the Greek hinterland than to the rest of *Epirus* – and not far from the important settlement of Corinth was not only particularly suitable but also indicative of the general sense of insecurity at the time.

Remains of the pre-existing Late Antique settlement at the same location have been found along the coast. That settlement seems to have been largely destroyed by an earthquake in the middle of the sixth century and a large part of the Middle Byzantine settlement must have been newly constructed after this time. It is more or less certain that the fortifications at this time consisted of at least two lines of walls (the citadel and an outer enceinte) and a keep and they encompassed some buildings including a tenth- to twelfth-century church in the citadel. The outer enceinte probably consisted of the sea walls protecting the harbour, which must have already existed in the sixth century (judging from the masonry of a surviving tower). The extent of the settlement is hard to deduce from the scant seventh- to twelfth-century material remains traced around the foot of the castle mount and neighbouring areas within the modern city of Nafpaktos and in its outskirts. Historical evidence suggests that the port of Nafpaktos was an important trading centre for products arriving from the hinterland from the tenth century onwards, while the town remained prosperous at least until the end of the twelfth century as well as in Post-Byzantine periods. Yet many questions about the topography of Middle Byzantine Nafpaktos must remain unanswered until a dedicated archaeological investigation is carried out.

In the area known as the territory of the ancient Stratiki the Late Antique and Early Byzantine settlement located in the lowlands around Ochthia also seems to have been relocated to the safer highland area of the upper Acheloos, within the ancient Acropolis of Stratos and beyond it in the area of Mount Charvati. These highlands provided naturally fortified locations, surrounded by the sizeable water bodies of the Acheloos River and Lake Ozeros and allowing visual control over routes to northern and southern Acarnania. The massive fortifications of Stratos were still standing and in use; no Byzantine repairs have been located, yet considering the present excellent state of preservation of the walls there might, in fact, have been no need for it. Archaeological evidence has so far confirmed

the habitation of the enceinte of Stratos at least during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; that settlement was later succeeded by that of Sorovigli. The settlement on the Western slopes of Mount Charvati also seems to date from the sixth century onwards, including a yet unpublished and undated fortification work. The exact dates of relocations or continuity of settlement in the greater area of Stratiki will hopefully be provided by the publications of the Stratiki Survey by the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.

The settlement associated with the Castle of Rogoi, on the Northern coast of the Gulf, must have been formed under similar conditions. Late Antique and Early Byzantine remains have been traced along the old North coast of the Ambracian Gulf, in the areas of Strongyli and Stefani. By contrast, the castle is located in the hinterland, on the flat top of a low hill preserving remains of ancient fortifications. The site preserves early restorations of the fortifications dating from the Middle Byzantine period as well as traces of an eleventh-century church. It is as yet unclear exactly what other buildings in the enceinte might date from the same period, however other material remains inside and around the enceinte as well as in the environs of the site suggest that a settlement developed here from the early Middle Ages onwards.⁸ That is confirmed by the change in the Louros' river channel some time after AD 1000, as a result of human intervention which perhaps aimed to increase the amount of irrigable land or to make a deviation in the navigable river route, so that it would pass alongside the Castle of Rogoi and surround the hill from its south, west and north sides.⁹ In my opinion this indicates the prosperity of the settlement at this time and accounts for its developing into the important Middle and Late Byzantine fluvial port and Post-Byzantine centre attested by the sources from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. Certainly, the distribution of material remains can only be indicative due to the degree of change in the relief caused by geological factors. The publication of the results of the Archaeological Survey of the Nikopolis Project being carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service and Boston University will hopefully shed more light on more specific issues concerning the chronology, form and evolution of the settlement of Rogoi.

⁸ I refer to the new church on the site of the Early Byzantine basilica at Stefani, the monastery of Rodia at Vigla and the Phidokastro.

⁹ Jing, Rapp 2003, 198.

Remains of an Early Byzantine settlement have been located on the opposite coast of the Ambracian Gulf, in the modern city of Vonitsa, though they are now below sea level and at that time they were on the coast. It seems that here too the coastal settlement was gradually relocated to the nearby hill (of the castle), a naturally fortified and well concealed location, invisible from the entrance of the Gulf albeit allowing visual control over both the surrounding marine environment and the hinterland to the south. The site has much the same features as the previous ones: fortification walls enclose a flat hilltop where at least one church dates to the Middle Byzantine period. Although the walls can hardly be dated before the eleventh century the settlement regularly appears in the sources as a bishopric from the ninth century up to the twelfth, when it is described as a small fortified trading post with a prosperous hinterland.¹⁰ It also flourished thereafter in the Late Byzantine, Venetian and Ottoman periods.

A similar relocation of an older settlement to the area of the Castle of Arta remains so far only hypothetical, since the alluvial deposits of the Arachthos River have largely transformed the relief: a few traces of Early Byzantine sites have been found at some considerable distance from the Castle, in the Arachthos plain, which at that time was probably located on the coast.¹¹ In the same plain we find the earliest Middle Byzantine (i.e. eighth- to ninth-century.) site in the area of Arta, Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri near the village of Plissioi. From the ninth century onwards settlements tend to appear much closer to the Castle of Arta, at the foot of the hill and in the area along the banks of the Arachthos' meanders.¹² The hill where the Byzantine fortifications were built is relatively low and naturally fortified as it is surrounded by water on its NE, NW and SW sides; it has a flat top and the remains of an earlier (Antique) fortification. The Middle Byzantine buildings inside the enceinte were probably a church and a secular building – however, they have been covered by later constructions and the exact chronology of different phases can only be revealed by excavation. Other material remains scattered around the environs of the castle indicate that a fluvial port-settlement developed on this site and was inhabited at least from the tenth to the twelfth century if

¹⁰ The sites of Panagia Peninsula, Kefalos, Monastiraki, Drymos and Paleros should also be considered in relation to the town and the bishopric of Vonitsa.

¹¹ Early Byzantine remains have been found by V. Papadopoulou (2006, 562) in the villages of Sykies, Kostakioi and Rokka.

¹² This is indicated by the sites of Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra, Ag. Nikolaos in Panda Kopsia and by the distribution of reused sculptures of that period.

not earlier.¹³ That settlement experienced such prosperity that it eventually replaced Nafpaktos as the capital of Byzantine *Epirus* after the mid-twelfth century.¹⁴ Thereafter it grew into the important Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine centre attested in the sources. Apart from the area of the castle, remains of Middle Byzantine habitation have been traced in the S and SW outskirts of the modern city thus pinpointing an extensive area in which the settlement was spread. Here, too, the distribution of material remains is only indicative due to the degree of change of the relief caused by geological factors.

It is unclear whether the Castle of Amfilochia is somehow related to some Early Byzantine settlement on the site of Middle Byzantine Arta, preserving the antique name of Arta (Amvrakia). No evidence of such a settlement has been found during any excavations in Arta. Yet the name of that antique settlement probably survived well into the Middle Byzantine period since Amvrakia is mentioned in relation to historical events of the ninth century. The name Amvrakia currently survives in the area to the south of Amfilochia as a place name and the name of a lake; therefore it must have been transferred from the NE to the SE coast of the Ambracian Gulf at some time before the Middle Byzantine period. The Castle of Amfilochia is one of the sites proposed for a Middle Byzantine settlement named Ambrakia/Amvrakia.¹⁵ The overall archaeological picture indicates that the castle is part of a later settlement on this site and definitely not related to habitation in the Early Byzantine period. Nevertheless, the fortified nature of the site, some minor archaeological evidence as well as the transfer of the place name itself from the NE to the SE coast makes one suspect that some inhabitants of the N coast could have moved to the S coast during the Early Byzantine period – possibly during the sixth-century Slav invasions from the north when they also moved to Kefalos, Corfu and Sicily. This nevertheless remains hypothetical.

The coastal Castle of Riza (also known by its later name Riniassa) cannot as yet be assigned, or partially assigned, to the period in question. A

¹³ The settlement functioned in earlier times in association with the marine port of Phidokastro and after the 12th c. in association with those of Salaora and Koprena.

¹⁴ Archaeological evidence suggesting prosperity consists of the remains of the Monastery of Ag. Georgios and the churches at Vlacherna, Parigoritissa and Komenou Ave., the traces of houses around Komenou Ave., the two cemeteries with graves dating to this period, as well as the significant amount and quality of sculpture and pottery from many parts of the modern city.

¹⁵ See the Inventory entry on *Ambrakia/Amvrakia* in Part 5 below.

seventh-century buckle found in the plateau of the church of the Panagia, outside the fortified area, seems to be a rather random find, though the fact that the excavation has not been published in detail makes it hard to be sure. Most archaeological – as well as all the extant historical evidence – dates after the thirteenth century, while an Early Byzantine site is located some considerable distance away to the north. The site of the castle itself looks very different from most sites described above; it is unconnected to the network of neighbouring Middle Byzantine sites and looks more like a military stronghold than a fortified settlement. Hence, the question whether there was a Middle Byzantine construction phase in the fortifications or settlement in some nearby location remains unanswered.

The last two castles belonging to the first category of fortified settlements are those at Ligovitsi and Angelokastro. They seem to have been contemporary with one another in respect of at least one of their construction phases but their exact chronology or form of settlement have not yet been investigated. Their locations have very similar features to those of most of the castles described so far (Arta, Rogoi, Vonitsa, Astakos etc): flat hilltops situated at points controlling communication routes, with remains of ancient fortifications restored during the Byzantine period and some other Byzantine buildings including a church.

It is possible that the castles at Riza, Angelokastro and Ligovitsi are contemporary with one another and probably date to the Comnene period or the thirteenth century. This hypothesis is based on the fact that a) the second phase of the Castle of Riza dates to the fourteenth century – therefore its initial phase must have been earlier; b) that Angelokastro also existed before the year 1215 when it is mentioned in the sources and c) that Ligovitsi is not mentioned in the Chronicle of the Tocchi in the fourteenth–fifteenth century, despite being situated in a very strategic location, and therefore it should be earlier.

Free-standing Fortifications

Some smaller-scale, isolated fortifications probably dating within the period in question have been located in Ag. Ilias and Trigardo in S Acarnania and in Phidokastro on the S coast of the Ambracian Gulf. Of these, the tower at Ag. Ilias seems likely to have been a Middle Byzantine watch tower for the lower Acheloos valley while the remains at Trigardo are impossible to interpret based on the existing evidence. The – possibly Middle Byzantine – repairs, moreover, to the ancient fortification walls at Phidokastro served to protect the port, which provided access from

the Ionian Sea and the NW coast of the Ambracian Gulf to the Epirote hinterland and the sites of Arta and possibly also Rogoi (although Rogoi might also have had its own port). Unfortunately the site is now flooded due to the rise in sea level and impossible to investigate.

1.II.b. *Unfortified Settlements*

A large number of unfortified sites of the seventh – twelfth centuries have been located in the area under investigation. These will now be discussed in the context of the network of settlements in each geographical area.

To begin with the Aetolian plain, including the areas of Mt. Varassova, the lower course of the Evinos river and the lower course of the Acheloos, this area was extensively inhabited during the Early Byzantine period, most settlement being located on the coast and in the lowlands. By the tenth century the remains of those settlements had been either totally abandoned or were being used as burial places for new settlements.¹⁶ On the high ground further to the north new settlements arose from the seventh century onwards in less exposed locations, such as Mastro – Neochori (seventh–thirteenth century), Aetoliko – Kryoneri – Kato Vassiliki (seventh–thirteenth century), Stamna (ninth–tenth century), and maybe also Trigardo (Early Byzantine period and maybe eleventh–twelfth century).¹⁷ An important feature of this area, from the ninth or tenth century until at least the thirteenth century, is its more or less monastic character.¹⁸ It is not certain whether Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios, dating from at least the Early Byzantine period and regularly restored from the eighth to the seventeenth century, belonged to a secular or a monastic settlement; its uninterrupted use through such a long period of time perhaps supports the former.

The Agrinio plain was also extensively populated during the Early Byzantine period.¹⁹ Most of these settlements were not entirely abandoned from the seventh century onwards, as shown by the erection of smaller churches over the remains of earlier, large basilicas. Such a church

¹⁶ The evidence for the use of abandoned basilicas as burial places at Finikia in Aetoliko, Kryoneri, Pleuron and Kato Vassiliki has been discussed in Part 2 – Chapter 1.

¹⁷ Paul Arthur (2004, 113) has discussed how churches and cemeteries such as those found in these Epirote sites are often the only visible remains of settlements of at least the 6th–7th-c. See also Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

¹⁸ I am referring to the monasteries and cave monasteries in Varassova, Kato Vassiliki, Aetoliko, Gavrolimni and maybe Ag. Georgios.

¹⁹ This is suggested by archaeological evidence in Megali Chora, Ochthia, Paravola, Ag. Triada in Mavrikas and elsewhere.

at Mavrikas was probably the *katholikon* of a monastery. The rest of these churches could possibly have served the religious needs of populations scattered throughout the plain whose presence is confirmed by some small cemeteries.²⁰ Some new settlements of the Middle Byzantine period were created on high ground located along the course of Acheloos (principally near Stratos – Pezoulia, Rivio and possibly around Angelokastro) and along the northern and eastern banks of Lake Trichonida e.g. in the areas of Paravola and Mokista. Both Paravola and Mokista are attested in Byzantine or later sources with Slavic names: the former was called *Kouvelo* until recent times and the latter is most probably identified with the thirteenth-century settlement of *Motista*. The abundance of place names of Slavic origin, which are scattered around the Agrinio plain and highlands, suggest that Slav populations had once settled this whole geographical area.²¹

Some key sea and land routes in Acarnania were also aligned with a number of unfortified settlements. One of them was at Mytikas in the Kandila plain, successor to an Early Byzantine settlement in the same place. This settlement was a port on the Ionian Sea route (maps 10, 17), whose protection was enhanced by facilities installed on the opposite coast at Episkopi on the island of Kalamos, where a castle was located. It was also located on the land route leading from the port to the Acarnanian mainland through the fertile Kandila plain and on to the area of the Ambracian Gulf. After a short period of abandonment during the second half of the seventh century the site seems to have been resettled during the eighth to twelfth centuries. Its archaeological and dating features seem to connect it with the fortified settlement at Glosses in the highlands of the Kandila plain. Another unfortified settlement, located on the plateau of Vristiana further to the north on the route from Mytikas to the Castle of Aetos, also seems to have had a Middle Byzantine phase as may be deduced from the eleventh-century lead seal found there.

The southern coast of the Ambracian Gulf was also extensively inhabited during the Early Byzantine period, as shown by the remains of a harbour at Vonitsa, two basilicas at Kefalos and five basilicas at Drymos. These sites have not been systematically investigated thus the exact period and pattern of habitation remains unclear. In any case settlement did go on

²⁰ Cemeteries have been located at Taxiarchis by Ermitsas, Dogri and Kato Makrynou.

²¹ Apart from *Kuvelo* and *Motista*, other such place names are *Bitsovo*, *Guritsa*, *Derveki-sta*, *Zapandi*, *Spolaita*, *Rivio*, *Ozeros* and the Croat *Charvati*.

in this area during the Middle Byzantine period at least until the twelfth century, as is evident from the remains at Drymos and Kefalos, which are related to the new fortified centre that appeared on a less exposed location in Vonitsa and nearby monastic settlements.²² The place name Vonitsa also indicates the presence of Slav populations here, though how these populations were related to the ninth-century settlement of *Ambrakia*/*Amvrakia* (as discussed above) is unclear.

It is clear in my opinion that Kefalos was used as an isle of refuge in the sixth and seventh centuries, whose facilities remained in use to a lesser extent well into the tenth century.²³ The facilities of this second, ninth-/tenth-century phase indicates that a small unfortified settlement was formed on the remains of the refuge, by then partly used as a burial place. The question arises whether the Early Byzantine graves on the island of Kastos signify the use of small islands near the coast as potential burial places. Nevertheless, Kastos and Kalamos might well have been used as isles of refuge too, although this has not yet been confirmed by archaeology. Another question is whether the settlement on Kefalos in its second (ninth- to tenth-century) phase could have served monastic purposes for reasons explained below.

The northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf was also extensively inhabited during the Early Byzantine period.²⁴ From the seventh century interruptions of settlement seem to have occurred in certain sites.²⁵ The abandonment of the main Early Byzantine centre of Nikopolis and the relocation of earlier settlements are visible by the eleventh century, when major centres are found in new and advantageous locations on the high ground of the upper courses of the Louros and Arachthos rivers. The advantages of these sites consist in their limited exposure to external attack, despite being located on land or water routes, and in their access to drinking water and fertile hinterlands.²⁶ Two more points on habitation are also

²² I refer to the Castle of Vonitsa and to the monasteries on the Panagia peninsula, Koronissia, Monastiraki and Tryfos.

²³ Chrysos 1997b, 183; Bowden 2003, 186–188, 202–203. Isles of refuge are discussed below in Part 3 – Chapter 3.

²⁴ This is evident from archaeological evidence at Ag. Thomas near Preveza, Nikopolis, the Panagia sto Kozili in Nea Sampsounda and Stefani. A late Roman villa has also been discovered near Strongyli.

²⁵ For example habitation at Stefani was interrupted for a long period after the 7th c. and began again in the 10th c. although possibly on a smaller scale.

²⁶ Such sites, located at the base of the mountains to the north of the Ambracian Gulf, include for example Rogoi and Arta or were associated with the remains in Nea Sampsounda, Agiolitharo, Louros, and Oropos.

clear: the incursions of Slav populations, evident in place names such as Kozyli, Preveza, Kandza etc., and the great impact of the combined geological phenomena related to the Arachthos and Louros rivers and the Zalongo range, which made the terrain very unstable and occasionally inhospitable. The diversion of the course of the river Louros might have actually improved living conditions by making the area around the Castle of Rogoi less marshy. However, it transferred the problem to the western coast of the embayment and the settlements located there around Louros and Nea Sampsonda. Only the monuments located outside the extensive alluvial deposits and a scattering of isolated finds such as sculptures and some historical evidence survive today to suggest the existence of several unfortified settlements in this area from the ninth to the twelfth centuries.

1.II.c. *Monastic Settlements*

From around the ninth or tenth century onwards a trend emerged for founding monasteries in this whole area, as elsewhere in Byzantine territories.²⁷ The distribution of monastic settlements in *Epirus* roughly follows the pattern of that of other kinds of settlements. It seems, though, to have been particularly built around five major clusters: Mt. Varassova, Lakes Trichonida and Lyssimachia, the Acarnanian coast, the Ambracian Gulf and the capital of Nafpaktos.

There is no doubt that Mt. Varassova was the most important monastic centre during the Middle Byzantine period. A relatively large number of monasteries and *askitaria* sprang up on and around the mountain from the ninth and tenth centuries onwards, namely the caves on the mountain itself, Ag. Dimitrios and Ag. Triada at Kato Vassiliki, Panaxiotissa in Gavrolimni, perhaps Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios if it was not just a parish church, as well as the monasteries attested in Aetoliko. The church on the acropolis of Pleuron could also have come into this category but so far there is no mention of other monastic buildings around it.

Some of the mountains and hills to the north of Varassova, situated around lakes Trichonida and Lyssimachia, seem likewise to have hosted a considerable number of tenth-to twelfth-century monasteries. This is evident from the sites of the Panagia Trimitou, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos,

²⁷ Koder 2005, 153.

Ag. Triada in Mavrikas, Myrtia, Mokista, Analipsi and the Ypsili Panagia in Lyssimachia.

The same thing is observed around another large body of water, the Ambracian Gulf, where monastic settlements are scattered on elevations around the gulf. The eleventh- or twelfth-century monastery of Kozyli was one such site, possibly associated with random finds of sculpture from the area of Mt. Zalongo, Oropos, Agiolitharo and Louros. The tenth- to twelfth-century monastery of Rodia was located on Mt. Vigla and had a *metochi* or dependency near Arta (Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias). South of it was the monastery of the Panagia at Koronissia, while on the opposite bank of the gulf there was the monastery on the Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa and the 'Sfetton monastery' at Monastiraki all dating from the tenth century onwards. In this context one wonders whether the settlement on Kefalos in its second (ninth- to tenth-century) phase could also have served a monastic function. The archaeology of the material remains of that phase does not exclude this possibility. However, evidence is insufficient to support either interpretation of the remains and only an eventual continuation of the old excavation of the island could give an answer to this question. Moving towards the eastern part of the gulf, monasteries of the ninth – twelfth centuries are found more towards the hinterland of both the north and south coasts. Such sites are found on Mt. Kordovitza and around the settlement of Arta, in Ambelia, Vlacherna, and possibly in Kato Panagia. 'Ag. Dimitrios tou Katzouri' is mentioned as a monastery in the thirteenth century but it is not clear whether the homonymous church at Plissioi was a *katholikon* earlier (its first phase dating back to the eighth century). One more monastery (Ag. Georgios) of the tenth – twelfth centuries was located on the edge of the Byzantine settlement of Arta, while a second one, at Perivleptos, may also be as early as the twelfth century.

Monasteries founded on the outskirts of settlements are also found in Western Acarnania, as for example the Odigitria in Lefkada and Ag. Eleoussa in Kandila, dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet the biggest concentration of monasteries is observed around the regional capital, Nafpaktos. Several such sites indicate the foundation of monasteries both in and around the town from the tenth to the twelfth century: e.g. 'Ag. Georgios' and the 'Nafpaktitisson' inside the town and those in Vomvokou, Skala, Efpalio as well as the important Varnakova monastery.

One may therefore conclude that monasteries were founded in three different kinds of locations from the ninth to the twelfth century in the investigated area. The first kind of location was on the edges or outskirts

of contemporary settlements, such as Nafpaktos, Arta, Vonitsa, Rogoi, Mytikas, Kozyli, Stratos, Koulmos and Aetoliko discussed above. By contrast, a second kind of location centred on places remote from other settlements of that period, often rather inaccessible – thus suitable for isolation and contemplation – but also with some economic potential. Examples of the latter are found at Koronissia, Ambelia, Tryfos, Ypsili Panagia, Trimitou, Myrtia, Analipsi and Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos.

Finally, a third kind of location is found in Mt. Varassova which emerges as a “holy mountain” like Athos.²⁸ Varassova was most probably selected for this purpose due to the large number of caves suitable for *askitaria*, though other symbolic connotations are presently unknown. It certainly developed over time into a big monastic centre hosting 72 monastic settlements (if one can trust what Bazin wrote in 1865), some of which remained in use until the seventeenth century. The foundation of monastic settlements in remote locations but connected with Middle Byzantine towns or cities is not uncommon as can be deduced from other examples in Greece e.g. Mt. Athos in relation to Thessaloniki, Mt. Vermion in relation to Veria etc. In this case Mt. Varassova must have been connected to nearby Nafpaktos and its hinterland.

1.III. NETWORK OF ROUTES AND SETTLEMENTS

It has already been observed that all types of settlements – except for some of the monasteries – are generally located along the old Roman land and water routes known to have remained in use, as can be deduced from the relevant sources.²⁹ The relationship of those routes to the settlements in question will be explained below; their basic outline and proximity to settlements are shown on Maps 15 and 17.

According to the available archaeological evidence, use of the route that passed along the western coast of Byzantine *Epirus* and which was vital for marine communications had never been interrupted or ceased from the seventh to the twelfth centuries (map 15, no 1: sea route 1). That route crossed the Echinades islands and continued further south along the western coast of the Peloponnese, it passed between the Peloponnese and

²⁸ Paliouras has called it “the Mount Athos of the Western Greek mainland” (2004a, 80).

²⁹ Avramea 2002, 73, 86–87 (with an account of the earlier relevant literature); Lambropoulou et al. 2001, 224. For an account of the Roman communication routes in Aetolo-acarnania see Axioti 1980b.

Zakynthos and led to the bay of Messene via the island of Proti.³⁰ Another part of the same route leading to the West passed between Lefkada and Corfu and on to Otranto during the seventh and eighth centuries; this route seems to have been preferred by most travellers.³¹ From at least the tenth century and until the end of the twelfth – when Benjamin of Tudela travelled – the trip to the West included an intermediary stop at Nafpaktos.³² In fact, during the most active period of Venetian trading in the area, from the eleventh century onwards, the harbours located along the east coast of the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea gained in importance as stopping off points along this route.³³

The stop-over points along the aforementioned marine route from the seventh to the twelfth century were either constructed harbours (λιμένες) or simple anchorages (τόποι σκαλώματος).³⁴ In the area under investigation the anchorages seem to have been located in Lefkada (at Ag. Georgios and probably also in Vassiliki bay for a specific period of time), at Phidokastro, in Arta, in Rogoi (from around the ninth century onwards), at Mazoma and possibly also Vathy near Nikopolis, and also in Vonitsa, Astakos, Kato Vassiliki and Nafpaktos. Some more *skales* (places of anchorage) must also have existed at Mytikas, somewhere in the area of Aetoliko and/or at Kryoneri.

Byzantine sources confirm that travelling via fluvial routes was very common in the Balkans during the ninth and tenth centuries, providing a whole range of terms for describing when someone arrived or left (e.g. εἰσερχόταν, κατερχόταν or ἀπερχόταν, ἀπέπλεε or ἐναπέπλεε, σκάλωνε and ἀποσκάλωνε) by navigable rivers.³⁵ In the area under investigation the continuous functioning of fluvial communication routes during the Middle Byzantine period is strongly suggested by historical and archaeological evidence, though no fluvial harbour remains have so far been discovered. However, the alignment of the great majority of sites along river routes or along the banks of other expanses of water (lakes or marine embayments)

³⁰ Lambropoulou et al. 2001, 224.

³¹ Von Falkenhausen 1989, 711–731; Avramea 2002, 86.

³² Avramea 2002, 73.

³³ Avramea 2002, 87.

³⁴ In Byzantine texts, the word λιμένες signifies artificial harbour facilities while the τόποι σκαλώματος mean both naturally safe and fortified places for anchorage along the coastline. On the subject see Taxis 1997, 19.

³⁵ Avramea 2002, 64–65. On the terms concerning river navigation, mentioned in 10th-c. works by Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos see Koutava-Delivoria 1993, I, 150–151.

connected with rivers clearly indicates that these sites used to communicate via the fluvial routes (map 15, nos: 2–6: river routes 2a–2e).

Last but not least, as far as the land routes in use during this period are concerned, only a limited number of archaeological remains are known from the literature as is their basic outline.³⁶ One of these routes going from E to W leads from Epirus to the central Greek mainland: starting from Preveza it crossed the valley of the upper course of the river Arachthos towards what is now Trikala and Larissa (map 15, no 7: land route 3).³⁷

Another route, which went from N to S, led from Nikopolis to Arta and then, passing along the E coast of the Ambracian Gulf, it crossed Aetoloacarnania along the eastern shores of Lakes Amvrakia and Trichonida, finally ending in Nafpaktos. This path has been followed by later roads and in fact by the modern highway (Map 15, no 9: land route 5). This route seems to have been mainly used from the eighth until the tenth century.³⁸ Axioti records a different route from Nikopolis to Nafpaktos, crossing Acarnania via Aetoliko (map 15, no 10: land route 6).³⁹ Since a large part of this route is attested by archaeological evidence and some stopping places such as Acheloos (Ἀχελῷος) and Anatolikon (Ἀνατολικόν) are mentioned in Middle Byzantine sources, I consider the use of both of these routes probable. A fourth route, mentioned from the tenth century onwards, leads from Nafpaktos to Constantinople – in the case of Liutprand taking just 49 days – via what is now Lidoriki and Lamia (map 15, no 8: land route 4).⁴⁰

As discussed elsewhere, however, land routes seem unlikely to have been very popular during the period in question, especially in this particular geographical area where heavy rainfall, a mountainous relief and the repeated need to cross large rivers are involved. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, John Apokaukos suggests that travelling on foot or by donkey is preferable to travelling by carriage on the dreadful mountain pathways; in fact he cannot wait to leave Arta and return to the coast (Nafpaktos), because the sea routes are unobstructed and faster, if not necessarily comfortable.⁴¹

³⁶ Koder, Soustal 1981, 88–94; Pikoulas 2007.

³⁷ Avramea 2002, 73.

³⁸ Avramea 2002, 73.

³⁹ Axioti 1980b, plan 1.

⁴⁰ Avramea 2002, 73.

⁴¹ Katsaros 1989, 637–8.

The alignment of the sites investigated along the aforementioned routes is shown on map 17. As the biggest concentrations of sites occurred along sea route 1 and land route 4, it is likely that these routes were the most heavily used during the Middle Byzantine period. It not surprising that a dense concentration of sites is noticeable at the junctions of two or more routes. The area of Arta, for example, was just such a crossing-point, where routes 1, 2b, 3 and 5 crossed. Another was probably the area in the lower Acheloos valley where routes 2c, 4 and 5 crossed near the sites of Angelokastro, Stamna and Stratos. Mt. Varassova was also located at such a junction between routes 1, 2b and 4 and Nafpaktos was located at the junction between routes 1, 2e, 4, 5 and 6. As the terrain in this geographical area of Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania offers only very specific possibilities for communication through an extremely limited number of mountain passes up to the present day, it is not surprising that the location of settlements depended on the road network. In that respect, it is not surprising either that all the aforementioned routes are still in use.

1.IV. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Archaeology contributed several arguments to the historical evidence regarding economic activities and administration in Middle Byzantine Southern *Epirus* discussed at the beginning of this book.⁴² The first issue to be discussed here is the contribution of archaeology to the issue of agricultural and pastoral production.⁴³ The distribution of religious buildings and isolated cemeteries suggest widespread land use and habitation of the countryside. Agricultural and pastoral activities and small-scale artisanal production were certainly involved in small-scale installations such as secular, religious or monastic estates and villages. The problem of investigating the actual conditions in the countryside and the quality of life of peasantry is complex and thus questions remain to be answered, as noted in a recent discussion of the subject by A.W. Dunn.⁴⁴ However, the evidence from *Epirus* clearly demonstrates a slow yet steady rise in both the number of sites and the quantity of material remains within the same sites from

⁴² For a detailed discussion of archaeological evidence see Part 2, above, while for an account of the economy in Middle Byzantine *Epirus* based on textual evidence see Part 1 – Chapter 2.IV.

⁴³ On the scanty textual evidence on this issue see Part 1 – Chapter 2.IV.

⁴⁴ Dunn 2007, esp. 101–105.

around the mid-tenth century onwards. This rise may serve as evidence of relative growth of population and production.

When it comes to the nature of agricultural and pastoral activities, archaeology has not so far presented much detailed evidence. There are no finds of tools and beehives or evidence of relevant architectural facilities; the only relevant published evidence is the (undatable) locally-made pithos found in Stamna and the loom-weights found in Kefalos and Kato Vassiliki. If the great number of loom-weights from Kato Vassiliki were still being used for weaving, then they may serve as evidence for large-scale textile industry in the area of Varassova. The textual evidence for silk production in the area of nearby Nafpaktos may lead to the hypothesis that the textiles in question might have been silks.⁴⁵ Dunn has recently shown that the silk industry was flourishing in the area located immediately to the east (across Domvraina Basin and Thisvi/Kastorion in connection to Vathys Limen on the Gulf of Domvraina); silk industry possibly also flourished on the opposite coast of the Gulf of Patras, in the area of Patras in the ninth century.⁴⁶ Investigating the question of the extent of the silk production in this whole region could also yield promising results in relation to the maritime traffic along the Gulf of Patras and the Northern Gulf of Corinth towards more central Byzantine provinces.⁴⁷ On the other hand, this contextual evidence cannot exclude the possibility that the loom-weights from Kato Vassiliki might have had a different use in the hands of the monastery's inhabitants; for example, they could (also) have been used for large-scale fishing or for some industrial activity.

The continuous use of transport vessels indicates that the trade of agricultural products never ceased in the investigated area and period of time. When it comes to both the provision and treatment of food the fact that medieval coarse wares from *Epirus* were completely different from the more homogenous Antique and Late Antique coarse wares,⁴⁸ signifies a change in the industrial aspects of the production of pottery (availability of different materials, different techniques) but also that coarse pottery was being produced locally in workshops which have not yet been identified. As discussed above in Part 2 – Chapter 4, distinguishing between different types of local ceramics offers a very promising field for research,

⁴⁵ See relevant entry in Part 5, Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Dunn 2006; Laiou 2006, 95–96, 109.

⁴⁷ Dunn 2006.

⁴⁸ Glade Moore 2000, 139.

more particularly as regards the investigation of the production, circulation and consumption of agricultural and pastoral products.

Local, regional and interregional trade is ascertained in most of the period in question. During the seventh-century, pottery and also other industrial and artistic products (e.g. metalwork and sculpture) seem to have circulated more or less without interruption;⁴⁹ the evidence of LR2 amphorae identifies the sites of Kryoneri, Kato Vassiliki, and Kefalos as loci of maritime traffic. Conceivably Nikopolis was most possibly also such a place (although the publication of relevant pottery finds from recent excavations are as yet forthcoming). The stamp from Nafpaktos, if indeed of Patraic origin and seventh-century date, should help include also this site on the list of loci of interregional commerce. The material culture of the eighth century, on the other hand, seems to be more scarce and located within specific clusters of activity (e.g. Mytikas, Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri); the belt-buckle-finds from Riza and Drymos seem to be rather linked to sporadic burials (of soldiers?) than with permanent settlements.

However, the ninth century in *Epirus* seems to have been a period of economic recovery, after the securing of Byzantine territories against the Arab threats and thanks to the new thematic administration and the development of a new network of settlements, some of which must have operated as transport hubs for long-distance traffic. The seals of *kommerkiarioi* and the reference to the area by Constantine Porphyrogennitos seem to confirm that the Epirote Themes formed an economic unit together with *Thessaloniki*, *Hellas* and the *Peloponnese* during the ninth – tenth centuries;⁵⁰ all these provinces were collectively known as the *West* (*Dysis*) and were conceivably very important both to Byzantine trade and defence. The above mentioned Byzantine Themes corresponded to the geographical area now known as Northwestern, Southwestern and Central Greece. Thus the *kommerkiarioi* must have controlled the collection of duties from these areas on several products (e.g. timber, arboreal products and iron ore) being exported to and imported from the Western Mediterranean.⁵¹ That there was trade with other Byzantine regions and abroad is evident from the constant circulation of artefacts – local and imported – during the greater part of the period in question. The production of metal artefacts was influenced both by the Byzantine tradition and the North-Western Komani-Kruje culture. Despite the quantities of glass found in Nikopolis,

⁴⁹ See also Bowden 2003, 233.

⁵⁰ See the relevant discussion at the section about the sigillographic evidence from Middle Byzantine *Epirus* in Part 2 – Chapter 4.IV. above.

⁵¹ Dunn 1993, 14–15.

Kephalos, Mytikas and Varassova, the production of glass artefacts is much more difficult to evaluate. Although the issue of the origin and date of the gilt-enamelled glass vessels, such as those found in Arta and Kato Vassiliki, remains open, their presence in the aforementioned Epirote sites may suggest that the place of origin or at least a redistribution point for these artefacts was located along the Ionian Sea trade route linking the *Dysis* with the rest of Byzantium.

To be more precise, commercial and artisanal contacts in Middle Byzantine *Epirus* show significant variety depending on the category of evidence. While architecture, including architectural sculpture, shows contacts mainly with Central and Northwestern Greece and to a lesser extent with the Peloponnese, many artefacts show more links to Corinth. It seems fairly clear that Corinth would have been the centre with the most influence on *Epirus* as regards trade. In fact, it has been observed that many high-quality artefacts seem to be somehow related to Corinth. First of all, some sgraffito pottery found in Nafpaktos and Arta are thought to be products of Corinthian workshops;⁵² however Corinthian monopoly of pottery among provincial towns has been recently questioned by A. Laiou.⁵³ Secondly, some metal objects can also be related to items found in Corinth: all the various buckle-types have been found in Corinth and, in most cases, identical copies of buckles from *Epirus* have been found in Corinth. It cannot be excluded at this stage that Epirote buckles and fibulae originated in the Middle Byzantine metal workshops in Corinth neither that they were made in *Epirus*; future specialized investigations will be required to test this hypothesis. The case of glass finds is more complicated because of our insufficient knowledge of Byzantine glass industry; Despite the plausible suggestions about the origin of glass vessels similar to those found in Arta and Nafpaktos from thirteenth-century Italy, similar artefacts were also found in Corinth as well as in many sites across the Mediterranean and date as early as the twelfth century.⁵⁴ It is very possible that Corinth was indeed a big Middle Byzantine centre of production and export of glass; indeed two fragments of glass vessels from Amorium, dating to between the seventh and the tenth century, are very similar to Corinthian vessels and confirm that the glass workshop in Corinth must definitely be dated earlier than the thirteenth century.⁵⁵

⁵² See relevant discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 4.

⁵³ Laiou 2006, 100.

⁵⁴ Laiou 2006, 107, 123.

⁵⁵ Laiou 2006, 105. This remarks concerns the artefacts nr. 277–278 (Gill 2002, 259–264).

Other evidence (e.g. from architectural sculpture, see above Part 2 – Chapter 3) also supports the assumption that, in certain aspects (e.g. trade in artefacts or art), *Epirus* was much more closely connected to its southern neighbour (N. Peloponnese) than it was to its eastern ones (Macedonia and Central Greece); that confirms my original hypothesis (discussed in Part 1 – Chapter 2) that marine routes were more important than land ones, when it came to non-local communications. This would be further supported by the importing of the bread stamp from Patras to Nafpaktos, if future research does indeed confirm Patras as the stamp's place of origin.

It is, however, remarkable that the archaeological evidence of both seventh- to twelfth-century artefacts and sculptures from the investigated Southern part of *Epirus* confirm that this area had significantly more economic links with the aforementioned areas of Northwestern, Southwestern and Central Greece than with Italy, for instance. With the exception of the Otranto amphora potsherd and perhaps some plain glazed pottery, no connection with Italian pottery is evident until the appearance of proto-maiolica in twelfth-century Nafpaktos. Although our sample is small, these statistics show *Epirus* as a province which was rather inward looking and well under Byzantine control for the greater part of the period in question. A most important find, based on an examination of artefacts from *Epirus*, is that, in addition to imports, the investigated area presented a range of domestic artefacts, which were locally produced. So far this has been confirmed in regard to ceramics, metalwork and architectural sculpture, as has been discussed in detail within the relevant sections of this study.⁵⁶ Further investigation is necessary in order to clarify the nature, scope and means of this production from the seventh to twelfth centuries and later.

Seventh-century numismatic evidence is concentrated on the island of Kefalos, where hoards and other site finds of Heraklios' copper folleis come as no surprise. After a clear break in site or stray finds relating to the eighth century, monetary exchange during the ninth to twelfth centuries seems to have been located mostly around the coastal areas and plains of Southern *Epirus*. The gold coinage finds indicate that Mt. Varassova can also be linked to the activity of some official appointed by the Emperor Phocas in the tenth century. Monetary transactions are indicated by the relatively even distribution of bronze coin finds across the investigated area but

⁵⁶ See Part 2 – Chapter 3 for the evidence from architectural sculpture; see Part 2 – Chapters 4.I, 4.II, 4.VI for a discussion of relevant evidence from metalwork and ceramics.

especially in Nafpaktos/Drossato, Kefalos, Kato Vassiliki, Mytikas, and Vristiana in the tenth century; Aetoliko, Stratos, Arta and Nafpaktos/Drossato in the eleventh; Arta, Neochori/Mastro, the area of Agrinio, Stratos and again Nafpaktos/Drossato in the twelfth.

If the association that has been made with family businesses and small estates rather than wealthy landowners (who would have saved gold coins) is correct,⁵⁷ then the hoarding of large quantities of copper coins in Drossato may indicate the emergence of a flourishing community involved in agricultural and industrial production during the eleventh – twelfth century in the area of Nafpaktos. The abundance of monastic estates in the area (Skala, Vomvokou, Varnakova, *Moni Nafpaktitisson*, *Moni Ag. Georgiou* etc., extending as far as Mt. Varassova and Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos) further confirm this prosperity on the Northern coast of the Gulf of Patras and Northern Gulf of Corinth, which is also evident in western Boeotia.⁵⁸ As Dunn has shown, this coast was the route leading from the West to the Peloponnese and then on towards more central Byzantine provinces through Corinth and Boeotia, allowing the latter a particular role not only within the Theme of *Hellas* but also in relation to the manufacture and distribution of valuable products such as silk to Constantinople.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Penna 2002, 650.

⁵⁸ Dunn 2006, 57.

⁵⁹ Dunn 2006, esp. 44–45, 56–59.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSION OF SETTLEMENT: NON-SYSTEMATIC EXTENSIVE SURVEY AND THE HISTORICITY OF SPACE IN ARCHAEOLOGY

There is, I think, no doubt that so far the re-evaluation attempted here of the archaeological evidence in the area under investigation has drastically changed the pre-existing picture of Middle Byzantine *Epirus* as a province of minor importance, with demographic gaps and unimportant material culture.¹ Instead of all but deserted landscapes this study has revealed a great number of inhabited sites, continuity of human presence, and diversity of material culture reflecting all aspects of Byzantine culture as well as extensive relations with and influences from other Byzantine regions.²

Much credit for this change certainly belongs to the archaeological method of non-systematic extensive survey which was used. This method has proved the best way of examining the general picture in a large geographical area and the changes taking place in it over a long period of time. Specifically this type of survey made it possible to stand back from particular sites without getting lost in a mass of locations yet to be explored. As the link between all the sites studied was the historical or archaeological evidence connecting them to a specific chronological period, it was possible to observe not only the diversity but also the eventual striking similarities in archaeological material in remote locations – e.g. as regards construction techniques, sculpture or small finds – as explained in Part 2 above.

Nevertheless, as the research advanced, another link between investigated sites came to light: i.e. the way they conformed to a specific geographical pattern whose exact features and significance also had to be investigated. As explained above (Part 1 – Chapter 1), surveying an extensive geographical area made it possible to experience the landscape rather differently from the way in which a modern visitor normally would end to feel limitations that a certain landscape imposes on human beings acting within something approaching a ‘pre-industrial’ context. In other words a

¹ See relevant discussion in Part 1 – Chapter 1, above.

² See discussions in Part 2, above.

researcher during survey may attempt to understand aspects of the practical potential for space management in particular historical periods: this can help to distinguish many qualities in natural space both as a whole and at the specific places where the archaeological sites are located.³

So, first of all, by surveying such an extensive area one may become aware of some key features of the Epirote landscape. These key features can clarify not only the use of space in different periods but also the diachronic particularities of this geographical area – as a space with qualities that offer specific possibilities and impose certain limitations on human agency.⁴

The first thing the survey showed up was that one basic feature of the landscape of Byzantine *Epirus* – the multitude of massive fortifications dating from the prehistoric and Hellenistic periods – is still standing today. In most of these fortifications it has been common practice for newer constructions to be located on exactly the same sites, reusing the fabric of or material from previous buildings.⁵ The resettlement of previously settled places is, of course, a very common feature of archaeological landscapes, though it has rarely been historically interpreted.

Could this practice have been coincidental? It seems rather improbable, but from a methodological point of view it would be improper to simply assume a direct – strategically planned – relationship between the earlier and later building projects, as if we considered the link self-evident. However, this practice of reusing the remains of earlier settlements does imply that spaces were not all the same; some of the sites selected for habitation were more ‘attractive’ than others. In that case, space would not have been a mere theatre of independent human agency. As suggested by counter-modern approaches in the social studies, space might actually have been inseparably linked to human agency or maybe space itself even played some role in the historical processes, something which has not really been defined yet for all cultures, as will be discussed later in this chapter.⁶

³ The term ‘space’ is here used according to the definition explained in the beginning of this work (see Part 1 – Chapter 1, p. 3, note 4 above).

⁴ The term ‘agency’ is used here in accordance with the definitions given by Fulbrook 2002, 122–129; Brown 2005, 134–138.

⁵ H. Buchwald has recently considered fortifications to have been the most important element of Middle- and Late-Byzantine towns and cities, suggesting that “medieval Byzantine towns were built as ‘machines for defense’” (2007, 66–67).

⁶ Among others D. Gregory (1994), E. Soja (1996, 1999) and D. Harvey (2009) and have provided discussions of different approaches towards spatiality within social and historical

A second feature of the Byzantine landscape, as reconstructed on the basis of the above-mentioned survey, was that there were certain recurring qualities in the geographical locations of Middle Byzantine sites. The vast majority of the Middle Byzantine sites, and all the fortified ones, present a clear uniformity of geomorphology. This uniformity is defined by the following qualities.

First of all, Middle Byzantine sites are mostly located outside or along the boundaries of the extensive alluvial deposits in the area – with few exceptions (map 17).⁷ This indicates that the land on which all these sites were located was accessible during the Middle Byzantine period. In these sites the relief seems not to have changed dramatically, as it has in those located within the areas of alluvial deposits. In the case of the latter the deposits must be mostly dated after the abandonment of these sites.⁸ The more an area was affected by alluvial phenomena, the more marshy, unhealthy and eventually inappropriate for habitation it became. A Byzantine author, Michael Choniates, confirmed this, when he wrote that water must come from a spring and be, flowing and alive, not trapped and still, a source of disease.⁹

Secondly, the great majority of Middle Byzantine sites had already been inhabited in the Classical or Hellenistic periods and in a few cases even earlier. One may assume that Byzantine settlements were somehow associated

studies during the 20th century. Soja's works are part of the significant and important intellectual and political development in the late twentieth century critical studies known as "spatial turn": scholars have begun to interpret space and the embracing spatiality of human life with the same critical insight and emphasis that has traditionally been given to time and history on the one hand, and social relations and society on the other. Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996) was both an enquiry into the origins and impact of the spatial turn and an attempt to expand the scope and practical relevance of how we think about space and such related concepts as place, location, landscape, architecture, environment, home, city, region, territory, and geography. D. Harvey further evaluated these critical developments in his discussion of notions of spatiality from I. Kant to the end of the first decade of the 21st century in order to clarify the profound connection between space construction and power exertion: "Most of the hegemonic social theories... that have shaped dominant interpretations and political practices... over the last three hundred years... have paid little or no critical attention to how the production of spaces, places, and environments might impinge upon thought and action. In practice, we almost everywhere find tacit assumptions about the nature of space and time, the cohesion of places (the nation-state), and the idea of what is or is not given by nature.... The effect is like trying to navigate the world with any old map, no matter how arbitrary or erroneous it may be." (2009, 251)

⁷ For a discussion of alluvial deposition in the investigated area see Part 1 – Chapter 2.

⁸ See the example of Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri in Part 1 – Chapter 2.

⁹ "Νερὸν ἐστὶ πηγυμαῖον καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον καὶ ὄχι συλλογιμαῖον καὶ νοσηρὸν καὶ ἀκίνητον." *Michael Choniates*, vol. II, 48.

with the availability of re-usable building materials, something which would have been greatly appreciated when there was an urgent need for construction. In such cases ancient *spolia* were supplemented by other material coming from the Early Byzantine sites (i.e. fourth–sixth century), as is well attested by material remains. However, the Early Byzantine sites are usually not located in the same place as the Middle Byzantine settlements, though neither are they far away, and they were only gradually abandoned over the period from the seventh to the tenth century.¹⁰

Moreover the abandonment (whether sudden or gradual) of the more exposed and unsafe lowlands and especially of the coastal areas inhabited during the Early Byzantine period is also very well attested by archaeological and historical evidence in relation to the period between the seventh and the eleventh centuries in this area.¹¹ The new settlements, moreover, that emerged in this period are not located in isolated spots. In fact, they are still located along the course of rivers or on the coast; the difference is that they are no longer exposed and therefore unsafe (though not all of them are fortified, they are somewhat ‘concealed’, i.e. not immediately visible).

A final aspect of these sites is their strikingly similar geography (figs. 222, 224, 230–231). Their locations can be described as protected hills with flat tops, water sources and over-view of the surrounding areas: the latter three qualities (a flat hilltop, water and visibility) actually seem to have been more important than, for instance, the altitude. (In fact, they often seem to have been the reasons for selecting a specific hill over other neighbouring ones). A constantly recurring pattern is that of a hill surrounded on three sides by water and accessible from only one fortified side. In one case, there is even evidence of a river course being diverted so as to produce exactly this result.

So extensive surveying of a wide area has helped highlight some qualities of the natural space. As mentioned above, these qualities are quite well known to archaeologists, but it is often difficult to attribute historical dimensions to them, that is to define their association with social phenomena. The current periodization of archaeological research (into

¹⁰ The decisive role of the availability of building material in planning the construction of a new building – e.g. of columns for a new church (Ousterhout 1999, 140–6) – suggests that the availability of salvaged material would have been an important consideration in selecting a location for the construction of whole settlements.

¹¹ Sites of the Early Byzantine period, which were gradually abandoned, have been located in Astakos, Kryoneri, Finikia, Drymos, Nikopolis, Mytikas, Kato Vassiliki and Ochthia.

prehistory, antiquity and the Middle Ages) also discourages 'zooming-out' so as to be able not only to analyse the perception and interpretation of spatial qualities by different cultures but also to investigate the nature of the reuse of spaces by successive cultures more explicitly.

Nevertheless the above-mentioned observations from *Epirus* do, I think, allow us to suppose that people's relationship with a given natural environment was defined by its perception by them i.e. by their attribution of certain qualities to it. One might, for example, say that in every culture there has been a specific 'internal logic' to the environments they occupied: and this logic was derived from the human experience, perception and interpretation of nature as translated, for example, into physical resources, as regards its potential for growth and physical features in general, offering opportunities for agency. Thus the human experience of a landscape as a context which is shaped first by geomorphology, climate and geological phenomena and second by interaction between the former and contemporary or earlier human agency operating within it (in a practical and in a symbolic sense), is essentially expressed by man's selection of natural spaces for use and settlement.¹²

The evolution of settlement can serve as a good example of the ways in which the interaction between natural space and human agency is reflected in habitation. In a very broad sense one might say that different cultures settle in the same areas in different ways at different times. In *Epirus*, habitation in antiquity was organized according to the pastoral and nomadic nature of their economies; their vital spaces were the city-states and their limited hinterland.¹³ Fortification was a basic element of these settlements, in this case as a result of the generalized insecurity, the need to protect sacred places and the accumulation of wealth due to the development of trade.¹⁴ A common feature of this period and earlier were the frequency of attacks by enemies coming from the north, which resulted in a great number of fortified settlements, built by people who

¹² Landscape is here understood as the result of a natural environment embodying human agency, i.e. as conceived within postmodern critical approaches (for a relevant account see Thomas 2001, esp. 167); relevant descriptions of the here intended meaning are given by Lemaire ("Landscape can be an object, an experience, or a representation, and these different meanings frequently merge into one another" – 1997: 5) and Hirsch ("Any landscape which provides the context for human life necessarily incorporates a relationship between a lived reality and a potential for other ways of living, between the everyday and conditions which are metaphysical, imagined, or idealized." – 1995: 3).

¹³ Hammond 1997, 30.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

were aware of the danger and had selected locations which would best serve their defence.¹⁵ The inter-visibility of settlements has been strongly suggested as a criterion for the selection of habitable sites at this time.¹⁶ To these criteria Nerantzis has added the potential for basic economic sustainability.¹⁷

The Romans wreaked terrible destruction on the inhabited areas of *Epirus* as compared to other Hellenistic states, exterminating local populations. They changed previous spatial arrangements by colonizing the region with Roman populations who settled either in new sites – such as the famous colony of Nikopolis – or in pre-existing rural settlements, even if this meant interrupting previous activity.¹⁸ This pattern of settlement continued during the Early Byzantine period: almost all the Early Byzantine cities were continuations of pre-existing Roman ones (e.g. Nikopolis, Nafpaktos).

During the Middle Byzantine period, moreover, the settlement pattern seems to have more or less ‘imitated’ pre-roman patterns, i.e. it was pre-eminently characterized by the reuse of spaces occupied in the Classical/Hellenistic periods. The reason of this change was the general transformation of the previous habitation system across Byzantium and the Mediterranean, which I will discuss later (Part 3 – Chapter 3 below). Why earlier patterns should have been so closely followed is a different question. What is certain is that the need for protection against enemies coming from the north, south and west as well as the need for economic survival, which was conspicuous in Byzantium during the greater part of this period and especially during the earlier centuries (seventh–tenth), were both especially evident in this rather poor province.

More information on the nature of this transformation of settlement in *Epirus* between the seventh and the twelfth century can be traced in the relevant documentary sources. Of the cities mentioned in *Epirus* in the *Notitiae Episcopatum* (lists of bishoprics drawn up in Constantinople) during the fourth to sixth centuries only two are mentioned again in the ninth to twelfth centuries (Adrianople [Ἀδριανούπολη] and Butrint [Βουθρωτός] in Albania) while the rest of them were new. Of the new bishoprics three had ancient Greek names (Νάυπακτος [Nafpaktos], Ἀχελῶος [Acheloos], Λευκάς [Lefkas]), two had Slavic names (Βόνδιτζα [Vonditza]

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 23–26; Nerantzis 2003, 46.

¹⁷ Nerantzis 2003, 46.

¹⁸ Cabanes 1997, 124–7.

meaning 'hook' and Κοζύλη [Kozyli] meaning 'place for goats') and one had the Sicilian Greek name Ρο(ω)γοί [Rogoi], meaning 'granaries'. The Slavic and Sicilian names probably reflect the presence of newcomers in the area and the way they had settled the new land. The precise contextualization and discussion of this evidence will be the subject of a subsequent chapter (see Part 3 – Chapter 3).

Finally, the same area has been settled in very different ways in modern times and up to the present day.¹⁹ The pattern of cities, towns and villages which developed during the modern period gradually saw an enlargement of cities, a retrenchment of small towns, a gradual abandonment of mountain villages and the development of seasonal settlements in the form of coastal resorts.

I think that this account of the region's settlement history from antiquity to the Middle Ages confirms the preliminary assumption that different populations settled in different ways in the same geographical areas, selecting places for habitation on the basis of different qualities in the natural space which they wanted to develop. If that is indeed true, then space could emerge as a basic agent of habitation change in *Epirus* at certain periods and thus also as an agent of the historical processes.

Hence, the main question to be considered here is whether or not space was an agent in the development of settlement and thus an agent of the historical processes in *Epirus* from the seventh to the twelfth century according to the available theoretical resources. I shall attempt to confirm the historical dimension of space proposed by previous researchers, by showing that it was involved in the historical processes in two distinct ways during this period.

– First of all, it was involved in the historical processes simply by dint of its physical dimension. It was an organized system subject to constant dynamic transformation as a result of changes in the natural landscape (e.g. due to geological phenomena). Such changes either happened randomly or as a result of human intervention.

– Second, space is an agent of the historical processes through its interaction with social phenomena. Thus space emerges not only as a natural but also as a 'social' value. 'Social' space is therefore also 'historical' space: an agent of the historical processes.

¹⁹ See for example the recent research on the distribution of settlements in the Ionian Islands, Philippa-Apostolou 2004.

Thus the crucial question now is whether formulating such conclusions is methodologically justified. In other words, if it is scientifically valid to consider this specific space (i.e. *Epirus* in this particular period) as a historical value and therefore to include its material condition among the subjects of archaeological research as an independent entity, in other words separate from the material remains of the human activity that it incorporates. Byzantine archaeology and historiography do not as yet offer a direct answer to this. Positive answers have sometimes been provided to the above questions by previous research in a deterministic way within an empirical or functionalist theoretical framework. As regards the latter, that is answers which imply that “yes, of course physical space affects habitation” without really investigating when, to what extent and in what ways it does so, there is another problem: the underlying assumption that, by projecting our own way of thinking onto another society (in this case Byzantium), the answers to historical questions become self-evident.

Counter-modern approaches in historical studies, however, offer a variety of methodological tools to investigate questions regarding the historicity of space. They suggest that the interpretation of the past involves exploring the sum of dialectical relations between various factors and they legitimize ‘open’ (not final) interpretations. Moreover, using the key concept of *contextualization*, they show historical events as being inscribed in their social context. Using this process, we can establish valid criteria on which to base our explanations of historical events and their causes. Within this theoretical framework, I have borrowed tools from the fields of modern and Byzantine historiography and the history of geography in order to establish whether or not physical space in *Epirus* during the seventh to twelfth centuries should be acknowledged as a factor in the historical processes. An awareness of all the above aspects of the problem helps to answer this question from many different perspectives.

First of all, the issue of the historicity of space has repeatedly preoccupied researchers above all in the fields of modern historiography and the history of geography. The question is whether space is part of historical agency and thus one of its basic factors. And whether historians can (or should) introduce space as an interpretative parameter in the historical processes.

Modern geography rejects a causal relationship between the ‘spatial’ and the ‘social’ and instead investigates how and to what extent the ‘spatial’ is ‘social’ and vice versa.²⁰ According to V. Kremydas, the investigation

²⁰ Massey 1995.

of this question leads to another parameter: time": "Space can be involved in the historical becoming only as an interrelation of historical time. Time makes space into a social event. Consequently, the dimension of space in the formation of historical reality should be approached, as a social parameter, through time; and its role should be appraised according to the contemporary social reality. The latter is very important, because it shows that, as a social fact, historical space does not exist outside the social context, its agency is not deterministic but it should be evaluated and calculated in the context of historical time. Hence, one should only consider historical space as a basic agent in history in relation to the developmental level of the society it 'hosts'. Space is a historical value, meaning that it is a developmental apparatus and an agent of the historical processes, only when the people (i.e. the society) living in it have developed it as such."²¹ So what has to be clarified now is the particular ways in which space was a historical agent in Byzantium from the seventh to the twelfth century, in other words the ways in which Byzantine society itself considered the space in which it existed a developmental apparatus.

This is certainly a complex question to which there is no easy answer. A. Constantakopoulou has investigated in a general way the different dimensions attributed to space in some historical sources of the period, specifically the tenth-century texts by Constantine Porphyrogenitos *De Thematibus* and *De Administrando Imperio*. She has suggested that space, in addition to its natural dimension, had several other dimensions too: a historical dimension (as the space where past events had taken place and also as the vehicle of collective memory), a symbolic dimension (attributed on the basis of certain peoples' activities in particular spaces), an economic dimension (as a natural resource), a political one (as the field in which authority could be exercised over people) and, last but not least, a human dimension (the "character" attributed to a space by its residents at different periods).²²

J. Gurjewitsch also disputes the validity of an objective geographical reference to the concepts of space and time.²³ He argues that, for medieval people, the concepts of time and space refer to a subjective world. This subjective world determines human choice in a dynamic way; that is why

²¹ Kremydas 1989, 25.

²² Constantakopoulou 1989, 113–129. For the presentation of geographical space in these works see Koutava-Delivoria 1993.

²³ Gurjewitsch 1997; Chrysos 1999.

he suggests that “this subjective experience of space by medieval people should be a key focus of the historical and archaeological research”.²⁴

E. Chrysos also agrees with both Constantakopoulou and Gurjewitsch as regards the various dimensions of space and in fact he does so with direct reference to Byzantine *Epirus*; he assumes that for the inhabitants of Byzantine *Epirus* “space constituted a cohesive subjective whole which determined the world’s and the people’s fates”.²⁵ As he suggests:

Nature is engaged in the people’s lives and further on in the historical becoming as an inextricable part of the collective identity – not as some object to be exploited or some mere possession or some source of aesthetic pleasure. The people’s lifelong attachment to land, as we often read in legal texts, is obligatory and forcefully imposed. At the same time, moreover, it is also an extension of the people who perceive themselves and the land they cultivate as an entity.²⁶

Chrysos and Gurjewitsch also agree that:

In this sense the land owner feels that he owns his land as much as he is owned by it, meaning that land possesses him, binds him, determines his choices, his daily routine, his food, his dress and his entertainment: land puts its stamp on people’s identity – personal and collective. Revoking the conflict between man and nature means to revoke the opposition between nature and culture, since man identifies with nature and culture is his product.²⁷

“Nowhere else in Greek territory”, notes Chrysos, “can one perceive so visibly this identification between nature, men and culture as in Epirus.”²⁸

A text by Constantine Porphyrogennitos dated around 952, containing advice for an emperor about to set out on campaign, clearly demonstrates this identification:

WHAT SHOULD BE OBSERVED WHEN THE EMPEROR INTENDS
TO GO ON AN EXPEDITION

When he was intending to go on an expedition, Constantine the Great was accustomed to take counsel with those who had experience in the relevant matters, such as where and when the expedition should be undertaken. When he had ascertained from this advice the place and time for the expedition, he was also accustomed to enquire as to which others knew about

²⁴ Chrysos 1999, 25.

²⁵ Chrysos 1999.

²⁶ Chrysos 1999, 25–26.

²⁷ Gurjewitsch 1997; Chrysos 1999, 25–26.

²⁸ Chrysos 1999, 25–26.

these matters, particularly those with recent experience. And when he had found whether any others were knowledgeable, he summoned these also and asked each one individually how long the route was which ran from home territory to the objective, and of what sort; and whether one road or many led to the objective; and whether the regions along the route were waterless or not. And then he enquired as to which road was narrow, precipitous and dangerous, and which broad and traversable; also whether there was any great river along the way which could not be crossed. Next he enquired about the country: how many fortresses it possessed, which were secure and which insecure, which populous and which sparsely populated, what distance these fortresses were from one another; and of what sort were the villages about them, large or small, and whether these regions were level or rough, grassy or arid. He asked this on account of fodder for the horses.

Then he enquired as to which army was available to support these fortresses in time of war, and at what distance they lay from them, when they were ready to go on campaign, and when dispersed and at rest at their homes, not anticipating war; further, in which places they campaign and when, or whether they never campaign, but remain always in the same region. But he asked the same questions also about other lands, so that no-one would know definitely in which region he intended to campaign. For often, being given information from among such advisers, the enemy secured their borders or prepared themselves for battle.

And so, when he had asked all these things and learnt (what was necessary), he permitted them to give him in writing the names of the fortresses and the distances between them and how many men they could support. And having learnt from all these replies that the road was safe, that the return march of the expedition was possible, that the expedition was glorious and worthy of the emperor's presence, and that the district in question received no support or, if it did, that it received none during the period in which they intended to mount the expedition, he kept those who informed of these matters with him, to remind him and to inform of the details still lacking.

He took pains over the expedition, and first of all entrusted the *strategoi* with the following duties: first, to fit out and to secure the fortresses; second, to dispatch suitable men into the country, so that, if it should happen that enemies should enter the land, they might evacuate the population and bring them into the strongholds; third, to equip the army with everything necessary with regard to weapons and horses; fourth, to ensure that the scouts were diligent in learning about enemy affairs and in reporting back on them; fifth, to be prepared for bridging operations where the army intends to cross and where the river has no ford; sixth, to charge the civil authorities that those soldiers remaining absent without leave be allowed to join the expedition up to a certain time; but that after the army has set off, let them bind them and imprison them.²⁹

²⁹ Constantine Porphyrogennitos, *Treatises*, 82–84; Koutava-Delivoria 1993, I, 85. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 1.

Thus, by comparison with today, in Byzantium natural space was largely unknown and uncontrollable not only as regards the limitations imposed on the traveller by some of its natural features but also as regards the restrictions imposed on him by people living in that space and their attitude towards him, as Constantakopoulou has argued.³⁰ Any person moving around the natural space is potentially exposed to these restrictions; this explains the care the emperor took to foresee and manage the risks. As Avramea has put it, “Man is faced with an ever present but constantly changing phenomenon, the natural environment; sometimes he accepts it as a blessing, at other times as a curse, because man is not always in a position to decide what to do about what nature is proposing”.³¹ Yet the broader question of the various dimensions of Byzantine space in relation to the archaeology of Middle Byzantine *Epirus* is not exactly at issue here.³² My research does not involve the historicity of Byzantine space in general but considers its historicity in relation to settlement, in other words whether space is an agent of the historical processes as regards the way it affects habitation. Some Byzantine texts from the period, used in conjunction with the archaeological evidence, seem to give a positive answer to this question.

The first text comes from the *Strategikon* of Syrianus, dated in the ninth century and copied later by Constantine Porphyrogenitos, and it regards the foundation and construction of a city (Περὶ οἰκοδομῆς πόλεως):

BUILDING A CITY

Anyone intending to found a city must first carefully examine the site to see if it is suitable, so that the walls to be constructed will be able to withstand a siege.

The water should be examined next to find out if it is safe to drink and if there is enough to supply the population of the city as well as all who might be expected to take refuge there in time of danger. If the source of water is outside the walls, the building of the city must be abandoned or a way found for the water bearers to go out even in the presence of the enemy.

Third, one must find out if stone is available, already cut or easily quarried, so that it will not have to be transported a long distance at great risk.

³⁰ Constantakopoulou 1989, 113–129.

³¹ Avramea 1989, 694.

³² Such a discussion should involve more general issues such as the Byzantines' conception of the notion of space as well as the metaphors they used to represent space, as found in their surviving discourse in texts. It could also involve other issues regarding the relationship between people and nature in Byzantine society. Constantakopoulou has already given us an introduction to these theoretical issues (1996, 10–12).

One should also find out if lumber has to be brought from far away or over difficult terrain, so that it is quite impracticable to have it at hand for construction.

Fourth, one should find out whether the country produces enough food or whether it can be brought in from elsewhere. In like manner, can the citizens find other sources of sustenance there? If all these can be answered affirmatively, go ahead with the construction; but if not, it is best to abandon the project.³³

It explains that the chief requirement in the building of a town is to select a place which will ensure its safety; this means making sure that the geomorphology of the location complements the artificial fortifications. A second requirement is ensuring that there is enough drinking water. The water source must either be located inside the fortifications or in a place which could never be cut off by the enemy in time of war.³⁴ A third pre-occupation was to ensure there was sufficient building material (stone, whether rough hewn or already dressed, and timber) available, preferably as close at hand as possible, for any essential construction. Only after all these requirements had been met is the issue of provision of food from the surrounding area addressed. All the above prerequisites had to be met when building a town, and if one of them could not, then the town would have to be built somewhere else.³⁵

The same text gives advice on where to build a town (Ποῦ δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν):

THE SITE FOR BUILDING A CITY

Suitable sites for building a city, especially if it is going to be fairly close to the border, are those on high ground with steep slopes all about to make approach difficult. Also suitable are sites with large rivers flowing around them or which can be made to do so, and which, because of the nature of the land, cannot easily be diverted. Finally, there are sites on a promontory in the sea or in very large rivers connected to the mainland only by a very narrow isthmus.

In such locations, however, the walls must not be built at the water's edge. That makes it easy for enemy ships to come in close enough to undermine the walls from below or to overthrow them by frontal assault. This is made clear in books on siegecraft. The walls should be set back from the water's

³³ *Strategika*, ι', 30. On the date and context of this text see Rance 2008. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 2.

³⁴ Some defensive constructions intended to ensure safe access to rivers and springs are mentioned in other Byzantine texts (see Kollias, Tsouris 1997).

³⁵ By contrast, in the case of Monemvasia the town was built in a location with no drinking water at all (Evgenidou 2001, 20). The same happened at the Castle of Aetos (if it actually proves to have been the location of a settlement, as I have suggested).

edge no less than eighteen meters. This should prevent the enemy from constructing towers on the ships and employing certain mechanisms to get over onto the wall. Neither should the distance be more than sixty-two meters. Keeping such an open space works to the advantage of the city and the disadvantage of its attackers. While landing from the ships they will suffer a very large number of casualties, and only at great risk will they be able to turn about and find refuge in the ships. They will constantly be within range of arrows and of rocks hurled from the walls. They cannot move nearly as fast in landing from the ships and then getting back on board as they could charging on level ground, wheeling about, and covering themselves with their shields. This is enough about the defence of places whose position is naturally strong.

I am not unaware that many people look to the present prosperity and believe in increasing it in every day. When they start to found large cities, they give no less weight to nice appearance than to security. They have built a number of such cities on level ground and beautified them with gardens, parks, and lawns. But the way I look at it is that the outcome of what is happening these days is uncertain. Security, I think, is more important than a nice appearance. I prefer to have the cities located and fortified in such a way as to render useless the machines of any besiegers.

Still, it is quite possible that a city built on a plain may be strong because of the size of the stones used, the method of construction, the general plan also, and other matters of detail, even though it is not favored by rivers, the sea, or cliffs. But it is important that such cities be built at a good distance from the border to avoid sudden, surprise attacks. In erecting them, now, the points given below should be kept in mind.³⁶

Thus the best place for a town, especially in border territory, is a hill which can be accessed from only one side because it is surrounded by steep rocks on the others.³⁷ Hills which are surrounded or “can be surrounded” by large rivers are also suitable,³⁸ as are those surrounded on all sides by the sea with only a narrow isthmus linking them to the mainland.³⁹ In the latter case, the fortification walls must not be located close to the water where they will be vulnerable to enemy fleets. In the past, the text goes on to say, people thought that prosperity would last for ever, so

³⁶ *Strategika*, ια', 32. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 2.

³⁷ Good examples are Acrocorinth and the Castles of Rendina and Lamia (Koumoussi 2001, 6–7; Moutsopoulos 2001; Papakonstandinou 1994, 6–10).

³⁸ Good examples are the Castles of Arta, Rogoi and Didymoteicho (see below relevant entries in the Inventory, Part 5 and Bakirtzis, Oreopoulos 2001, 31, fig. 13).

³⁹ Good examples of such sites are the castles of Monemvasia and Platamon, which must have been founded around the period when this text was written or a little earlier, Evgenidou 2001, 9; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2006, 10, 14–16. The founding of the Castle of Ioannina must also come into this period or slightly later (9th–11th c.), Konstandios 2000, 6–7.

towns were built with due regard to their appearance, so as to resemble earthly paradises: but nowadays we do not know what is going to happen in the future, so we consider security to be of utmost importance for a town and we protect towns with fortification walls that can resist the siege engines of the enemy.

According to this same text one may certainly also choose to build a town on lower ground. In that case, one must take into account two prerequisites: first that there will be building material available for the construction of very strong fortifications and second that the place is located well away from mountainous areas, so as to prevent the possibility of surprise attacks.⁴⁰ In both cases, whether building a town on high or low ground, the possibility of exercising visual control over the surrounding area must be ascertained.

Another section of the text deals with ways in which to build a city (Πῶς δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν):

HOW TO BUILD A CITY

First of all, the walls should not be less than three meters thick and twelve and a half meters high. This should keep it from being shattered by battering rams or by stones hurled by stone-throwing engines, and the height should make it difficult to plant ladders against the wall and also make it dangerous for anyone trying to climb up them.

The design of the towers and the walls adds greatly to the defensive strength of the walls. The sides of the towers facing outwards right in front of the besiegers ought to form an equal-sided hexagon. The two straight lines forming the interior angle should be removed and substituted with one straight line connecting the parallel sides. The interior appearance of the tower should be cylindrical. This shape should begin at ground level, extending evenly to the center of the dome-shaped roof, which provides a base for the men fighting against the besiegers.

The battlements on the walls should be at right angles. They should have undercut recesses no less than seventy centimeters deep to strengthen the battlements and make them stand up better against stone projectiles, and also to enable the men assigned there to get some rest within them without being stepped on by others passing along the wall or themselves getting in their way.

All construction for four meters up from the ground level should, if we can afford it, be built of very large stones. Size is important, and they should also be hard, carefully fitted together, as thick as the depth of the wall, so they may not easily be shaken by battering rams or dug out by sappers under protective cover.

⁴⁰ A good example of such a site is Nikopolis.

The security of forward walls is also to be considered. They are used to receive our own people when they come in from the country to seek refuge behind the walls. This relieves congestion in the city, and the refugees can also stand there and fight against the enemy. They are especially useful in checking the advance of movable sheds and battering rams toward the main wall.

It is a good idea to dig a ditch outside this wall. This provides double protection, forward wall and ditch, for the main wall. We should make the ditch no less than twenty-five meters wide and either deeper or at least as deep as the foundations. Thus, if the enemy wants to damage the wall by mining, they will be discovered when they reach the excavated part, and forced to stop. The earth from the excavated ditch should be used to fill in the area between the main and the forward walls and leveled off to form a high, broad platform for the convenience of the soldiers there fighting against the enemy.

This same depth of excavation should be observed for any other city situated on a plain. In general, though, those cities located on hills, to which the enemy could have access, will be made secure not so much by ditches as by the following procedure. Standing back about eighteen or twenty-five meters from the wall, we remove the dirt around the hill in a circle, digging vertically to make it slope down-hill. This puts two obstacles in the enemy's way up the hill, the cut in the earth, which should be no less than two meters deep, and the very steep and difficult slope rising up out of it.⁴¹

So, the first guidelines refer to the construction of fortification walls, and in particular the exact thickness and height which will enable them to resist the enemy's siege engines and repel their scaling ladders. It describes in detail how large ashlar blocks, carefully laid, should be used up to a height of seven cubits (πῆχεις). Different shapes of towers and ramparts served different defence needs. The construction of a fore-wall (προτείχισμα) is also desirable, since an extra line of walls gives the people inside them extra protection in case of danger. A fore-wall also protects the main enceinte as does the moat which should be at least forty cubits wide. The construction of ditches at strategic points makes it possible to stop the enemy gaining access to towns built on hilltops.

According to the same text the construction of forts is quite a different matter ('Περὶ φρουρίων'):

FORTS

Forts are used for several purposes: first to observe the approach of the enemy; second, to receive deserters from the enemy; third, to hold back any fugitives from our own side. The fourth is to facilitate assembly for raids

⁴¹ *Strategika*, ιβ', 34–36. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 2.

against outlying enemy territories. These are undertaken not so much for plunder as for finding out what the enemy are doing and what plans they are making against us.

These forts should be erected near the frontier and not far from the route the enemy are expected to take, so that any hostile advance will not go undetected by the garrison. They should not be located too much out in the open. If they are, the enemy, taking advantage of the ground, could keep them under observation from very close up to a great distance and so prevent any of our men, if need arise, from entering the fort or from leaving it when they wish.

Natural strength as well as technical skill should assure the defence of the forts. Valuables should not be stored in them, nor should too many men be assembled there. These may lead the enemy to invest the place for a long time. This would make it difficult for us to assemble our own troops for action, whereas it would be an easy matter for the enemy to get ready to move out.

The garrison in each fort should have a commanding officer entrusted with complete responsibility for the post. He should be conspicuous for his religious character as well as for all the other qualifications one expects in an officer. The men in the garrison should not have their wives and children with them. Most of them should be left in a different province, so that love of them may not tempt the men to go over to the enemy or otherwise jeopardize the security of the fort. Soldiers should not stay too long in these posts, but should be relieved at regular intervals. One group may return home, while another comes in from their homes to the fort. Still, if a fort is extremely strong, so that there is no danger of its being besieged, and we can keep it provisioned without any problem, then there is no reason why the men cannot have their families reside there with them (...).⁴²

Forts are to be built along the borders close to the crossing points the enemy can be expected to use; in that way the local inhabitants will be able to find out in good time that the enemy is approaching. Forts require strong fortifications built in naturally fortified locations so that maximum security is ensured. Niketas Choniates confirms this six centuries later saying that they were built on hills surrounded by steep cliffs; on these sites, nature, on one hand, provided abundant stone for construction and humans, on the other hand, knew the art of building walls so as to further fortify the sites.⁴³ In other words nature provides the stone and man reinforces naturally fortified places by building walls. According to the 'Forts' section of the ninth-century text another way to ensure the security of a particular location is to avoid any concentration of wealth on site: this

⁴² *Strategika*, θ', 28–30. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 2.

⁴³ "(...) ἀποτόμῳ τινὶ ἐρύματι ἐπὶ γηλόφου ἐφ' οὐπερ ἡ μὲν φύσις τὴν πέτραν ἀνέδωκεν, ἡ δὲ τέχνη, τείχεσιν αὐτὴν περιέβαλλε καὶ ἐκράτυνεν." *Niketas Choniates, History*, 22.

can be achieved first of all by appointing a commander who will have exclusive responsibility for its administration and secondly by having a specific number of soldiers in the garrison, whose families are settled in other regions of the empire, serving on a rota basis.

The *Strategikon* of Maurice describes what is involved in the constructing emergency fortifications close to a battlefield without the enemy noticing, so as to avoid a battle:⁴⁴

BUILDING A BORDER FORTRESS BY STEALTH AND WITHOUT OPEN BATTLE

Thorough reconnaissance should be used to find a strong site capable of being walled about dry materials in ten or twelve days and of being defended by a small garrison in the event of an enemy attack. The reconnaissance party should also find out if there is stone, wood, or brick readily available in the vicinity, and if there is water there or if ways can be devised to procure it. (...) If there are stones or bricks in the area, build a dry wall braced securely along its length with logs. If wood is the only available building material, use some of it, but make the fortified area much smaller. (...) As soon as the situation becomes more secure, the fortifications should be built up into a regular, solid construction, made stronger with mortar, and all other details organized. (...) If the site has no water supply, no streams or wells, then it is necessary to arrange for large earthenware jars or well-built barrels. They should be filled with water and some clean gravel from a riverbed dropped in. Enough water should be stored to last until winter, and until regular cisterns to hold the rainwater are built. (...) Good thick planks can be prepared, placed in a trench, and fastened together like a box. The seams and joints should be sealed with pitch and tow or wicker, and in this way a regular, moderate-size cistern is prepared. One or more may be built, measuring twenty by ten feet wide and eight or ten feet high. These will do until cement cisterns can be built.⁴⁵

Thus, first of all one has to find the most appropriate location. It should be easy to protect with a small number of soldiers and somewhere that the basic fortification works can be constructed quickly and which has drinking water and building materials (such as stones, timber or recycled bricks) readily available. Dry stone- or brick-masonry must be reinforced by continuous transverse wooden beams but constructions in timber alone are insecure and should only be used in small-scale works. Once the danger has passed, then the provisional constructions are demolished

⁴⁴ *Maurice, Strategikon*, X.4 (pp. 346–350). According to the authors this is a text by an unknown author, possibly a professional soldier who fought against the Slavs, dating to 602–630, which was copied by Leo VI in his *Taktika* around 900. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 3.

⁴⁵ English translation by Dennis (1984).

and the buildings are rebuilt using *opus incertum* (ἐγχορήγω). For forts the naturally fortified character of the location is more important than the availability of drinking water. Thus a number of solutions are provided for those cases where fresh water is unavailable: e.g. water-storage vessels and the construction of cisterns of specific dimensions built in *opus incertum* up to a predetermined height.

The *Strategikon* by Nikephoros Phocas, which discusses how to cope with siege being laid to a fortification, also describes such sites:⁴⁶

THE SIEGE OF A FORTIFIED TOWN

On learning that the enemy are getting ready to besiege a fortified town, General, you ought to determine which ones are open to a siege, for many fortified towns have no reason to fear a siege, before the approach of the enemy you should make sure that each person who seeks refuge in the place puts aside enough food for four months, more if possible, depending on your estimate of the duration of the siege. Take care that there is water in the cisterns and that everything else is there which can aid and protect people under siege. Since there are so many points to consider, we will dispense with exposing them in detail in the present treatise. Matters such as these and other devices used in sieges, and how the people inside should fight against those outside, have been carefully and precisely explained before us by the authors of books on tactics and strategy. But we have been commanded to discuss skirmishing and the holding of the mountain passes. To the best of our ability, then, we shall concentrate on setting forth what is useful and conducive to that end.

The enemy, therefore, surround the fortified town and prepare to begin the siege. As is usually done by those who want to reduce the besieged to dire straits, they will obviously camp in a circle around the town to prevent any of our people from entering or leaving. Since most of our fortified towns are built in strong, rugged locations, they will set up camp out there, neglecting security or fortifications. (...) But if the rough and difficult nature of the ground keeps them from setting up their camp scattered about in a circle, and the entire army encamps on either one or two sides, then the first thing you ought to do is completely destroy and put to the torch all the food for men and horses, so that no necessities are left for them either near the fortified town or further away in the villages. If the area is not mountainous and wood is lacking, then burn down the very roofs of the houses. For if the enemy are in need of wood and are short of food, their people will be forced to go out further away to gather necessities.

Putting your military experience to good use, then, you should be able to cause them harm by ambushes and put them to flight. (...) ⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Nicephorus Phocas, *De velitatione bellica*, 245 ff.

⁴⁷ English translation by Dennis 1984, 223–225. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 4.

The text mentions that castles were once impregnable or at least situated in fortified locations, virtually inaccessible on all sides and built to protect crossing points. The area outside the castle was inhabited; there were permanent buildings, food supplies and other requisites. The local population would only seek shelter inside the castle in case of danger.

The *Strategikon* of Maurice distinguishes among fortifications:

All essential supplies must be collected in very strong fortresses (...). Forts which are not in a strong natural setting should be made more secure. Part of the army, depending on the progress of the fighting, should be assigned to their defense. Preparations should be made to transfer inhabitants of weaker places to more strongly fortified ones.⁴⁸

The extent of the natural fortifications in the location where the fort is to be built accounts for some fortifications being less vulnerable than others; in war this is very clear. The potential natural defences of various locations are carefully assessed and then a strategy must be constructed based on this calculation.

The *Strategikon* by Kekaumenos provides instructions to the governor of the castle; buildings must not abut the fortification walls in case they hinder the defence:

And you have to watch both the outer and the inner sides of the walls every day, and do the same also for the gates. And the walls of the *kastron* should be free-standing; there must be no adjacent house to them but, in case there is, destroy it, and leave both the inner and outer faces of the walls bare, and do the same for all the gates completely, so that you will have the necessary space to pass and watch them. If any ancient, precious, building is adjacent to the walls don't be fearful of its destruction but proceed to its demolition.⁴⁹

So, the fact that fortifications were built on the sites of ancient citadels was not fortuitous. On the contrary, it was common practice, as is implied by the injunction: "if there is an ancient house, which is precious, and it is set on the walls do not hesitate to destroy it". The phrase "If any ancient building... don't be fearful" also implies both the value of earlier constructions and the symbolic meaning of ancient buildings.

John Apokaukos provides a much later description of the town of Nafaktos, written around the year 1225, in one of his letters to the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki:

⁴⁸ *Maurice, Strategikon*, β' 23–38, p. 342. English translation by Dennis 1984, 108. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 3.

⁴⁹ *Cecaumeni Strategikon*, 29, οδ'-οη'; English translation by the author. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 5.

(...) μή κακίζεις καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων καταλυμάτων μαρμαρίνους ἀναβαθμούς καὶ τὰ μαρμαρόστρωτα ὑπαιθρα, διὰ τὴν ὑψηλότοπον ἰδρυσιν τὴν ὄψιν τῶν δρώντων πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην θάλασσαν ἀκοντίζοντα καὶ τοῖς τῶν φυτῶν εὐώδεσι σκιαζόμενα, καὶ τὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦτον φραγμόν, τοῦ ἐδάφους μὲν ἀνατρέχοντα, ἐκ κιονίσκων δὲ ποικιλλομένων μαρμαρίνων ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεχόντων ἑτέρας ἐγκαρσίας εὐθείας, ἐξ ὁμοίας τῆς ὕλης, αἷς ἐπιστηθίζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸ τῆς αὐλῆς προκύπτοντες ἔδαφος; ταῦτα τὰ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἡμῶν, τῶν μικροπολιτῶν, τῶν ἐρημοπολιτῶν, ἵνα τι καὶ τῶν σὺν φίλων εἴπω. μή καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας ἡμῶν, μή καὶ τὰ κίτρα ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐπαινέσεις εἰς ἐπαρκές; οἱ τῶν μὲν ἔστιν ἃ κάδδοις ἀμιλλῶνται πρὸς μέγεθος καὶ ὡς ὥραϊα μὲν ἰδεῖν, καλὰ δ[ε] φαγεῖν καὶ τὴν ὁσφραντικὴν θηλύναι διὰ τὴν εὐπνοίαν; οἱ δὲ διαφορογενεῖς μὲν, εὐβρωτοὶ δὲ, καθαροὶ δὲ, ποιοὶ δὲ καὶ γένος παντοδαπὸν καὶ φυλαί, ὡς εἴποι τις, μυριόχρωμοι; τὸ δὲ λουτρόν ἡμῶν οὐ μετάρσιον; οὐ τὴν ὄψιν ἔλκει τοῦ βλέποντος; οὐ γραφικοῖς ποικίλλεται χρώμασιν; οὐ φωταγωγοῖς ὕλοις καταπεφώτισται; οὐχ ἡδονὴν τῷ λουομένῳ ἐντίθησιν; οὐ καταμάρμαρον ὄλον; οὐ δεξαμεναὶ διάλευκοι παρ' αὐτῶ; τὸ φρούριον δὲ ἡμῶν οὐ δυσανάλωτον ἢ μικροῦ καὶ ἀνάλωτον; οὐκ ἐπὶ μετεώρου τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπωκοδόμηται; οὐ τῇ τοῦ κωμικοῦ Νεφελοκοκκυγίᾳ παραμιλλᾷται; πόλις αὕτη παρ' ἐκεῖνῳ μὴ ψαύουσα γῆς, ἐν δὲ τῷ μανῶ ἀέρι || καὶ τῷ μικροῦ μὴ ἀναπνευστῷ διηρημένα ἔχουσα τείχη καὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐναέριον. ἢ δὲ πᾶσα πόλις ἡμῶν οὐχὶ ἀπηλός; καὶ μὴν πολλῶ ἀκούω μακαρίζοντων τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας, ὅτι μὴδὲ τὰ περὶ τοὺς πόδας τούτων καττάμματα ἐν χειμῶνι, ἐν ὄμβρῳ, καταμολύνονται τῷ πηλῷ, οὐδ' ἰλυσπῶνται βορβόροις, ὡς τὰ τῶν ζώων φιλόπηλα, οὐδὲ τῆς τετριμμένης διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πηλοῦ πλαδαρὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραβαδίζειν ἀπομηκίζονται, οὐδὲ ξυλίνας ἐμβάδας, ὡς ποδοκάκην, ἕκαστος ὑποδέεται, καθηλωμένας, καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τὸ περὶ τὴν γῆν μέρος τῶν ὑποδημάτων τούτων ἐκτριβόιτο, οὐδ' ἀλληλόκτυπον πάταγον ἐξηχοῦσι περὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ναοῦ, οὐδὲ μολύνουσιν ὅπως οὖν πατοῦντες αὐτὸ, καὶ οἱ καταρράκται αὐθις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ ἐμῇ Ναυπάκτῳ ἐπανοιχθῶσιν. ὅσαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου περιβάλλου ἐντὸς, ὅσαι τούτου ἐκτὸς καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλη ἐπ' ἄλλη προρρέουσιν ἀργυρίζουσαι οὐδ' αὐταὶ σου τὴν γλῶσσαν πρὸς ὕμνησιν ἐκκαλέσσονται; ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς πίνομεν ἀφθονον ὕδωρ, τὸ ποτὸν καθαρὸν καὶ χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἀπαντλοῦμεν καὶ τούτων ἀπορρόφῶμεν, ὡς οἱ ἀσπάλακες, καὶ χειρόκμητον ὕδωρ καὶ κατορωρυγμένον ἀφύσσομεν, οὐδὲ ποσὶ περὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ φρέατος ἀντιβαίνομεν καὶ δακτυλοσκοπούμεθα σχοίνῳ διὰ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης τραχύτητα. δυστυχήματα ταῦτα, οὐκ εὐτυχήματα πόλεως, παρ' ἣ καὶ γέρον ἴσως ἀποτελεῖται τῇ δίψῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν παρεμείνας ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μὴ δυναμένας ἀντλεῖν, ἑτέρου δὲ μὴ εὐτυχῶν τοῦ ἀντλήσαντος ἂν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ γράϊαι καὶ γέροντες, ὡς οἱ νέοι, πρόχειρον ἀντλοῦσιν ὕδωρ, πίνουσιν ὡς θέλουσιν εἰς ὅλον χρόνον ὃν κάδδος αὐτοῖς ἐξεχύθη πολλάκις εἰς δευτέραν ἀντλῆσιν ἠναγκασμένοις, ἢ σχοῖνος οὐκ ἔτριψεν αὐτῶν παλάμας, ἀλυσις οὐκ ἔθλιψεν αὐτῶν δακτύλους, σκληρὸν παρακρέμασμα πρὸς τῷ σχοινίῳ ἐξ ὑγρότητος μὴ σαπῇ τὸ σπαρτίον. ὁ μὲν οὖν μῦθος αὐτονομῶν τὸν τοῦ Πηγάσου ταρσὸν πατάξει λέγει τὴν γῆν καὶ πηγὴν εὐθὺς ἀναροιβῆσαι τῷ παταγμῷ καὶ Ταρσὸν ὀνομασθῆναι τὸν τόπον ὃν Κιλικίαν πόλιν αὕτη περιφανὴς καὶ τοῦ Ταρσέως Παύλου πατρὶς. τὴν Ναύπακτον δὲ οὐχ εἰς, ὡς ἔοικε, Πήγασος, δυσάριθμοι δὲ πατάξαντες ἐν αὐτῇ πολλῶν πηγῶν ἀνάδοσιν ἐποίησαντο ὃ καὶ ἔστι ταύτης τὰ ἔσωθεν καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ ὕδασι καταντλούμενα ὃ καὶ εἰ διὰ τὰς δυοκαίδεκα πηγὰς ἀνάγραφτος ἢ Ἑλλήμ, ἀναγραπτ[έα] μᾶλλον ἢ Ναύπακτος διὰ τὴν τούτων διαψιλείαν, καὶ ὀκνήσειεν

τάχα ὑδατομέτρης ἀριθμῷ παραδοῦναι τὰς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ πηγὰς, ἐξ ὧν ἔπιες, ἐξ ὧν ἐλούσω, ἐν αἷς τὸ σὸν τριβῶνιον ἀπερρύπωσας, ὦ δυσάρεστε σὺ καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας περιφρονῶν ἀγαθότητας.⁵⁰

Apokaukos describes the town of Nafpaktos as a fort which it would be very hard to lay siege to, almost impregnable, which gives the impression of being suspended, literally built in mid-air. The town is built at the foot of the castle, as if not touching the land; its walls are high and its enceinte hangs in the air taking one's breath away. The town is clean, never gets muddy, it has paved roads as well as innumerable fountains and springs with pure water easily tapped even by old people. In other parts of the same letter, Apokaukos describes the houses as two- or three-storey residences made of a great deal of timber and bricks, each with several rooms and much furniture, draperies and household stuff. He also mentions several sorts of simple huts serving various needs of the inhabitants (καλύβαι, χωρικαὶ καλύβαι and σκηναί).⁵¹

The French traveller, Jacob Spon, provides us with a similar description of the same town in the years 1675/6. He wrote that the town was located in an exceptional location, on a small mountain on which the “tower” was built; to get there one had to pass through four or five successive lines of internal walls. When one first sees the town from the sea, it looks as if it is located on the higher mountain further to the north; yet, in reality several small valleys intervene between the town and that mountain. Both the fortifications and this ‘camouflage’ had been designed to keep this town protected before canons were invented.⁵² During the same period, Evlijah Celebi was also impressed by the size and defensive capacity of the impregnable castle of Nafpaktos, which he describes in detail together with the town and its suburbs. Three thousand houses, impressive shops, baths, broad paved roads, a beautiful countryside and two hundred and forty-five springs of crystal clear drinking water flowing all year long made Nafpaktos “a town so beautiful that even kings be jealous”.⁵³

Finally, a letter dated to the same period as the one by Apokaukos, written by Vassileios Padiaditis to Constantinos Stilvis, provides us with a description of another town of that period, Kerkyra:

⁵⁰ *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V*, 122–125, no. 67; Karayani-Charalambopoulou 1990–1991, 100–104. Unfortunately no English translation is available. A new edition possibly including French translation is forthcoming by V. Katsaros (CFHB).

⁵¹ Katsaros 1989, 647.

⁵² Geronikolou 1992–1993, 471–472.

⁵³ Yanopoulos 1969–1970, 174–179.

We have small cells, frowsty, equal-to-huts, looking like those tents in the vineyards or with the field-guards' huts, whose first floor is for laughs. Pairs of canes attached by herbs support the roof-tiles which are not properly attached to each other but there is a gap between them, which is covered by the roof-tile placed on top of them; that way heat and cold and rain penetrate through the tiles from all sides. No domestic fruit is available here nor imported either, must I say. That's the potential of the archbishopric, not even equal to that of a poor bishopric...⁵⁴

It focuses on the bishop's residence showing how the architecture of houses was basic far from the Byzantine capital and provincial capitals; building materials were poor and living conditions were extremely hard, even in a bishop's palace. This might explain the lack of success archaeologists have had in locating settlements and secular buildings of this period, which, for all the evidence they have left behind, might never have existed, an idea well expressed in the title of an earlier study by E.L. Schwandner, "Stratos am Acheloos, η πόλη-φάντασμα?"⁵⁵ At best in these cases, a church, cistern or cemetery and some small finds are all we have left of a settlement.

CONCLUSIONS

I have examined only a handful of the many texts which shed light on the careful selection of locations for the building of forts or settlements. The historical evidence absolutely confirms the geographical uniformity of Middle Byzantine settlements brought out by archaeology. Both texts and archaeology have made it clear that the choice of places to settle at that time was not a matter of chance but was based on strategically made decisions, conforming to clear-cut rules. In times of difficulty, it was critical to avoid mistakes, and it seems that a good choice of location was a better guarantee for the survival of a settlement than the actual quality of construction.

The rules for the process of selection were set: towns had to be built on naturally fortified hills which benefited from the presence of surrounding water (sea or rivers), or steep cliffs or a combination of the above. A hill with a single access point was ideal. The place had to be discreet, preferably invisible from the sea, so as not to provoke enemies. Security – not beauty – was the principal aim. The availability of drinking water was

⁵⁴ *Vassileios Padiaditis, Letter*, 49; English translation by the author. Find original text in Appendix II, Text 6.

⁵⁵ Schwandner 1994.

not negotiable; there could be no town without it. Finally, a town could also be built in a plain if it was well fortified, but it certainly should not be anywhere near a border. Finally proximity to communication routes is only stressed in the sources in relation to the construction of forts; nevertheless it emerges from the archaeological evidence as a most important dimension in the location of settlements.⁵⁶

The settlement of Nafpaktos must have been exceptionally well appointed and that might explain its eventual designation as regional capital. It seems that its location met all the prerequisites for the construction and survival of a Middle Byzantine town: water and natural defences were abundant and the town was impregnable, prosperous and comfortable to live in thanks to its public facilities such as roads, churches and fortifications. The luxurious residence of the metropolitan makes a remarkable contrast with that of the bishop in Kerkyra, a more provincial settlement. Conditions in the latter were basic, leaving the occupants unprotected even from bad weather or other unpleasant natural phenomena.

The selection of locations for the construction of forts in time of war was made on an altogether different basis. These places had to be exceptionally naturally fortified, difficult of access and necessarily providing visual control over important stretches of communication routes.⁵⁷ The availability of readily usable or recyclable building materials was important: the presence of dressed stone and bricks salvaged from earlier buildings on the same site was considered a bonus.

All the aforementioned arguments have confirmed that space was a basic agent of social being in the way that it affected habitation. Thus physical space in *Epirus* from the seventh to the twelfth century, apart from having an independent development in its interaction with human agency, emerges as a basic agent of the historical processes that is as 'historical space'. As a result of this interaction, a landscape hosting a given society at a particular moment is a unique context for historical research. Therefore, we have to find ways of understanding and reconstructing the landscape in every historical period, and must consider the landscape itself an archaeological problem quite separate from the remains of the

⁵⁶ See above Part 3, Chapter 1. The importance of this dimension of settlement is confirmed by other archaeological sites of this period, some of which are mentioned by Bakirtzis, Oreopoulos 2001, 29–30 ff.

⁵⁷ This is also evident in archaeological sites of this period in Macedonia and Thrace discussed by Tsouris 1998; see also Bakirtzis, Oreopoulos 2001, 41.

human activity it incorporates, as has been suggested by post-processual archaeologies. Compared to intensive surveys or excavation, the extensive survey offers a better archaeological method for tackling these tasks. Because it covers extensive geographical regions it allows spatial qualities as well as spatial uniformity and difference to be discerned.

CHAPTER THREE

ASPECTS OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

I will now attempt to contextualize the evidence already discussed in order to reconstruct a picture of habitation in *Epirus* from the seventh to the twelfth centuries within its broader geographical and cultural context. The strategy underpinning the foundation of settlements – a key point in understanding the medieval transformation of habitation – has been discussed above.¹ In this chapter I will be discussing issues such as the form and size of settlements, their territories and the structure of communication networks. The network of urban and rural settlements, the existence of which is often tacitly assumed, will also be discussed as well as the differences in habitation between islands and the mainland.

3.I. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: “DIFFERENT SOURCES, DIFFERENT HISTORIES?”

The quotation comes from W. Brandes, who first used this phrase in 1999, in order to emphasize the heterogeneity of information about the transformation of Byzantine cities after Late Antiquity provided by different sources.² This approach offers an excellent means of putting across the complexity of the process of Byzantine settlement. A. Dunn and other scholars have discussed this as a dynamic process, producing a complex spatial – functional hierarchy, with various sites evolving in accordance with the varying requirements of the local population and dependent on other influences, such as the Church, state or army.³

The complexity and dynamic nature of this process and the resulting heterogeneity of forms and sizes of Byzantine settlements accounts for the fact that, even in cases where a good archaeological record and frequent references in the sources survive, it is often difficult to come up with interpretations of settlements which will remain valid over long periods

¹ See Part 3, Chapter 2.

² Brandes 1999.

³ Avramea 1997; Dunn 1994; Idem 1997; Idem 2006; Henning 2007.

of time according to broad, pre-defined categories such as cities, towns, villages and ‘urban’ or ‘rural’ settlements.⁴ In cases where there are large gaps in the information about settlement not only as regards the historical but also the archaeological evidence, as in the present case, the difficulties are even more acute. Though there are sufficient numbers of sites to confirm human settlement during the period in question, they tell us little about the various types of Middle Byzantine settlements established there, and indeed Middle Byzantine settlements in general constitute a wider problem in research.

At first glance, there is an apparent contradiction between the settlements referred to by the sources and the ones suggested by archaeological evidence. First of all, there are more sites where material remains of this period have been located than there are names of settlements given by the sources. This is understandable considering the relative paucity of references to *Epirus* in texts of the Middle Byzantine period, especially in the earlier (seventh–tenth) centuries.

It is also not unusual for archaeology to point to certain sites as important while the written sources point to others. For example, several Middle Byzantine historical settlements, such as those of Κοζύλη (Kozyli), Νικόπολις (Nikopolis), Ἀμβρακία (Amvrakia), Ἀχελῷος (Acheloos), Ἀετὸς (Aetos), Πρέβεζα (Preveza), Ἀνατολικὸν (Anatolikon) etc., have not yet been securely identified with archaeological sites.⁵ By contrast, some archaeological sites or clusters of sites have produced important material dated to this period, though they remain unknown in the sources or at least they cannot be easily identified with historical settlements because we no longer know their original place names or other significant information about them. For example, the concentrations of sites around modern Arta (dating to before the twelfth century), on Mt. Varassova, around Stamna-Mastro, Evinochori and Stratos-Charvati have not as yet been matched up with settlements appearing in the texts.

Historical evidence seems moreover to imply that habitation was focused upon centres of civil and religious administration, e.g. a capital and metropolitan seat or archbishoprics and bishoprics – mentioned in the *Taktika* – which tend as a rule to be considered urban settlements

⁴ I have previously discussed this theoretical issue in a series of papers (Veikou 2009; Veikou 2010; Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*).

⁵ The site of Nikopolis itself, though long excavated, has not yet to my knowledge revealed clear archaeological evidence on the settlement pattern between the eighth and the eleventh century when, according to the sources, it was finally abandoned.

according to the well-known, sixth-century definition.⁶ Nevertheless, the archaeological picture shows a different sort of habitation pattern: a generalized, dispersed-type-distribution of small-scale establishments detectable by material such as free-standing churches and fortifications, cemeteries or small finds. A few exceptions consisting of denser concentrations of sites are found in the areas of Nafpaktos, Vonitsa, Arta and Varassova, of whom only Nafpaktos and Vonitsa are equally referred to in the sources as centres of religious administration in our study area. Equally, no impressive concentrations of archaeological evidence are found in sites identified with those Middle Byzantine centres which are repeatedly mentioned in the sources between the eighth or ninth and the twelfth century (i.e. in Nikopolis, Lefkada, Aetos, Rogoi and even Nafpaktos). In any case, it is very clear that the material remains surviving in the aforementioned sites are by no means reminiscent of the size and form of the Early Byzantine centres in the same area, such as the ones of Nikopolis and Nafpaktos, as well as those at Drymos (unknown Byzantine name) and Kato Vassiliki (possibly retaining the name of the ancient settlement, Chalkis).

It is equally clear that a number of fortifications of similar architecture (as regards plans and building techniques), constructed in geographically similar locations by river banks or on the coast are to be found throughout the area; this is, in fact, a regular feature of settlement in this area and it is also known from other parts of Europe during the same period of time.⁷ What is even more intriguing is that the names provided by the sources for the Middle Byzantine centres of religious administration have survived as place-names for the sites of these fortifications. This confirms, in my opinion, two basic features of important settlements in this period: they played a role both in the administration of the Church and in defence.

Nevertheless I would certainly hesitate to reduce most of these formations to the category of Middle Byzantine 'urban settlements', as some literature has hitherto tended to do, using the term '*poleis-kastra*'.⁸ There is no surviving evidence of larger concentrations of populations around these sites during this period while settlement is differentiated in many

⁶ In Justinian's laws is mentioned that a settlement in order to be characterized as a city should have its own bishop (*Codex Juris Civilis*, I, 3.35). On the issue of the Epirote bishoprics see above Part 1 – Chapter 2; as regards their definition see below.

⁷ See e.g. Burnouf 2007; Gelichi 2007; McCormick 2007.

⁸ See, *inter alia*, Kanonidis 1996; Karayanni 1999; Loungis 1996; Bouras 2002a; Dagron 2002; Saradi 2008.

aspects.⁹ As already discussed by A. Dunn, *kastra* during the seventh and eighth century did not necessarily have the connotation of ‘town’ (urban settlement).¹⁰ However, on the basis of the current archaeological picture, the *kastra* which could be termed Byzantine ‘urban centers’ are Nafpaktos as late as from the tenth century onwards, Arta from the eleventh or twelfth century onwards and maybe also Vonitsa from the eleventh or twelfth century onwards. Even then they cannot really be compared, in terms of the number and quality of material remains, with archaeological sites such as those of Middle Byzantine Corinth, Thebes or Athens on the existing evidence. Of course this differentiation among contemporaneous settlements of similar status was not a new phenomenon or a phenomenon specific to *kastra*; it has been documented in relation to both Early Byzantine and seventh–ninth century cities by J. Haldon and L. Zavagno.¹¹

Given the inadequacy of the existing evidence to provide secure answers to questions concerning the form and size of settlements or precise habitation patterns in Middle Byzantine *Epirus*, I can only formulate my comments on the experience of this material in the shape of working hypotheses for future research and look on it as an opportunity to put certain issues on the table. I will begin by defining the three initial hypotheses which I am going to test against the theoretical framework currently used in relation to Middle Byzantine settlement, which I will then go on to discuss in more detail.

- First of all, settlement patterns in different geographical units need to be distinguished from one another. For the time being, it is reasonable to assume that the small islands in the investigated area were settled in a different way from the mainland during the period from the seventh to the twelfth century.
- A second hypothesis posits that there were differences in habitation of the same settlements at different periods. These differences present certain uniformity in relation to the historical contexts in the area during two major time periods: a) the seventh to tenth centuries and b) the eleventh and twelfth century.

⁹ For a discussion of similar problems regarding Byzantine settlement in general see Dunn 1994.

¹⁰ Dunn 1993, 78.

¹¹ Haldon 1999, 101–102; Zavagno 2009, esp. 167–170.

- The last hypothesis assumes that there has to be some way of linking the known material remains with the habitation pattern and the settlements mentioned in the texts. However, this process seems to necessitate an alternative approach to reconstructing the archaeological picture of settlement definitions known from the sources – such as a bishopric – during the period in question.

3.1.1. *Theoretical Problems Relating to Medieval Settlement in Epirus and the Mediterranean*

First of all, in testing the above hypotheses against the current framework for Middle Byzantine settlement, it should be borne in mind that the evidence from other regions of the Byzantine Empire presents a considerable variety of alternatives as regards settlement patterns. There are four major problems arising from the Epirote evidence and they are linked to wider issues regarding research into medieval settlement in the Mediterranean. I will first explain the problems and then discuss them in more detail.

I. The first problem relates to the interpretation of both the written texts and archaeological evidence from the seventh–twelfth centuries. Texts, on the one hand, usually mention a place-name implying a settled area; yet Byzantinists have often tended to consider that place-name as representing a nuclear settlement and have attempted to identify it with a single archaeological site. By contrast, the sources provide a wide range of terminology in respect of urban and rural settlements, of which only towns and villages have so far received attention from archaeologists.¹² Archaeological research, on the other hand, in the form of excavations and surveys, also indicates diversity of settlement and an equal development of both nuclear and scattered habitation.¹³

¹² Urban spaces are described as *κωμόπολις*, *πολίχιον*, *πόλισμα*, *ἄστυ*, *πόλις*, *κάστρον*, *φρούριον* and *καστέλλι*. See Haldon 1999, 10–23; Brandes 1999, 25–29; Brandes, Haldon 2000, 141–172; Dagron 2002, 400–405; Veikou 2010. A variety of terms are also used to refer to rural space, *κώμη*, *κωμόδριον*, *χωρίον*, *προάστειον*, *κτῆμα*, *κτῆσις* and later *ἀγρίδιον*, *ιδιόστατον* (Lefort 2002, 236–293). One should also include *κομμέρκια* and *ἐμπόρια* as distinct formations in the list of Byzantine settlements and, last but not least, the monasteries. Emporia have been specifically discussed by Trombley (2001, 221), McCormick 2007 and Gelichi 2007.

¹³ I have discussed this issue in detail elsewhere (Veikou 2009). For example, during this period, scattered habitation has been observed in the area of Messene, while Amorion and Thessaloniki seem to have been nuclear settlements. In the light of the available evidence (i.e. areas with different habitation densities) it is possible that Athens, Corinth and Arta could have been somewhat ‘in between’ formations (on Corinth see Vanderheyde 2008, 341).

II. Another stumbling block is the archaeological interpretation of Byzantine fortifications in this period. Dunn has documented and tabulated a close correlation between *kastra* and bishoprics in Middle Byzantine Thrace.¹⁴ However, when other types of evidence is lacking, it is very hard to distinguish between forts, rural fortifications or fortified nuclear settlements, since most of these ‘castles’ are similar in plan and construction. Investigating settlement patterns in their environs could be a way out of this impasse yet that would mean undertaking large-scale excavations in the future.

III. A related issue is the problem of the type of settlement known as the ‘*polis-kastron*’ and its frequent underlying connection with the seats of bishoprics mentioned in the sources. The archaeological attributes of the ‘*polis-kastron*’ still present many problems – recently the term ‘city-*kastron*’ has also been suggested by H. Saradi in reference to the sixth-century urban settlements.¹⁵ The use of the word ‘*kastron*’ in these formulations seems to imply the presence of fortifications. In my opinion, any *a priori* direct link between mention of a Middle Byzantine *kastron* in the sources, a fortification, an ‘urban settlement’ and an episcopal see cannot be taken for granted until it can be substantiated, as I will explain in detail below. I have also recently attempted to address the problem of the association often assumed to exist between Middle Byzantine seats of bishoprics and the Middle Byzantine *kastra* (including the term ‘*poleis-kastra*’) in contemporary research on Byzantine settlement – taking into account the fragmentary nature and scarcity of the evidence and the rather positivist and structuralist theoretical approaches hitherto employed.¹⁶

Another confusing aspect of Middle Byzantine fortified settlements is the very use of the term *kastron*, a loanword derived from the medieval *castrum*.¹⁷ Yet, if one looks closely at the archaeological evidence, it is very clear that Middle Byzantine fortified settlements were in many respects unlike Italian and Western European *castra*: inhabited areas spread outside the enceinte and the fortifications themselves and the few buildings

¹⁴ Dunn 1997.

¹⁵ Saradi 2006.

¹⁶ Veikou 2010; Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

¹⁷ As I discuss in the next pages, I accept Haldon's opinion that, although the word *castrum* was already borrowed perhaps around the sixth century, its wide use during the high Middle Ages is relevant to the dominance of *kastra* in the Byzantine landscape and settlements of similar type around the northern coast of the Mediterranean, the Balkans and Europe.

they had were arranged in structures quite different from those in the Western *castra*. The question then is why the term *kastra* was used at all I think the answer lies in some socio-economic connotations discussed in more detail below.¹⁸

IV. One last problem as regards Middle Byzantine habitation is the dynamic way in which it developed. Especially if one considers the radical transformation of settlement related to social change during this period, settlements had mixed or changing functions and different statuses at different times.¹⁹ Moreover, as I discuss below, they could have taken many forms ranging from nuclear to dispersed, depending on the political, military, economic and cultural associations of their demographic.²⁰

Thus one should not expect to find the uniformity or the spatial organization principles which are found in earlier (or later) periods in Middle Byzantine settlement. Nor should one apply the same analytical categories used for other periods in order to interpret it. Many examples from both the Western Mediterranean and Byzantium have shown that there was a general transformation in late antique and medieval settlement; this was very intensive from the seventh to the twelfth centuries and there were long periods of experimentation and successive 'hybrid' settlement formations.²¹ Based on the evidence from *Epirus*, therefore, I am proposing here that Byzantine bishoprics do not always have to be associated with archaeological formations in the form of fortified towns or cities – known as '*poleis-kastra*' in the earlier literature –, (i.e. they do not have to be associated with nuclear urban settlements, as they were in the sixth century) but may be associated with dispersed habitation patterns of a similar economic and social standard.²² A similar argument has recently been set forth by C. Vanderheyde in reference to the case of Middle Byzantine Corinth; according to this the investigation of sculpture so far indicates

¹⁸ See also a detailed discussion in Veikou 2010.

¹⁹ See also the relevant discussion by Dunn 1994.

²⁰ See also relevant discussions in Veikou 2009; Veikou 2010; Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

²¹ See for example the *Castrum* series and Henning 2007 (especially McCormick 2007; Gelichi 2007). See further extensive discussion in: Veikou 2009; Veikou 2010; Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

²² Association between Byzantine city and Episcopal see is often read behind the lines, especially in Greek relevant literature; for a direct association between the two see e.g. Bouras 2002, 502. On the sixth-century definition of a city as a settlement having its own bishop see note 6, above. For more details and aspects of this discussion see also Veikou 2009; Veikou 2010.

that this archbishopric most probably corresponded to an extensive dispersedly inhabited area.²³

Thus the medieval Mediterranean saw both dispersed and nuclear habitation patterns during the seventh–eighth centuries.²⁴ These mostly tended to become nuclear from the ninth century onwards, though dispersed patterns can still be found in later periods.²⁵ Earlier research seems to provide a lot of case studies of Byzantine settlement patterns for the period from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, though not many extensive analyses and comparative accounts. As mentioned above, there are still several unanswered questions concerning forms of settlement and related networks.

As regards the mention of *kastra* in the sources and Byzantine fortifications, the emergence of the term *kastron* in Byzantium from the ninth–tenth century onwards is obviously associated with the use of the Latin *castrum*. However, in Byzantium the use of the word was not directly connected with any political and socio-economic conditions such as those associated with the *castra* in their place of origin (i.e. medieval Italy).²⁶ In Italy a *castrum* was a fortified hilltop village resulting from the phenomenon of the *incastellamento* which began in Latium around the ninth century or even earlier (with local variations) and was completed by the eleventh century.²⁷ The predominance of this type of settlement in the Latium region was not due to any external threat (as originally thought); it was rather an internal process related to increased levels of population and the efforts of the emerging feudal class to control local rural communities.²⁸ So the term ‘*κάστρο*’ did not mean ‘fortification’ in Medieval Greek – as it does in Modern Greek – nor did it mean a town surrounded by fortification walls. By contrast, the Western *castrum* was a fortified – i.e. protected – settlement on a hilltop. Conceivably, the word *kastron* was appropriated to refer to a specific type of large settlement, such as those being formed during that period in the West.²⁹

The use of the word *kastron* in Byzantium could nevertheless have been associated with some of the socio-economic or even merely the morpho-

²³ Vanderheyde 2008.

²⁴ See note 13 above.

²⁵ For example in Nemea they have been dated to the 11th–13th centuries and in Melos even later. See Athanassopoulos 1993 and Renfrew, Wagstaff 1982.

²⁶ Haldon 1999; Haldon, Brandes 2000.

²⁷ Toubert 1973.

²⁸ Toubert 1973.

²⁹ Haldon 1999; Brandes 1999.

logical connotations of the contemporary *castrum*. In fact, the economic framework underpinning these formations in the West was the development of a rural economy which encouraged inhabitants of the earlier, smaller settlements to expand their activities beyond the fortified areas to neighbouring arable land. A similar expansion – though probably unrelated to fortifications – seems to have taken place in Byzantium too; there *kastra* such as Ναύπακτος (Nafpaktos), Λευκάς (Lefkada), Ἀθήναι (Athens) and Θήβαι (Thebes) were, in fact, being formed in the same period.

However, while phenomena such as *incastellamento* have been observed almost all over Western Europe,³⁰ the transformation of settlement in other regions including Byzantium between the sixth and the ninth or tenth centuries seems to have involved not so much a total abandonment of former urban sites in favour of new, fortified hilltop settlements but rather a radical change in the nature of settlement in the same area.³¹ One might assume then that attempts to exploit the land during the early Middle Ages produced different forms of settlement in different landscapes and socio-political contexts. For example, a dispersed habitation pattern involving fortifications, very similar to that in *Epirus*, has been recorded in the Arabic region of Valencia.³² The sites known as *husun* (medieval castles) present a similar diversity, having served as urban castles, rural fortifications and military forts. The rural fortifications served either as permanent townships or as *refugia*, inhabited only during emergencies. In both cases, these castles served as a centre for the population of the neighbouring areas, who lived within a two-hour walking distance in unfortified ‘open’ villages or hamlets.³³ These castles may have included some form of official residence for dignitaries sent there by the caliph, yet they were principally supplied and controlled by the local communities.³⁴

³⁰ This phenomenon has also been recorded in Italy and around the Mediterranean. See Bazzana, Guichard, Poisson 1983. The use of the term *incastellamento* outside Italy, however, has been questioned by C. Wickham, “L’incastellamento e i suoi destini, undici anni dopo il Latium di P. Toubert”, in *Structures de l’habitat et occupation du sol dans les pays méditerranéens, Les méthodes et l’apport de l’archéologie extensive, Castrum 2.*, ed. G. Noyé, Rome/Madrid 1988, 411–420.

³¹ Haldon 1999; Bazzana 1983; Dallièrè-Benelhadj 1983; Guichard 1983b.

³² Bazzana 1983; Dallièrè-Benelhadj 1983; Guichard 1983b; Toubert 1983; Guichard 1983a; Lefort, Martin 1983; Whittow 1995, 73–74.

³³ Lefort 2002, 236–7, 275–9. Similar settlement patterns are also attested elsewhere in the Mediterranean during this period. See Lefort, Martin 1983; Toubert 1983; Whittow 1995.

³⁴ Koder 2005, 170–1, 182.

While these transformations around the Mediterranean sprang from a common desire to maximize exploitation of the land and their rural economies, there was evidently a lack of any substantial difference between towns and villages in the period between the seventh and the late eleventh centuries. The fact that they had differentiated economies and both urban and rural features would make them ‘intermediate’ settlement formations.³⁵ This is a new state of affairs and has provoked a certain awkwardness in the interpretation of settlement formations in the seventh–ninth centuries in both Italy and Byzantium, which have been characterized by unclear or even contradictory descriptions involving terms such as ‘(towns in) transition’,³⁶ ‘decline of cities’,³⁷ ‘ruralization of cities/towns’,³⁸ ‘almost towns’,³⁹ ‘settlements of intermediate status’⁴⁰ and more recently ‘relativization of the urban phenomenon during the Middle Ages’⁴¹ etc.

In my opinion, there have been two problems responsible for this awkwardness in defining settlements, whether clustered or dispersed, with both urban and rural features. The first problem relates to the predominance of positivist and structural theoretical approaches in the interpretation of Byzantine habitation. The discourse of these approaches involves the application of several metanarratives of development to all aspects of Byzantine culture as well as the constant underlying assumption that habitation has to be interpreted within a bipolar scheme of distinct urban vs. rural settlements.⁴² The second problem is that the exploitation of

³⁵ Haldon 1985, 85; Dunn 1997, 142; J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, J.-P. Sodini, “Introduction”, in: Lefort, Morrisson, Sodini 2005, 19; Dagron 2002, 394. J. Haldon (1999, 22) has observed that at least from the 7th to the 9th c., there were no differences between a village and a town at the juridical institutional level, except in places where a bishop was resident. See detailed account in Veikou 2009.

³⁶ See, *inter alia*, Christie, Loseby 1996; several publications in the series *The transformation of the Roman world* (Leiden: Brill 1997 onwards) and articles by Dunn (1986; 1994). Poulter and other scholars have recently made extensive use of the term in their *Collected Studies* (Poulter 2007) while J.-M. Martin and C. Noyé have rejected it (Martin, Noyé 2005, 149).

³⁷ Spieser 1989, 99; Missiou 1990; Sodini 1993, 144 ff; Moutsopoulos 1997a, 40–45; Dagron 2002, 398; Sodini 2007; Saradi 2008. The use of the term is discussed by J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz (2001, 233–8).

³⁸ Brandes, Haldon 2000, 149; Lefort 2002, 275; J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, J.-P. Sodini, “Introduction” in: Lefort, Morrisson, Sodini 2005, 18–19; Brandes, Haldon 2000, 149.

³⁹ Trombley 2001, 221.

⁴⁰ Gelichi 2007.

⁴¹ Dagron 2002, 395.

⁴² See detailed discussions in Veikou 2009; Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

land and development of the rural economy has been interpreted as a 'ruralization of Byzantine society' while in the bigger picture it was in fact one aspect of a much broader change of mentality in Byzantine culture. In Part 3 – Chapter 2 above it has been shown how the need for defence, survival, self-sufficiency and control over external or internal threats in the period from the seventh up to at least the eleventh century resulted in a Byzantine strategy to elevate space into a development mechanism by specific practices related to settlement. Defining the Byzantine strategy of development by means of exploiting the different qualities of physical space as mere 'ruralization' is really only half the picture.

Returning to the Byzantine *kastra* and their relationship with settlements the following ideas have so far been proposed. First of all, it has been suggested that they were state institutions – not private like those involved in the *incastellamento* phenomenon – apart from a few, not very important castles given to state officials.⁴³ Several scholars have observed that Byzantine enceintes are often built over earlier, mostly ancient enceintes and demonstrate a general tendency to include extensive areas; they look more like community defences than residential areas.⁴⁴ A good example of the confusion around the notion of *kastron* is M. Whittow's use of the term 'castles' to denote Byzantine enceintes of unspecified type.⁴⁵ P. Niewöhner has recently discussed the *kastra* of Anatolia, pointing out their diversity and changing role within a network of multiform settlements.⁴⁶

Secondly, the appropriation of the Latin term *castrum* for the Byzantine *kastron* seems unlikely to reflect a similar form or role in medieval settlement for the two; more likely the use of the word *kastron* was related to a specific significance associated with these settlements. It is certain that *kastra* must have been associated with – though not necessarily surrounded by – fortifications, as discussed below. In fact, as recently pointed out by C. Kirilov, cities and towns in Byzantium had not been confined within fortifications since Late Antiquity.⁴⁷ Thus, the frequent tacit association of the Middle Byzantine seat of a bishopric with a Middle Byzantine '*polis-kastron*' meaning a 'fortified urban centre' may not necessarily be correct in certain cases, especially during the earlier (seventh–tenth)

⁴³ Whittow 1995, 62–73.

⁴⁴ Foss, Winfield 1986, 164–167; Koder 2005, 170.

⁴⁵ Whittow 1995, 72–73.

⁴⁶ Niewöhner 2007.

⁴⁷ Kirilov 2007.

centuries.⁴⁸ The false premise from which this assumption seems, in fact, to have sprung has recently been defined by P. Toubert as follows:

The Byzantine world also rested on the pedestal of agrarian civilization formed by the structural association of a clustered settlement with well-defined village lands – the Byzantine chorion or Latin *tenimentum* – the lands divided into tracts of different usage that correspond, in both cases, to a common range of types.⁴⁹

All the evidence from *Epirus* and other parts of Greece indicates that the aforementioned habitation pattern was not necessarily the only one in Byzantium, especially between the seventh and the eleventh century. This is strongly supported by economic and demographic aspects of Byzantine culture. First of all, the distinction between ‘in-field’ agricultural cultures and ‘out-field’ pastoral ones in historical sources, as defined by P. Toubert, is very relevant to this discussion.⁵⁰ According to Toubert, the latter are associated with closed societies and transhumance, they confine themselves to basic shelters, invest less than the former in land ownership and have traditional unwritten laws. H. Ahrweiler has also explained how texts distinguish between local, ‘Roman’ populations and ‘foreign nomadic’ ones; the latter were considered ‘outside of history’, ‘outside of the *οἰκουμένη*’, that is to say the civilized world, without political institutions and without a homeland.⁵¹ She notes that “Nomads are often described as ‘barbarians’”, recalling the Christianized Arab soldier, St Barbaros, of Acarnania – and pointing out that the word ‘barbarian’ is used to describe a moral attitude rather than an ethnic origin.⁵² The category of the ‘barbarian’ as an ethnic and cultural determinant, as well as a way of life, is quintessentially represented by the nomads in Byzantium.⁵³ Indeed, according to A. Constantakopoulou, urban settlements (*πόλεις*) operated as nuclei where certain mechanisms within communities led to the creation of incorporations and links – in other words, of patriotic feelings – among citizens.⁵⁴ As indicated by Middle and Late Byzantine texts, the Byzantine collective memory, the conception of homeland and religious feelings in

⁴⁸ A sound exception to this association is A. Dunn’s case study of Early Middle Byzantine Thrace (1997).

⁴⁹ Toubert 2002, 382–3.

⁵⁰ Toubert 2002, 382–3.

⁵¹ Ahrweiler 1998, 12.

⁵² Ahrweiler 1998, 12.

⁵³ Ahrweiler 1998, 12.

⁵⁴ Constantakopoulou 1996, especially 194–5, 204–7, 255–6.

a symbolic sense were all strongly connected with the πόλεις, which were considered living organisms.⁵⁵

These cultural aspects prove to be very significant in the case of settlement in Middle Byzantine *Epirus*, especially during the earlier period (seventh–tenth centuries). It was an area which had a geologically unstable physical environment, a lack of land suitable for agriculture, a relief mostly suited to pastoral economies and a population consisting largely of nomads (such as Vlachs and perhaps Slavs).⁵⁶ At the same time, the political conditions would only have exacerbated the widespread insecurity and anxiety not only to preserve the life and property of the population but also to maintain overall Byzantine authority in the area.⁵⁷ This might mean that populations in this area would perhaps not have cared as much about investing in land and permanent, expensive residences in large-scale fortified urban settlements, as elsewhere in Byzantium.

Instead, the practice of transhumance and the conditions mentioned above might to some extent have imposed on them rather more basic living conditions in dispersed locations or in nuclear rural settlements. A number of such sites would have made up a bishopric with its seat in some similar site, maybe a little bigger maybe not, which functioned as a centre – with a somewhat mixed ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ status.⁵⁸ These conditions and general mentality, in the historical context usually referred to as the ‘ruralization of Byzantine society’, are also reflected in the architectural remains discussed in this book, i.e. in the widespread use of simple building materials (such as rubble, brick and tile fragments and mortars), in the reuse of earlier materials and in the adoption of simple but effective construction techniques.

Last but not least, these populations would have needed safe shelter for times of danger: this would have probably been the role of the fortifications discussed here, where archaeological evidence in all cases indicates the formation not of large-scale permanent settlements inside and around the enceinte (i.e. a fortified town as known from earlier and later periods or other parts of the Byzantine Empire and the Mediterranean) but a distribution of small-scale habitations in the environs of the enceinte. C. Tsouris has distinguished certain types of such Byzantine fortifications

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ These conditions have been analyzed in Part 1 – Chapter 2.

⁵⁷ On the historical context see above in Part 1 – Chapter 2.

⁵⁸ On these settlements see Veikou 2009; Veikou 2010.

according to their function.⁵⁹ J. Koder has distinguished this type of settlement pattern from that of the so-called '*polis-kastron*' referring to these castles as 'rural fortifications'. Koder defines these fortifications as follows:

The castles-refuges often consisted of a sole line of walls adjusted and making use of a natural elevation. They were located near and 'over' large villages and in some cases the enceinte included the source of drinking water for the village. These castles were not permanently inhabited; populations would only seek refuge there in cases of external threat, bringing their flocks and portable valuables. Only in cases where such a settlement became the seat of a military unit or provincial administration, one may suppose that the fortified area was permanently inhabited.⁶⁰

The same philosophy of settlement seems to have lived on in the arrangement of later medieval villages in the Western Peloponnese, as described by K. Kourelis.⁶¹ The sites ensure visual control over strategically important parts of the landscape, such as large areas of irrigable land and land and water transport routes. A fort, i.e. a small enceinte, usually occupies the highest point, invariably comprising at least a cistern and a tower, which are often one and the same building; below the enceinte, the unfortified settlement is spread out following the hypsometry and the relief.

Several such scattered rural settlements would have formed a diocese, in which the bishop's seat would have been a kind of 'hybrid' settlement – that is combining both rural character and some more urban functions regardless of its form.⁶² Thus the episcopal sees mentioned in the sources from the ninth until the end of the eleventh century consisted of several such rural settlements or 'hybrid' rural-urban settlements and their territory could extend over a large area. In brief, in this case a bishopric does not seem to refer to the existence of an 'urban' settlement (such as that implied by the term *polis-kastron*, a formation whose many aspects are in any case yet to be defined) and its hinterland – as was perhaps the

⁵⁹ Tsouris 1999, 109–110. P. Oreopoulos and N. Bakirtzis have not attempted to distinguish between fortifications, as Tsouris has done, though they divide them into "cities (poleis), castles, fortresses and towers" (sic). Nevertheless, they have discussed the critical role of the fortification network in Byzantium as well as the constant adjustment of their features to the different conditions and defensive needs of individual locations and specific periods of time, Bakirtzis, Oreopoulos 2001, 27–40, 51–52.

⁶⁰ Koder 2005, 170.

⁶¹ Kourelis 2002, 55–56.

⁶² That is most probably not the case with the very few settlements which appear to have been of a more 'urban' nature (of the so-called '*polis-kastron*' type) during later periods (mid-11th to 13th centuries). There must have been such settlements at Arta, Nafpaktos, Vonitsa and Lefkada, as discussed below.

case in other Byzantine regions or as happened in *Epirus* itself after the eleventh century. Instead it seems to have referred to a concentration of population and the existence of a Byzantine community (or communities) within a geographical region.⁶³ Although the seats of bishoprics usually involve fortifications of some kind, since the need for defence was crucial to all settlements in this period, they did not necessarily have to be towns or cities. While associated with the term '*kastron*', meaning the more-than-rural settlement of this period, these sites do not conform to any of the available analytical categories in the archaeology of Byzantine settlement. In my opinion, they are likely to have been settlements of a status somewhere in between urban and rural, whose attributes are open to discussion.⁶⁴

W. Bowden's analysis on Early Byzantine *Epirus* has shown that the pattern just described represents a big change from Late Antique settlement and that the beginning of this change should be dated later than 550.⁶⁵ Bowden has associated the new pattern with the penetration of Slavs and with the revival of a settlement pattern created by old networks of tribal societies in the area. He has considered this pattern to be a reflection of the increasingly polycentric nature of *Epirus* during this period, in which social cohesion was based around localities and individuals rather than cities and emperors.⁶⁶ This estimation is very plausible yet it constitutes, in my opinion, only half of the picture; the other half of the picture of seventh- to early-eleventh-century society in *Epirus* reflects human agency, acting on both local and imperial interest, aiming to strategically use space as a development apparatus in the very specific ways discussed in Part 3 – Chapter 2 above.

This picture of the seventh – early eleventh century seems to have changed again from around the mid-eleventh century in *Epirus*. Evidence from the mid-eleventh to the end of the twelfth century seems to conform in part to recently articulated definitions of settlement. According to C. Bouras "ruralized towns gave place to towns with secondary production, urban facilities and increasing populations".⁶⁷ G. Dagron has defined

⁶³ Maybe similar to the way in which Modern Greek municipalities (*dimoi*) of the so-called 'Capodistrias Reform' consist of several small village communities (formerly *koinotites*).

⁶⁴ For a theoretical definition of this type of 'in between' settlement see Veikou 2009. For a discussion of the *kastron* see Veikou 2010.

⁶⁵ Bowden 2003a, 231–234.

⁶⁶ Bowden 2003a, 231; On the discussion of settlement patterns in *Epirus* see Part 3 – Chapter 2 above.

⁶⁷ Bouras 2002a, 493.

various models for settlement patterns in this period including:⁶⁸ a) the big city with its hinterland, b) the provincial capital and its modest urban network, c) the '*polis–kastron*' fort in areas subjected to permanent warfare and d) various new trading centres which sprang up as a result of the growth in commerce in the Mediterranean. Of these patterns the last three are traceable in *Epirus*, while dispersed habitation seems also to have continued in some areas, as discussed in detail below.

3.II. A RECONSTRUCTION OF SETTLEMENT IN *EPİRUS*

Within the aforementioned context, I will now attempt a reconstruction of settlement in *Epirus* on the basis of the available evidence, distinguishing between the islands and the mainland, using two large chronological bands (seventh–tenth and eleventh–twelfth centuries).

3.II.1. *The Islands*

Settlement Patterns from the Seventh to the Tenth Century

A type of settlement already in existence by the beginning of the period in question is the so-called 'isle of refuge', which goes back to the second half of the sixth century.⁶⁹ In the investigated area just such a site has been meticulously recorded by archaeologists: the settlement at Kefalos was densely inhabited without interruption from the end of the fifth until the early seventh century, while habitation continued on a smaller scale at least until the tenth century. The seventy-three bronze coins discovered there are mainly seventh-century issues from the years 491–617/8 AD; twenty-seven of them are issues of the first seven years of the reign of Heraklios. Traces of two large basilicas – one with a baptistery – and a considerable number of other buildings are still visible on this minuscule island. The overall archaeological picture indicates that this was an important settlement which most probably functioned as a shelter associated with some coastal settlement – probably located in the nearby area of Vonitsa or on the Panagia peninsula.

This archaeological picture is typical of this type of settlement, which is regularly found elsewhere along the coasts of southern Greece, i.e.

⁶⁸ Dagron 2002, 397.

⁶⁹ On the historical context of these settlements see Huxley 1977, 84–110; Lambropoulou et al. 2001, 205; Kyrou 2001–2002, 501–504; Chrysos 1997b, 183.

on the southern coast of the Ionian Sea, the east and west coasts of the Peloponnese, the coasts of the Argolic Gulf, the Northern Gulf of Corinth, around Euboia and Attica.⁷⁰ There is evidence implying that, apart from Kefalos, a few other flat islets of the island group Korakonissa in the Ambracian Gulf might have been used in similar ways during the sixth- and seventh-century raids on *Epirus*, including the site of Koronissia – today on a peninsula.⁷¹ Other similar sites are scattered along the Ionian coast, such as Kastos, Paxoi and the islet off the NE coast of Zakynthos; unfortunately, the Early Byzantine remains located there have not yet been adequately explored.⁷²

This evidence confirms that the formation of such settlements was a generalized phenomenon.⁷³ However, it would be a mistake to reduce the site of Kefalos to an “isle of refuge”; in fact its use presents great differentiation of use in different periods of time.⁷⁴ Even, during the first occupation phases of the sixth and seventh century, the islet seems to have served a variety of functions, as a place of worship, locus of maritime traffic, and also residential. Furthermore, the appearance of a big number of coins in specific rooms of the two basilicas may indicate either that the coins had been taken there in order to be preserved or that the specific rooms were used for activities which involved monetary transactions. The twelve-nomismata weight found there⁷⁵ insinuates a relation of the site to military presence as well as its having been carefully chosen and strategically used (possibly by the inhabitants of the city of Nikopolis). Bowden has seen the emergence of these “isles of refuge” in *Epirus* and elsewhere as “a maritime variation of the phenomenon of the emergence of *kastra*”.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ For examples of island refuges see Lyrizis 1973, 116; Dimakis 1984, 44–54; Kavadia-Spondyli 2002, 222–224; Kyrou 1995, 118; Kyrou 1990, 192, 260; Lambropoulou et al. 2001, 205; Lerat, Chamoux 1947–1948, 48–55; Hood 1970, 37–45, pl. 13–14; Sampson 1984–1985, 367–370. Many thanks to E. Chrysos and A.K. Kyrou for information on many of these sites.

⁷¹ Local information suggests that on some of the Korakonissa, including the former island of Koronissia, there are archaeological remains similar to those on Kefalos. See entry Kefalos in the Inventory, Part 5.

⁷² On the remains on the island of Kastos see, Benton 1931–32; Konstantios 1981c, 40; Moutzali 2003; Moutzali 2005; Bowden 2003a, 186. On the remains at Ozeia on Paxoi see: Vocotopoulos 1967, 374–375; Chrysos 1997b, 183. On the island off the NE coast of Zakynthos see Stoufi-Poulimenou 1987–1988, 267–276.

⁷³ Avramea 1997, 171.

⁷⁴ See analysis in Part 3 – Chapter 1 above and in the relevant Inventory entry (Part 5 – Chapter 2).

⁷⁵ See M9 in section 4.V. in Part 2 – Chapter 4.

⁷⁶ Bowden 2003a, 189.

However, previous analysis of settlement in small off-shore islands round the coasts of South Greece have indeed not only been used as isles of refuge but seem to have been settled for a broad variety of reasons in different areas and periods of time within a strategic relation with the opposite coastal settlements from Late Antiquity throughout the Byzantine period; this relation to the coast is in fact what determines the changes in their use.⁷⁷

This is probably the reason why the bigger islands of Kalamos and Lefkada seem to have been inhabited in a rather different way than the above-mentioned islets during this period. Episkopi on the north coast of Kalamos was a very favourable location for many kinds of settlement, because it was invisible from the Ionian Sea. Since Kalamos remains unexplored either by survey or excavation, it is still a moot point as to whether this settlement served as an isle of refuge for the inhabitants of Kandila situated across the bay. The presence of the small fort is unusual for such a site and it is somewhat reminiscent of the slightly later island-stations for the navy which appear during the reign of Constans II; however, as the fort and overall material remains are undated, this is all hypothetical and merely designed to encourage future investigation.⁷⁸

The case of Lefkada is more interesting. Any settlement on Koulmos hill, on the concealed NE coast of the island, would have made an excellent refuge for the inhabitants of all the more exposed nearby areas. Indeed, the early phases of this settlement, identified with Λευκάς (Leukas), seem to fall in precisely the period of the sixth to seventh centuries. However, in this case the settlement was sufficiently flourishing to develop into something larger because of the potential of its hinterland and its location on the sea route to the West. As early as the ninth century it appears as a bishopric and in the tenth century it is described as a settlement; later it was promoted into an autocephalous archbishopric, as discussed below.

Settlement Patterns in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Indeed, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Λευκάς seems to have witnessed prosperity similar to that of sites on the Epirote mainland. Its economic prosperity during this period is indicated by its promotion to an archbishopric and later an autocephalous archbishopric, being looted

⁷⁷ For an extensive analysis see Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

⁷⁸ On archaeological sites of this type see Kyrou 2001–2002, 516–9.

by the Pisans and the development of a substantial Jewish community. This evidence implies that it would have developed into a settlement with 'urban' features, similar to Ναύπακτος (at modern Nafpaktos), Ἄρτα (at modern Arta) and Βόνδιτζα (at modern Vonitsa). Thus it was an island site presenting many analogies with mainland settlements.

By contrast, judging by the architectural, numismatic and ceramic evidence the settlement on Kefalos does not seem to have survived beyond the late tenth century. In Koronissia, however, the monastery constructed at the end of the tenth century survived until the seventeenth century.

3.II.2. *The Mainland*

In the investigated area there is no evidence of cities or towns from the seventh up to the late eleventh century, with the exception of Ναύπακτος/Nafpaktos from the tenth century onwards and perhaps Νικόπολις/Nikopolis in the seventh century. Instead several fortifications appear in locations which, according to the sources, are suitable for the construction of towns. These fortifications often preserve names mentioned in the sources as settlements or centres of religious administration from the ninth century onwards; this date is in fact quite late, if compared e.g. with Thrace, where bishoprics are attested before the ninth century, indicating a slower speed of recovery in *Epirus*.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the sites lack any trace of material remains dating to between the seventh and the mid-eleventh century, which could indicate urban settlements. The fortifications themselves have been dated between the seventh and the twelfth century. For the most part they are not extensive and have been subjected to several later reconstructions which conceal the early phases of the buildings.⁸⁰

With the exception of the steady appearance of lead seals, which confirms a continuous presence of state and church officials in the area, the majority of small finds – mostly pottery and sculpture – are dated after the tenth century. Indeed their numbers gradually increase from the end of the tenth until the end of the twelfth century, as does the numismatic evidence dating from the same period. It seems to follow well-known patterns to the letter: e.g. the disappearance of coinage after the time of Heraklios and its reappearance in the capital of the Theme, Nafpaktos, during the reign of Theophilos. Architectural evidence also seems to have dramatically but gradually increased from the end of the tenth century

⁷⁹ For Thrace see Dunn 1997.

⁸⁰ For example this happened in the castles of Vonitsa and Aetos.

until at least the end of the twelfth. These fluctuations in material remains over time are not uncommon in Byzantine sites in Greece.

Settlement Patterns from the Seventh to the Tenth Centuries

Constant construction and reconstruction of churches may be observed in the investigated area from the seventh to the ninth century.⁸¹ In many cases they are built on sites of older religious buildings.⁸² Some of these churches are positively large while all of them are built in unfortified sites. This suggests that the countryside was inhabited i.e. there were at least rural settlements, possibly villages.⁸³ In my opinion, the scarcity of evidence should not be considered responsible for the lack of find-concentrations pointing to urban-settlement formations dating to the seventh–tenth centuries (with the exception of Ναύπακτος/Nafpaktos and Λευκάς/Leukas in the tenth century and perhaps Νικόπολις/Nikopolis in the seventh century). Though the scarcity of evidence also applies to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, settlement patterns in that period seem to have changed a good deal not only in relation to the overall picture but also as regards pre-existing sites.⁸⁴

Before the tenth century several data indicates more of a dispersed rather than a nuclear habitation pattern. Fortified settlements were most probably located in Ναύπακτος/Nafpaktos, Λευκάς/Koulmos on Lefkada, Δραγαμέστον/Astakos and maybe Ἄρτα/Arta; of these the last two are not mentioned in the sources as seats of bishoprics. The largest churches of this period were constructed far from these sites. Thus the names of bishoprics and settlements at this time should be considered more as place-names of territories and their settled sites, all under the authority of a bishop, than as the names of nuclear settlements. An overall account of the precise correlation between the names of bishoprics mentioned in the sources and archaeological sites is given in my next sub-chapter.

A final observation regards the way in which the names of bishoprics and settlements from seventh- to tenth-century *Epirus* mentioned in the

⁸¹ I refer *inter alia* to the big churches at Mastro, Ag. Georgios, Stamna, Mavrikas, Mytikas, Megali Chora, Arta.

⁸² See above Part 2 – Chapter 1 and Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

⁸³ On the definition of the form of Byzantine villages – as settlements with defined borders, located close to communication routes and sources of drinking water and having a church at their centre – see Laiou 2005, 39, 49.

⁸⁴ See, for example, what happened in Arta, Vonditza, Rogoi and Nafpaktos.

sources confirm the interpretative framework proposed above for settlement in Epirote mainland. In other words, these names are descriptive of the physical features of locations and meant to distinguish them from neighbouring ones. For example, Vonditsa (Βόνδιτζα) describes a place which looks like a hook, Dragamesto (Δραγαμέστο) distinguishes a place with the best view, Rogoi (Ῥογοί) refers to a local granary, Aetos (Ἀετός) suggests a place with many eagles and Acheloos (Ἀχελῷος) is situated near the well-known river of the same name.

With the exception of Ναύπακτος/Nafpaktos and maybe Ἀμβρακία/Amvrakia, settlement names no longer refer to the ancient cities and their hinterlands (e.g. Nikopolis). The names were probably assigned partly by Greek-speakers, partly by – eventually integrated – Slav newcomers and they reflect their manner of settlement and their economic activities. The connotations of the name Nikopolis changed in a similar way: the name of a famous ancient city was now used to signify the geographical area around that city. The same mentality can be seen in place-name assignment in later centuries as is evident from the names of eleventh- to twelfth-century bishoprics and settlements. So, Ἀνατολικόν (= Anatolikon, meaning ‘Eastern’) denotes the settlement of the eastern bank of the river, Κοζύλι (Kozyli) means ‘a place with/for goats’, Πρέβεζα (= Preveza, meaning ‘passage’) is indeed a place from where one can cross to the other side of the Gulf and Ἄρτα (Arta) possibly described a location in a narrow, irrigable valley or marshes – just like that on which modern Arta is built.⁸⁵

When it comes to the location and pattern of fortifications, it reflects the philosophy of defence that Byzantium developed after the seventh and until the thirteenth century. According to V. Panayotopoulos:

Until the seventh century, defensive works in the territory of the Byzantine State were planned and constructed on the basis of the needs of areas located on the borderlines, since those were exposed to massive attacks by enemies' armies. (...) Constant attacks along extensive frontlines imposed the adjustment of defensive policy to the Roman *limes* pattern, i.e. on a single continuous line of defense. These *limes* seem to have already collapsed some time before the end of the Arab invasions. During those invasions much of the Byzantine territory had already been trespassed and foreign populations had penetrated. (...) Thus Byzantine borders were transformed into very broad zones where fortifications were not built on a continuous borderline but along communication axes or at selected spots of mountain ranges etc.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ See relevant Inventory entries in Part 5 – Chapter 2 below.

⁸⁶ Panayotopoulos 1985, 45–46.

The organization of fortifications in the area between the seventh and the tenth centuries conforms exactly to the pattern described by Panayotopoulos.

Last but not least, the reuse of older sites with an eventual change of use of older buildings marks the tenth and the turn to the eleventh century. As seen in the settlements on Kefalos, Mytikas, Evinochori, Mastro, Zapandi and elsewhere,⁸⁷ the old sites are yet in use but the reconstruction of secular and religious structures (including necessary changes) is evidently now both unavoidable and affordable. The change of use of a settlement, as in the case of Kefalos, is a very interesting phenomenon which requires proper and specialized examination in another study. Especially the reconstruction of smaller churches on the nave or aisle of older larger religious buildings and their reuse (often for funerary purposes) occurs in Greece with a remarkable frequency in during this period; thus it could not be regarded as an improvised initiative but as an established, generalized practice.⁸⁸

Settlement Patterns During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Most but not all the settlements from the seventh–tenth centuries have survived into the eleventh and twelfth centuries and some of them expanded into new forms. As far as Early Byzantine settlements are concerned, the ones that somehow managed to survive into the eighth century did not last beyond the eleventh century.⁸⁹ Nafpaktos (Ναύπακτος) is clearly the only exception to this, managing to survive, though relocated to a more elevated position further from the coastline, thanks to its generally favourable location and its other advantages described in Chapter 1 of Part 3.⁹⁰

It is clear that most settlements would have preserved their rural features; only a handful of settlements, which met the necessary prerequisites for economic growth, evolved into urban settlements and experienced prosperity as centres of Venetian trade from the twelfth century onwards. From the eleventh century onwards, such trading centres were found in the Theme's capital, Nafpaktos and in Arta, Vonditza and Dragamesto as

⁸⁷ See Part 2 – Chapter 1 and Part 3 – Chapter 1 above.

⁸⁸ On more examples of such sites see Laskaris 2000, 77–100. On a relevant discussion of the phenomenon see Veikou, *Kastra, isles of refuge and unspecified settlements*.

⁸⁹ I refer to the settlements at Nikopolis, Mytikas, Drymos and Finikia.

⁹⁰ The Early Byzantine urban centres of Asia Minor seem to have experienced similar developments. See Foss 1979; Brandes 1989; Saradi 2006.

well as the monastic centre on Mt. Varassova and the island of Leukas mentioned above.

Settlements such as Rogoi and Kozyli, though less prominent in the sources, also experienced prosperity from the eleventh century onwards according to the relevant historical and archaeological evidence. Furthermore, at the Castle of Rogoi, important engineering works aimed at diverting the river Louros, evidently reflect the availability of substantial funds,⁹¹ suggesting that Rogoi was an important settlement from the tenth to the fifteenth century.

On the other hand Aetos was probably by now merely a fort while Anatolikon is attested as an *emporion* or trading centre.

Fortifications were built or repaired in most of the aforementioned sites during this period. Nonetheless, the settlements seem to have developed outside the surviving enceintes. The existence of outer, more extensive enceintes protecting the settlement is mentioned in relation to Arta and the Castle of Rogoi; sea walls protecting the port and the inhabited area around it survive in Vonitsa and Nafpaktos.

The development of similar settlements on the steep slopes of basins or on hills unsuitable for cultivation has been discussed in other cases of medieval settlements of the same period or slightly later, e.g. (in the Peloponnese) Monemvasia and Mystras.⁹² Similar rules could have applied to the development of the Epirote settlements at Nafpaktos, Arta, Vonitsa, Koulmos in Lefkada and the Castle of Rogoi during the eleventh and twelfth century. In other words, the growth of a settlement is expressed in a tendency to spread outwards following the physical contours of the landscape. This tendency involves a tripartite arrangement of the inhabited space, consisting of a citadel, an upper and a lower town (which sometimes also involves an outer town as, for example, in Mystras).

Last but not least, during this period, urban settlements and important monastic centres seem to have attracted the dedication of churches by the Theme's state or church officials, who were the only people to handle large sums of money: e.g. the *magistros* Constantine Maniakis or Leon, the metropolitan of Nafpaktos. The new conditions and mentalities would have been reflected in the new construction techniques. New architectural plans were widespread from the end of the tenth century

⁹¹ E.g. Hohlfelder 1997, 373–374.

⁹² Cooper 2002, especially 35–36, 52–61; Moutsopoulos 2001; Kalamara 2001, 63–79; Bouras 1997; Evgenidou 2001, 62.

onwards. There is a great deal of architectural sculpture, some of which is of very good quality and suggests artistic relations between *Epirus* and adjacent Byzantine regions.⁹³ The pottery suggests exactly the same thing. The presence of such sculpture and of the occasional scholarly inscription confirms that in most cases the patrons had high-class ambitions, though their means were humble.

3.II.3. *A Correlation of Historical Settlements with Archaeological Evidence*

The last issue which has to be addressed is finding ways of correlating the historical data with the archaeological evidence for each settlement, so as to define a settlement structure, which is both archaeologically confirmed and historically attested.

The bishoprics of Arta, Rogoi, Vonditsa, Leukas and Nikopolis are most probably to be associated with settlements in the areas adjacent to the homonymous fortifications, as described in the outline given in Chapter 1 of Part 3. The same may have been true of the bishopric of Aetos. In that case it is likely to have been associated with the entire Acarnanian highlands including villages in the densely forested hinterland and the valley of Kandila, whose harbour provided access to the sea.⁹⁴ The settlements of Dragamesto and Vristiana (Βρεστῖανοι) may also have been under the authority of the bishop of Aetos.

The settlement of Nikopolis was probably abandoned because it no longer provided safety (and probably not even drinking water if the aqueduct got damaged). The Theme's capital was transferred to Nafpaktos, which was in a less exposed location, exceptionally well fortified, and much closer to the Greek mainland and to Corinth, the main centre in the Peloponnese. Its situation was strategically protected from attack from the West, offered easy access to Corinth and less direct access to other Byzantine regions such as *Hellas*, *Thessaloniki*, the Aegean and Constantinople.

As far as the historical settlement of Amvrakia is concerned, there is archaeological evidence for a ninth- to eleventh-century settlement on the site of ancient Amvrakia (i.e. Arta) as opposed to that of ancient Limnaia (which has been an alternative suggestion).⁹⁵ Yet, if Byzantine Amvrakia

⁹³ See Vanderheyde 2005 and Part 2, Chapter 3.II.

⁹⁴ An extensive trade in oak-galls and timber is attested as early as the 16th c.; that trade is considered to have been responsible for stripping the Acarnanian Mountains of their vast forests. Even during the 19th c. there were extensive pastoral activities (e.g. ox breeding).

⁹⁵ See Inventory entry on Amvrakia in Part 5 – Chapter 2 below.

was indeed a continuation of ancient Amvrakia, it is hard to see why the name of the ninth-century settlement should have changed to 'Arta' until the late eleventh century, unless perhaps there was some dramatic demographic change. There are indeed some indications of this. The name 'Kassopitra' and the tenth-century sculpture of the church of the Panagia in the modern city of Arta as well as the documentary evidence for an earlier, large church on the same site may indicate that inhabitants from the earlier settlement of Evroia or their descendants might have returned here from Kassiopi in Corfu and built a new settlement in a favourable location which they named in accordance with its physical features.⁹⁶

Alternatively, Byzantine Amvrakia could have been located on the site of ancient Limnaia. The story about its inhabitants rushing to the help of the people of Dragamesto fits this scenario better, since getting from ancient Limnaia to Dragamesto must have been easy via the passes in the Acarnanian mountains. The transfer of the name Amvrakia to the southern coast of the Ambracian Gulf could have been the result of the inhabitants of an Early Byzantine settlement in the area of modern-day Arta (then called Amvrakia?) moving south during the Slav invasions. The latter clearly caused both the migration of the inhabitants of Evroia and the creation of Kefalos.

Yet again it is also entirely possible that the sources referring to Amvrakia do not mean a nuclear settlement but an inhabited area. In that case Amvrakia would have been a name by which to refer to populations living around the Ambracian Gulf; in fact the Gulf has kept the same epithet ('Αμβρακικός' in Greek) to the present day. This alternative seems to be much closer to the way place-names were assigned in the context of ninth-century settlement described above.

The bishopric of Acheloos (Ἀχελῷος), mentioned from the ninth to the fifteenth century, also covered an extensive geographical area. One possible site for the seat of this bishopric is the area of Stratos-Pezoulia-Matsouki. But there are many important sites along the river such as

⁹⁶ The inhabitants of Early Byzantine Evroia in Thesprotia migrated to Kassiopi in Corfu to avoid the Slav invasions; supposedly they returned to their homeland at some later date. See Part 1, Chapter 2; Inventory entry no. 31, Part 5; Follieri 1996. As far as the name Arta is concerned, Tsoutsinos has expressed the opinion that there was a settlement on the site of modern-day Arta, which was already called 'Arta' in the Roman period, an information which I haven't been able to confirm (see the Inventory entry on the Castle of Arta in Part 5 below).

Stamna and Angelokastro (Achelokastro?).⁹⁷ The diocese must have included the entire lower course of the Acheloos up to Mastro; in fact ‘Acheloos’ remained in use as a place-name referring to this geographical area until the fifteenth century. In this large area isolated sites were scattered along the river and in the plain of Agrinio and there were several monasteries on Mt. Arakynthos and around Lakes Trichonida and Lyssimachia.

Finally, the bishopric of Kozyli should probably be associated with the highlands of the Nikopolis peninsula at the foot of Mt. Zalongo. In this area there is a distribution of material remains (architecture and sculpture) from the time when the bishopric was first mentioned.⁹⁸ This must have included any installations in the area of Late Antique Nikopolis, which most probably no longer used the older name and which were abandoned around the mid-eleventh century. The presence of Slavs and Bulgars here is attested by historical evidence and the surviving Slavic place names of Zalongo, Kozyli and Preveza.⁹⁹

The geographical unit associated with the diocese of Kozyli does not seem to have communicated with the Eastern coast of the lagoon (sites of Rogoi, Vigla, Stefani, Phidokastro etc.) via the Louros valley at this time, as is the case nowadays. The mouth of the Louros actually reached the area of Mazoma as recently as the nineteenth century; during the fifteenth century it was located further to the east and the alluvial plain on the western shores of the lagoons of Logarou and Rodia had not yet been formed.¹⁰⁰ The port of Nikopolis at Mazoma was used until at least the fifteenth century.

Identifying the *refugia* for the populations of the bishopric of Kozyli is problematic. Until the eleventh century the inhabitants of this area must have sought refuge in Nikopolis. Yet no fortifications of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are known in the area defined above. It is possible that people would have sought refuge in the Castle of Rogoi, yet it would be unusual not to have something closer. The possibility of a Byzantine fortified site at the foot of Mt. Zalongo should thus be the subject of future investigations.

⁹⁷ The identification of Acheloos with Stratos has already been suggested by Schwandner (see relevant Inventory entries in Part 5 below).

⁹⁸ I am referring to the sites of Panagia sto Kozyli and Agiolitharo in Nea Sampsonda, Ag. Varnavas in Louros and Oropos.

⁹⁹ On the first settlement called Preveza in the 12th c. see the relevant Inventory entry in Part 5.

¹⁰⁰ Syngelou 2008.

Last but not least, from an administrative point of view, I would make one final suggestion on the basis of all the foregoing and that is that the coastal areas of Acarnania, the islands of Lefkada, Kalamos and Kastos and possibly the area of the former city of Nikopolis would have belonged to the Theme of *Kephallenia* while the rest of the sites would have been part of *Nikopolis*. This was first suggested by Koder and Soustal in 1981,¹⁰¹ I think this suggestion is supported by both the archaeological and textual evidence on settlement. The few Middle Byzantine settlements situated on the Acarnanian coast (Dragamesto and Kandila) and on the three aforementioned islands seem to have developed shortly after the seventh century and around the time of the establishment of the Theme of *Kephallenia*; by the ninth century, Dragamesto and Lefkada are already mentioned in the sources as large settlements. On the contrary, settlement in the Acarnanian hinterland, Aetolia and S modern Epirus seems to have been less dense and more dispersed during the same period of time; larger settlements seem to have been formed from the end of the ninth century onwards (Nafpaktos, Acheloos, Vonitsa, Arta etc.). This could be interpreted in relation to the establishment of the Theme of *Nikopolis* in the area which happened later than that of *Kephallenia*. Unfortunately, there is no more evidence to the present, which would allow a further, more precise, definition of thematic territories in Byzantine *Epirus*.

3.III. CONCLUSIONS

As a result of my investigation into the forms and network of settlements in the area and period under discussion a series of hypotheses has been articulated. These hypotheses concern: a) differences in habitation patterns according to geographical location (on islands or the mainland) and chronology (in the seventh–tenth or eleventh–twelfth centuries) and b) contextualization of historical and archaeological evidence and interpretation thereof in a consistent interpretative framework.

These hypotheses remain open to discussion as do related issues on seventh–twelfth century habitation concerning:

- ethnic and cultural aspects of demography
- physical features of different landscapes

¹⁰¹ See also Koder, Soustal 1981, 37.

- economic activities permitted or encouraged by particular landscapes
- limitations imposed by certain landscapes on human agency and communications
- opportunities to develop natural resources, depending on particular historical contexts (e.g. general political and social conditions, such as peace or war, the need for economic autarchy or expansion, state investment – or lack of it – in different areas etc.)

The only safe way to confirm or refute these hypotheses will be by conducting archaeological research in the field. That would make it possible to map habitation in this important province, which was one of the Byzantine Empire's gateways to the West. I have attempted to cross-check some of my conclusions against historical evidence for the construction of settlements during the period in question. However, as regards the precise features of Epirote settlements, the texts are silent and archaeological evidence is as yet insufficient.

The interpretative framework proposed here is founded on solid hypotheses, which constitute a rational historical explanation of the distribution of material remains; yet the 'rational historical explanation' is not necessarily what really happened. The ideas outlined in this study are meant as a contribution to the discourse on historical settlement and use of space.¹⁰² But these are undoubtedly unique for every single case, with each one involving different combinations of geographical units and historical contexts, no matter how hard historians and geographers try to establish general principles and defining parameters that will determine them.

And, if I do not seem to have supplied many answers here, asking questions is equally important. I will borrow the words of the anthropologist, Thomas Hylland Eriksen, in order to draw a parallel between archaeology and social anthropology and show exactly why it was considered so important in this book to ask questions even in the cases where it was not possible to answer them:

Anthropology deals with 'the Others', but, in crucial ways, it also concerns ourselves. Anthropological studies may provide us with a mirror, a window, a contrast which makes it possible to reflect on our own existence in a new way. Descriptions of life in the Trobriand Islands remind us that our own

¹⁰² I am using the term 'discourse' here in the sense defined by Barthes 1997. See also Brown 2005, 65–66; Shanks 1993, 4.

society is not the only conceivable one. The Ndembu, the Inuit and the Dogon may tell us that our whole life could have been very different, and thanks to anthropological analyses of their societies they may even tell us *how* it might have been different. They force us to ask fundamental questions about ourselves and our own society. Sometimes they may even force us to act accordingly.

Anthropology also teaches us something about the complexity of culture and social life. Sometimes, as in the analysis of rituals, it may indeed seem that there is no easy question to the answers provided by anthropological research. Our job, faced with ideological simplifications, prejudice, ignorance and bigotry, must be to make the world more complex rather than simplifying it.

Anthropology may not provide the answer to the question of the meaning of life, but at least it can tell us that there are many ways in which to make a life meaningful. If it does not provide answers, anthropology may at least give us the feeling of being very close to the questions.¹⁰³

So does archaeology.

¹⁰³ Eriksen 2001: 313.

PART FOUR

THE CASE OF SOUTHERN MIDDLE BYZANTINE *EPIRUS*

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The fragmentary picture we have of settlement in Byzantine *Epirus* between the seventh and the twelfth centuries as a result of the geological and historical facts known about the region and the distribution of archaeological evidence on the ground has been explained as a consequence of the following factors:

- the palaeosols along with the architectural remains they preserved have been concealed due to the intense geological phenomena over large parts of the area in question;
- these same geological phenomena, as well as the morphology of the terrain introduced factors which inhibited human habitation and this was, in fact, the case even in areas which now seem well adapted to it and even favourable. Thus settlement may actually not have been as dense as it was in other regions of the Empire;
- so far there has been little systematic archaeological exploration and the information from the historical sources relating to the region in the period concerned is also limited.

The presentation of new archaeological material, comparative observations and re-dating of the extant archaeological material (architectural remains and small finds) demonstrated that the picture we had of the archaeology of Byzantine *Epirus* needed re-evaluating. It also gave preliminary confirmation of the way the space was used in this period, indicating a large number of inhabited areas and showing that this particular part of Byzantine *Epirus* was settled in a relatively permanent way from the seventh to the twelfth century.

This material has been arranged by category in such a way as to provide a basis for future comparisons and observations. Monuments which previously appeared in connection with more than one place name in the literature were identified with specific locations by means of precise geographic coordinates. Architectural remains were classified according to their use and construction, while re-dating was proposed for some of them on the basis of the new information resulting from this research project. A large number of small finds were assembled by type in conjunction with the bibliographical references made to them from the late nineteenth century onwards, while some which came from much earlier

excavations were brought to light again. Finally all the available material was incorporated into one coherent geological and historical framework, which allowed some more general conclusions to be drawn.

Archaeological evidence confirms the close contacts *Epirus* had with the culture of its neighbours. Evidence from the inscriptions on lead seals from around AD 850 onwards implies the existence of shared economic activities between the Themes of *Kephallenia* and *Nikopolis, Hellas*, the *Peloponnese* and *Thessaloniki*, as these Themes shared common functionaries. Evidence from sculpture and architecture also suggests the existence of a local manufacturing base and the influence of neighbouring areas. Some of the sculpture shows similarities with contemporary sculpture in Central Greece and the Peloponnese, while there is some demonstrably local production. A local tradition in architecture is also discernible but the masonries show connections above all with Macedonia and Albania and to a lesser extent with Thessaly and the Peloponnese. Finally, evidence from pottery and glass shows close links with the Peloponnese, and especially with Corinthian workshops. Yet at least two kinds of local coarse ware have been identified in *Epirus*, while two pottery workshops require further investigation. So an important preliminary conclusion resulting from the above comparisons is that areas which are today located in modern Greece shared common traditions and techniques in many fields of material culture in the Byzantine period.

Furthermore, it has been observed that sgraffito pottery in particular and good quality metal and glass artefacts also seem to be related to Corinth and perhaps partly originate from it. In terms of metal objects, all buckle types have been found in Corinth; in most cases identical examples of the buckles from *Epirus* have been found there. Indeed, as regards trade, Corinth seems to have been the centre with the most influence on *Epirus* during the Middle Byzantine period. Other evidence (e.g. from sculpture) also supports the assumption that, in certain aspects (i.e. trade of artefacts or art), *Epirus* was much more closely connected to its southern neighbour (N. Peloponnese) than to its eastern ones (Macedonia and Central Greece). This confirms my original hypothesis, discussed in Part 1 above, that marine routes were more important than overland ones, when it came to long-distance communications.

On the basis of the settlement evidence which emerged from the above analysis it was posited that fortified and non-fortified residential areas developed in the area linked to the land and water routes in use at that time. All the fortified sites, with the sole exception of *Nikopolis*, began their development on elevated ground or in semi-mountainous terrain,

most probably from the eighth century onwards. They continued in existence into the Post-Byzantine period, except Lefkada from the thirteenth century onwards. Unfortified settlements were located in the plains or on coastal sites, though neither their nature nor their development can be adequately documented (perhaps because the palaeorelief has changed radically in these places). Finally a large number of inhabited sites were monastic which were located either a) within the confines of larger settlements, b) scattered around and especially in relatively isolated places or c) on and around Mt. Varassova, where the concentration of monasteries and hermitages was so striking as to be dubbed the "Mount Athos of Western Central Greece".

All the above has led me to conclude that the need to adapt to the limitations on space and to historical conditions resulted in a transformation in the settlement pattern in this period by comparison with the earlier period. The inhabited areas present a uniformity in their geographical features (e.g. the way they develop on flat-topped hills which offer natural fortification, the possibility of communicating with and visual control of the area, drinking water and availability of construction materials, as well as the tendency to abandon the coastal sites). These preferences are connected with the perception and uses made of physical space in societies during this period, as described in the relevant sources from the time.

Archaeological sites rarely produce finds from just one period; the more of a 'hub' they constitute for activities in the area over time, the longer they survive and the more transformations they undergo. Their role as a central point in the area is often confirmed by the diachronic evidence of the historical sources. Every instance of incorporating earlier *spolia* into new buildings can usefully be considered a historical act; each Byzantine fortification, for example, which is built on an earlier one is not just a 'superstructure', but incorporates the old one from an archaeological point of view and thus also incorporates its physical and symbolic features from a historical point of view.

As regards vocabulary it became evident that the word 'κάστρο' (*kastro*), found in the Byzantine sources as an equivalent to 'town' and originally coming from the Early Byzantine latin *castrum*, probably came to mean a medieval settlement in correlation to the Italian *castrum*; therefore, it should not be confused with its modern meaning (castle). However it is evident from archaeology that *kastra* do not have to be directly linked to the exact form that such settlements (*castra*) took in the West, just because the word was acquired from the West. Consequently this word does not describe a particular form of settlement in Byzantium. On the

contrary, it is clear that each specific archaeological site of this period and above all those which included fortifications has to be examined as to the function it served. Thus the term '*kastro*' should be cautiously applied to fortified sites for the additional reason that it is a word whose content is not self-explanatory.

It is likely that residential areas in this period did not necessarily correspond to a clear typological hierarchy of settlements (e.g. hamlet, village, town, city) and that their form could show some 'flexibility' as regards the use of space and the overall manner of settlement in each area. The ecclesiastical administrative divisions, which are better known to us, should also be considered to be likely to have corresponded to such a 'flexible' settlement pattern.

Finally the physical space which has its own dynamic development, is revealed through the evidence of archaeology and the historical sources as a parameter of historical becoming, i.e. as a 'social space', since it interacts with human agency. This is another reason why the space which a community inhabits at a particular time is a unique totality. Therefore, to reconstruct and understand this totality, it is necessary to attempt to re-assemble the space in the period under examination, i.e. to make the space itself (independent of any of the remains of human intervention) the subject of archaeological research.

EPILOGUE

As Dora Lafazani wrote "the physical space which we see nowadays is the space in which social activity happens and develops. Thus this space is no longer the classical place with its location and its other geometrical proportions, dimensions and properties but a space which social relations continuously construct and deconstruct".¹ In that sense landscape archaeologists are facing a great load of work. At another point in this same study, however, she accepts something which perhaps offers more support for the argument which is concluded here: "though other social scientists seem to survive academically without feeling obliged to familiarize themselves with issues of space, scholars who study space (e.g. landscape archaeologists) have proved more zealous since they do not feel 'legitimate' unless they acquire a modicum of 'sociological baggage'".²

¹ Lafazani 1997, 70.

² *Ibidem*.

PART FIVE

INVENTORY OF 7TH–12TH-CENTURY SITES IN
MIDDLE BYZANTINE SOUTHERN *EPIRUS*

SITES INVENTORY

5.I. INTRODUCTION

The way in which the archaeological and historical evidence relating to the investigated sites is presented has been structured as follows.

First of all, Inventory entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Since identifying some of the Byzantine settlements mentioned in the sources can be problematic or occasionally even impossible, it was considered more appropriate to base Inventory entries on archaeological sites rather than historical settlements. This arrangement has also proved useful in facilitating other aspects of this research such as evaluating site distribution in different areas and assessing land use and the total extent of settlement.

Each site is identified by a consecutive number in the Inventory (S/N) and its contemporary name (Site Name). A star (*) to the right of the Site Name denotes those sites where unpublished, Byzantine material remains have been located during the survey. In cases of as yet unidentified Byzantine settlements (i.e. sites mentioned in the sources which have yet to be associated with material remains) their Byzantine name is written in italics in place of the Site Name.

This data is followed by geographical information, which will allow future researchers to identify the exact locations of the sites. Various cross-references are provided so as to avoid confusion resulting from the frequently homonymous place-names and the approximations of the GPS:

- *Geographical Coordinates and Altitude*: GPS information
- *Place-names*: modern place-names, usually more than one and occurring interchangeably in the literature
- *Area*: position of the site, in terms of its distance from fixed central points in the area
- *Settlement*: name of adjacent/surrounding modern settlement in the environs of which the site is located
- *Province*: province (Gr. επαρχία) in which the site is located
- *Prefecture*: prefecture (Gr. νομός) in which the site is located
- *NSSG ID no.*: the Identification Number given to the modern settlement by the National Statistical Service of Greece (ΕΣΥΕ) in the 2001

census (evidence that the settlement continued to be populated until recently).¹

- *Former Community*: the older names of the modern settlement, i.e. before the 1997 Capodistrias Reform which changed the names of all minor settlements (Gr. κοινότητες = communities, villages) in Greece by integrating them into a system of greater municipalities (δήμοι) each consisting of several villages. The field ‘Municipality’ denotes the administrative district into which the village was integrated in 1997. Pre-1997 names were correlated with the later ones so as to identify the settlements with the help of the Registers issued by the Union of Greek Local Government Organizations (ΚΕΔΚΕ) and by the NSSG (ΕΣΥΕ).²
- *HMGS map*: this refers to the Hellenic Military Geographical Service map on which the site location is plotted. HMGS maps of a scale of 1:100,000 were used during the survey.

The information on the historical sites is then detailed. *Archaeological evidence* includes an account of the archaeological evidence (published and/or unpublished) available for each site. Details of the process of documenting the site by survey are provided next. The dates of visits (*Visits*) are followed by a description of the geomorphology from macroscopic observation (*Geomorphology*) and references to the documentation of the material remains by photos and plans, all referenced using the numbers of figures and plans in this volume (*Figures, Plan*). The sites are also charted on the six detailed maps in this book (Maps 1–6), with their original Inventory Site Number (S/N); the number of the map, on which the site is charted, is given under *Maps*.

Under *Architecture* there is a brief description of buildings and their spatial layout. Additional archaeological evidence is mentioned under *Other finds* (including building inscriptions, mosaics, opus sectile and fresco decorations, architectural sculpture, ceramics and tiles, metal artefacts, glass artefacts, seals and coin finds) whose detailed descriptions and exact findspots can be looked up at APPENDIX I. *Historical evidence* gives an account of the available data on the historical settlements.

Where historical settlements have been identified with more than one archaeological site and the identification remains problematic, the name of the historical settlement is given as the site name (Site Name) and the

¹ ESYE 2003.

² KEDKE, EETAA 2002; ESYE 1995.

various suggestions for its identification with material remains are cited under *Archaeological evidence*. By contrast, where historical sites have been correctly identified with several neighbouring archaeological sites (with different entries and site numbers in the Inventory), the historical evidence is cited only once and then cross-referenced for the remainder of the relevant entries.

An approximate dating of the site is proposed under *Date*, based on an evaluation of both archaeological and historical evidence. Where there is a general lack of consensus on the site's chronology in the literature, alternative opinions are also cited. Finally, under *Bibliography* the basic literature relating to each site is cited in chronological order, primary sources first followed by secondary ones.

5.II. THE SITES

S/N₁

Site Name Acheloos (Ἀχελῷος)

Geographical Coordinates

Altitude

Place-names

Area

Settlement

Former Community

Municipality

Province

Prefecture

NSSG ID no.

HMGS map

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Most probably related to the fluvial environment of River Acheloos.

Figures

Plan

Map 11

Architecture – Other Finds

The settlement is not yet identified with material remains. Identifications have been suggested with the following sites:

1. S/N 15 – Angelokastro (Pouqueville; Koder, Soustal)
2. S/N 70 – Mastro (Kirsten; Konstas; Koder, Soustal; Katsaros 1986; Katsaros 1988; Vocotopoulos). Katsaros (1991) has suggested Acheloos referred to a network of settlements along the river.
3. S/N 106 – Trigardo (Petropoulos)
4. S/N 51 – Katochi (Heuzey)
5. S/N 2–4 – Aetoliko (Nicol)
6. S/N 102 – Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies (Papatrechas)
7. S/N 90 – Ochthia and S/N 105 – Stratos (Paliouras).

It has been here proposed that the bishopric of Acheloos referred to the whole area of the river valley with several possible settlement clusters scattered around Stratiki and modern Agrinio (see Part 3, Chapters 1 and 3).

Historical evidence

Ἀχελῶος or Ἀνχελῶος: bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Nafpaktos in the *Taktika* by Leo VI (886–912) and until 12th c. Ἀχελούς: Benjamin of Tudela (1165) wrote it had 10 Jewish families and was at two-days trip from Lacta, Larta, Lecat (Arta or Lefkada?) and half-a-day trip from Ἀνατολικόν. It is also mentioned by al-Idrisi. Δροῦγγος στὸν Ἀχελούν: mentioned in relation to the village Σέλτζιανον and a monastery of Ag. Triada or Pandokratoras ca. 1143–1180. Pertinentia de Achelo, Achello, Acheloi of the Theme of *Nikopolis*: assigned to Venice in 1204; Michael I Komnenodoukas assigned to it trade privileges in 1210. Θέμα Ἀχελώων: the Monastery of Kremastos belongs to it, after 1204 (S/N 16). Bishop of Ἀχελού και Ἄρτας: mentioned in 1227.

Acheloos was evidently a Middle Byzantine bishopric whose seat was occasionally located at Mastro. In the Late Byzantine period the area of Acheloos is defined by the 15th-c. Chronicle of Tocci as comprising the valley of Acheloos to the N of Anatolikon and Katochi; the Xeromero was its W border. The previous hypothesis that the seat was located at Ἀχελόκαστρον – later renamed Ἀγγελόκαστρο after 1204 (S/N 15) – is not solid, since the Komnenodoukes were never called Angeloi. Assile, Assilo, Acillo, Astokos are mentioned in 15th-c. Italian portulans and maps, possibly confusing Astakos with Acheloos.

Ἀχελῶος, Ἀσπροπόταμος or Ἄσπρος were also the Byzantine names of a river, navigable since antiquity. Liutprand of Cremona crossed its mouth in 968. Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos (*De thematibus*, 8.21) considers it a highlight of *Nikopolis*: «ποταμοῦ, ὃν Ὀμηρος Ἀχελῶν ὀνομάζει, οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπερβαίνει ἐπὶ γλυκύτητος πάντα τὰ τῶν ποταμῶν νάματα». Byzantine geog-

raphers and historians (Stephanus Byzantinus, Eustathius of Thessaloniki, Nicephorus Vlemmydes) suggest its rises in Chalkis (S/N 54) and it discharges at Echinades Islands (S/N 106). It is also mentioned by Evlijah Celebi in 1668 as Ak-su and Asper.

Date

886–15th c.

Bibliography

Scylax, Periplous, 34, p. 182; *Liutprand of Cremona*, 208; *Benjamin of Tudela, Book of Travels*, 62; *Al-Idrisi, Geography*, 407–408, 443, 444; *Georgios Cyprios*: 78, no. 1663; *Nicephorus Vlemmydes, Geography*, 458–468; *Notitiae*, II: 557, no. 559, and IX: 635, no. 241; Darrouzès 1981, 284, 304, 327, 363; *notitiae* nos. 7, 9, 10, 13; *Venetian Republic*, I: 470, 490, 494; no. 121 and II: 120f., no. 224; *Partitio*: 219, 263; Parthey 1967, p. 121, no. III 526, and p. 218, no. X 618; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters II*, 26; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters I*, 72, 86; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters III*, 259, 278; *Demetrios Chomatianos*, 934 f., 964–967; *Chronicle of the Tocco*, L. 46, 55, 2286, 2372, 2476; Pouqueville 1825: 277; Heuzey 1860, 458; Pétridès 1912: 308; Benešević 1927, 36, 150 no. 3; Kirsten 1941, 100, note 5; Konstas 1952, 1477; Philippson, Kirsten 1950–1959, II 594, 616ff; Laurent 1954, 101–108; Papatrechas 1958, 173–177; Ahrweiler 1960, 81, 87; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 183–184, 193; Koder, Soustal 1981, 101–102 (Acheloos, Stadt), 102 (Acheloos, Fluß); Nicol 1984, 222; Katsaros 1986, 43–52 (lit.); Katsaros 1988, 198–201; Katsaros 1991, 324–327; Petropoulos 1991, 114; Vocotopoulos 1992, 1; Paliouras 2004b, 503–507; Houbby-Nielsen 1998: 244–245; Papageorgiou 1998, 97 and note 2.

S/N 2

<i>Site Name</i>	Aetoliko, Panagia Finikia
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°24'47"N, 21°22'14"E
<i>Altitude</i>	0 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Panagia Finikia, Panagia Myroudia
<i>Area</i>	NE bank of Messolongi Lagoon
<i>Settlement</i>	f. Foinikia (–1940)
<i>Former Community</i>	Aetoliko
<i>Municipality</i>	Aetoliko
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloakarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01040100
<i>HMGS map</i>	Messolongi 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 11.2003

Geomorphology On the coastline, under the site of Pleuron (S/N 3)

Figures 125

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

Church dated in 1804 according to inscription recently restored.

Other finds

Byzantine sculpture embedded on the W façade (Sc17–18).

Historical evidence

Identified by Katsaros as the place of the Μονή Παναγίας Μυροδοτούσης mentioned in a letter sent by John Apokaukos to the bishops Ἀετοῦ, Ἀχελώου, Βοθρωτοῦ καὶ Ἀδραγαμέστου ca. 1227; his argument relied on the traditional place name 'Panagia i Myroudia'. There is no other church dating to the Byzantine period in Aetoliko. The area probably was part of the Middle Byzantine settlement of Anatolikon (Ἀνατολικό/Νατολικό, meaning 'Eastern', see also S/N 3–4).

Date

11th c. (sculpture)

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V: Appendix, p. 77, no. 17, L. 11–15; Katsaros 1985, 1504–1506; Paliouras 2004a, 281.

S/N 3

Site Name Aetoliko, Finikia, Pleuron ('Kastro Kyra-Rinis')

Geographical Coordinates 38°25'7"N, 21°24'25"E

Altitude 354 m

Place-names Kastro Kyra-Rinis

Area On the foot of the Pleuron, SW of Kato Retsina, near the E bank of the Messolongi Lagoon

Settlement f. Finikia (–1940), Mesokambos

Former Community Mesokambos

Municipality Iera Poli Messolongiou

Province Messolongi

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 01010111

HMGS map Messolongi 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology Very well preserved remains of a Hellenistic settlement on the high range SW of Kato Retsina, over the coastal plain of Aetoliko. The acropolis is located at a very high spot offering oversight of SW Aetoloacarnania.

Figures 177

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

Archaeological remains in the citadel indicate the site was inhabited in the Byzantine period: a large basilica was built – hypothetically on top of the ancient temple of Athena – at the foot of the E part of the hill, with spolia from the temple. Only the aisles-walls foundations have survived. A Byzantine chapel was later built on the abandoned basilica.

Other finds

Historical evidence

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine period

Bibliography

Koder, Soustal 1981, 105–106 (Anatolikon); Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 104 (Pleuron B); Antonetti 1990, 282; Paradeisis 1994, 2, 49–52; Portelanos 1998, I 194 (lit.); Paliouras 2004a, 50.

S/N 4

Site Name Aetoliko, Finikia, Basilica

Geographical Coordinates 38°24'12"N, 21°23'55"E

Altitude 1 m

Place-names Finikia, Al. Katsouri Plot

Area E bank of Messolongi Lagoon

Settlement f. Finikia (–1940), Mesokambos

Former Community Mesokambos

Municipality Iera Poli Messolongiou

Province Messolongi

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 01010111

HMGS map Messolongi 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

Very close to the coast – perhaps it once was on it.

Figures

6, 126

*Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

An Early Byzantine three-aisled basilica with baptistery has been excavated. After the church had been abandoned the site was used as a cemetery (fig. 6).

Other finds

Sculpture, one coin (Sc19–Sc20, N1)

Historical evidence

Ἀνατολικόν: mentioned as a settlement from the 11th c. onwards (see also S/N 2–3). Constantinos from Ἀνατολικό: a fraternity member in 1048. Benjamin of Tudela arrived at this coastal settlement in 1165. Pertinentia de Natoliko: assigned to Venice in 1204. Since Anatoliko means ‘Eastern’ in Greek, I assume the placename referred to an area to the E of the course of Acheloos (which was the border between Aetolia and Acarnania). John Apokaukos in the years 1218–1230 mentioned three monasteries around Ἀνατολικό: Ag. Asomatoi, Theotokos Myrodotousa and Theotokos Eleoussa. According to Evlijah Celebi Ἀνατολικό/Νατολικό was the main settlement of the area in 1668; it was located on an island and its inhabitants traded fish, grapes and a very famous sort of caviar-paste (avgotaracho).

Date

Early Byzantine period, 11th–12th centuries

Bibliography

Benjamin of Tudela, Book of Travels, 35; *Venetian Republic*, I 471, 490: no. 121 and II 121: no. 224; *Partitio*, 219, 263; Zakythinos 1951, II 195; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 187–188; Zafeiropoulou 1973–1974, 527–530; Nesbitt, Wiita 1975, 368, 373, 378; Koder, Soustal 1981, 105–106 (Anatolikon), 117 (H. Asomatoi), 270 (Theotokos Myrodotousa); Katsaros 1985, 1504–1513; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 104 (Pleuron B); Paliouras 2004a, 50.

*S/N 5**Site Name*

Aetos*

Geographical Coordinates

38°42'36"N, 21°5'57"E

Altitude

413 m

<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro
<i>Area</i>	At the top of a hill, 2 km to the East of Aetos, in Xeromero
<i>Settlement</i>	Aetos
<i>Former Community</i>	Aetos
<i>Municipality</i>	Medeonos
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1170200
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Site with impressive geography in an large plateau on Xeromero, at the SW corner of Mt. Merovigli. The fortification is built at a crossing point of many passes: from the N to the SE of Aetos and from Xeromero to the Ionian Sea via Mytikas in Kandila (see S/N 48–50). However, the castle does not allow oversight of the valley in the S–SW side of the hill, towards the lakes of Xeromero.

Figures 12, 13, 29, 35, 42, 178, 219

Plan

Maps 9, 10, 11

Architecture

Extensive medieval fortifications are built on the top of the hill (max length from E to W is ca. 125 m, max width around 30 m. At the highest point there is a small keep whose S wall is better preserved (masonry is rubble with mortar and bricks) (fig. 12). Its E annex is a cistern. The outer enceinte is better preserved at the W side, yet parts are visible at the E and S sides (fig. 219) where two barrel-vaulted buildings (cisterns) are adjacent to the walls (fig. 29). The inner enceinte (citadel) includes the foundations of a rectangular building at the SW side, remains of walls at the S side and several building remains in its ENE part. The gate is located at the WNW edge of the hill, as here is the only relatively easy access to the top. The NE side of the hill is steep and unfortified. An interesting local feature is the open-air cisterns (called 'loumbes'), dug in the ground and constituting

almost the only means of water supply as late as 1965–1970.³ The location has no water springs and only a handful of wells.

Other finds

Pottery (P20)

Historical evidence

Ἀετός: bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Nafpaktos mentioned in the *Taktika* by Leo VI (886–912) and until 12th c. The name is Greek (meaning ‘eagle’), often given to sites of great height (i.e. the Aetos of the Great Palace in Constantinople at the times of Basil I).⁴ In a list of Armenian bishoprics, though, the diocese is mentioned as Ἀσπεροῦ. A village, Ἀνιπτοχώριον, and a place, μερίς τῶν Ὀστυλῶν, are mentioned near Aetos in the 13th c. Aetos was occupied by Carlo I Tocco (early 15th c.) and remained a bishopric in the 16th–17th c. The nearby place-name Κατούνα is also found in Byzantine Sicily (Uggeri).

Date

Middle Byzantine period

Bibliography

Georgios Cyprios, 78, no. 1662; *Notitiae*, II 557, no. 558; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V*, 71, 77, 169; *Chronicle of the Toccas*, L. 955, 968–1021, 3143; Conybeare 1896, 132, no. 59; Darrouzès 1981, 284, 304, 327, 363, 419: notitiae nos. 7, 9, 10, 13; *Actes*, 1283; Parthey 1967, III 525, X 617; Heuzey 1860, 358 ff; *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, History*, I 200; Benešević 1927, XXXVI, 150, no. 2; Vocotopoulos 1967, 332–333; Koder, Soustal 1981, 102–103 (Aetos); Papatrechas 1991, 336–338, Koutava-Delivoria 1993, I 181; Paradeisis 1994, 70–71; Chrysos 1997b, 188–189; Uggeri 2006, 336.

S/N 6

<i>Site Name</i>	Agia Sophia (f. Mokista), Ag. Sophia
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°34'46"N, 21°38'57"E
<i>Altitude</i>	321 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Cemetery (Koimitirio Agias Sophias)
<i>Area</i>	3 km from NE bank of Lake Trichonida, 21 km ESE of Agrinio
<i>Settlement</i>	Agia Sophia, f. Mokista
<i>Former Community</i>	Mokista, Agia Sophia (1930)
<i>Municipality</i>	Thermo

³ Local information (K. Tsoli, G. Maniavos).

⁴ *Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos, Vita Vassilii*, 335, L. 14–18.

<i>Province</i>	Trichonidos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01120301
<i>HMGs map</i>	Karpenission 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Mountainous hinterland of the Lake Trichonida, not far from Myrtia (S/N 74).

Figures

Plan

<i>Map</i>	11
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Architecture

The 13th-c.-church of Ag. Sophia is built on the site of an earlier church of which the circular main apse foundation was found during excavation (Konstantios 1981c).

Other finds

Historical evidence

Mokista: Slavic name. The site could be correlated with the 'Motista' (ἀπὸ χῶρας Μοτίστης) mentioned by John Apokaukos in the 13th-c.; the Late Byzantine remains in the village indicate it was an important settlement then.

Date

Possibly 12th c. or earlier (the old church) [Konstantios; Paliouras]

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, *Letters I*, 98; Lazaridis 1960, 198; Konstantios 1981a, 270–275; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Mokista), 208; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 73; Portelanos 1998, A', 473–4; Paliouras 2004a, 67.

S/N 7

<i>Site Name</i>	Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°23'1.16"N, 21°32'48.61"E
<i>Altitude</i>	34 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Cemetery (Koimitirio)
<i>Area</i>	E of Messolongi
<i>Settlement</i>	Ag. Georgios
<i>Former Community</i>	Evinochori, Ag. Georgios (1919)
<i>Municipality</i>	Iera poli Messolongiou
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 1010201
 HMGS map Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits 11.2003
Geomorphology Low hill with water spring, on the W bank of Evinos River.

Figures 39, 62a–b, 68a–b, 136, 137

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

The church was published by Vocotopoulos. It was built on the nave of an Early Byzantine basilica and later underwent several restorations some of which are dated to the Middle Byzantine period. More Byzantine remains were observed ca. 120 m NW of the church (Triantaphyllopoulos; Konstantios).

Other finds

Pottery, Early Byzantine (Paliouras) and later (P23); sculpture, Early Byzantine and later (Sc28–Sc31; Paliouras).

Historical evidence

It was probably a large monastery or other settlement (Triantaphyllopoulos). The site should be correlated with the nearby Calydon (S/N 44). Evinos' name is ancient; Liutprand of Cremona calls it 'Οφιδάρης (> φίδι meaning snake in Greek) possibly because of the shape of its meanders; the name was also used in the 15th and 17th c. though Evlijah Celebi also used 'Yilanli'/'Yilantsagi'. The name survived until recent times as Φιδάρης.

Date

Early Byzantine, 7th–13th c., Ottoman period

Bibliography

Liutprand of Cremona, 207; Orlandos 1952–1955, 235, fig. 190; Mastrokostas 1963, 216; Gkouvras 1964, 100; Vocotopoulos 1967, 325–7; Vocotopoulos 1969, 241; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 183, 185; Pallas 1977, 25–26; Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 171; Katsaros 1981b, 436–443; Koder, Soustal 1981, [Ag. Georgios (3)] 155–6, (Ophidares) 218; Konstantios 1984b, 130–132; Vocotopoulos 1992, 153–4, 180, 183, 203; note. 2; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 73; Sakelariou 1997, 195; Karayani-Charalambopoulou 2003, 31–34; Paliouras 2004a, 185–187.

S/N 8

Site Name Agios Ilias, tower*

Geographical Coordinates 38°28'59.93"N, 21°17'16.83"E

<i>Altitude</i>	174 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Profitis Ilias
<i>Area</i>	Between the W bank of Acheloos River and the NW bank the Aetoliko Lagoon
<i>Settlement</i>	Ag. Ilias
<i>Former Community</i>	Ag. Ilias
<i>Municipality</i>	Aetoliko
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1040201
<i>HMGs map</i>	Messolongion 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology Rocky hilltop allowing ample oversight of the lower course of Acheloos – from Stratos (S/N 105) down to Katochi (S/N 51) –, of Mastro (S/N 70), of Ligovitsi and the Lake Ozeros (S/N 66), the Lake Lyssimachia (S/N 15, 68), the Aetolian fortifications on the W foot of Arakynthos (S/N 13) and of the Aetoliko and Messolongi Lagoons and the Gulf of Patras.

Figures 100, 181, 182, 228

Plan 6

Map 11

Architecture

On the NW plateau of the Hellenistic acropolis of Ithoria there is a small chapel of Ag. Ilias whose walls are covered with modern mortar (plan 6). A small, trapezoid, medieval tower has survived to the N of this chapel (figs. 100, 228).⁵ Portelanos and Woodhouse referred to it – or maybe to other remains? – as a cistern. Remains of the ancient port have been found in Ambelia or Petrakia, near the Taxiarches Monastery.

Other finds

Pottery (P24), big quantity of sea-shells

*Historical evidence**Date*

Possibly Middle Byzantine

⁵ I thank Dr Nikolaos Kaponis for indicating to me the existence of these remains.

Bibliography

On the ancient remains: Mastrokostas 1964, 299; Woodhouse 1973, 157; Portelanos 1998, 130–135 (lit.)

S/N 9

<i>Site Name</i>	Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°34'39"N, 21°23'54"E
<i>Altitude</i>	19 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Litharakia
<i>Area</i>	5 km S of Agrinio, on the bank of Lake Lyssimachia
<i>Settlement</i>	Lefka, f. Bitsovos
<i>Former Community</i>	Agrinio
<i>Municipality</i>	Agrinio
<i>Province</i>	Trichonidos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1030108
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	11.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the middle of Acheloos valley, on the S outskirts of the city of Agrinio, which are called Tavernes or Litharakia. Acheloos runs at about 3 km to the NW. The River Ermitsas' mouth (into the Lake Lyssimachia) is very close to the SE of the church; thus, before excavation, the church was buried under a five-meter thick layer of sticky mud composed of alluvium.

Figures 64, (201)

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

The church, known as 'Agia Triada Mavrika', has been excavated since 2002 as part of a Project of the University of Ioannina (organized by Professor A. Paliouras). A detailed report of the project is forthcoming. The church was built over an early Byzantine building, probably a mausoleum. It had three Middle-Byzantine construction phases; in the second phase it was a Katholikon. Several other buildings were scattered around the church –

now underground as shown in aerial photographs.⁶ A grave of a monk was found in the narthex.

Other finds

Frescos (F1), pottery (P1)

Historical evidence

Paliouras has associated the monument with a stavropegic monastery of Ag. Triada at the δροῦγγος Ἀχελώου mentioned in a note of a 1377-codex in Athens.

Date

6th c., 8th c., 10th–12th c.

Bibliography

Koder, Soustal 1981, 272 (Ag. Trias); Katsaros 1985, 1514; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 91; Vocotopoulos 1992, 50–51; Paliouras 2004a, 172–173, 433–439.

S/N 10

Site Name Ambelia, Ag. Paraskevi tou Drakou

Geographical Coordinates 39°13'38"N, 20°56'13"E

Altitude 218 m

Place-names Drakotrypa

Area Mt. Gerberina, 11 km N of Arta

Settlement Ambelia

Former Community Ammotopos, f. Koumtzades

Municipality Xerovouniou

Province Arta

Prefecture Arta

NSSG ID no. 31100102

HMGS map Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology Mountainous location with a view over Louros' valley and the NW coast of the Ambracian Gulf. The site provides oversight of an ancient crossing-point from central Epirus to S Greece via the Ambracian Gulf.

Figures

Plan

Map 8

⁶ Oral information by Professor A. Paliouras.

Architecture

The church, published by Vocotopoulos in 1989, preserves remains of a water system with pipes supplying a cistern in the nearby Drakotrypa Cave with water coming from the church's roof. In the cave there are a few – non-investigated – constructions.

Other finds

Pottery (unpublished)

Historical evidence

The name of the church is related to a myth about the large cave behind it.

Date

1050–1100

Bibliography

Dakaris et al. 1976, 431–6; Triantaphyllopoulos 1977, 172; Vocotopoulos 1986, 49–59; Papadopoulou 2002a, 37–38.

S/N 11

Site Name

Ambrakia / Amvrakia

Geographical Coordinates

Altitude

Place-names

Area

Settlement

Former Community

Municipality

Province

Prefecture

NSSG ID no.

HMGS map

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology

Figures

Plan

Maps

8, 9

Architecture

The settlement is as yet unmatched with material remains. Its name (Amvrakia) has survived in the S coast of the Ambracian Gulf in two instances: a) as the name of a lake and b) as name of a site near the NW

bank of that lake. The Byzantine settlement has previously been correlated with the following sites:

1. Medieval remains at Karvassaras (ancient Limnaia, also known as Castle of Amfilochia, S/N 12)
2. Remains of medieval settlement near modern Amvrakia, 4 km S of Amfilochia, 2 km NNW of Stanos (coordinates: 38°49'30"N, 21°09'20"E, *HMGS map Agrinio 1977*).
3. A potential early medieval settlement at the site of Hellenistic Amvrakia, i.e. modern Arta (S/N 23 and 94).

It has been here suggested (Part 3, Chapter 3 above) that Amvrakia could have also referred to more than one settlement clusters scattered around the E part of the Ambracian gulf.

Other finds

Historical evidence

Ἀμβρακία: evolution of the older Ἀμπρακία (of the Aeolian dialect) meaning 'a place with two rocks which are hit by water' and refers to the Hellenistic settlement below modern Arta (S/N 23). It is mentioned in the Life of St Barbaros, quoted by Constantine Akropolitis, as a Byzantine settlement ravaged/occupied by the Arabs during the reign of Michael II; in the 12th–13th-c. version by Acacius Savaite a hypothetical identification of the settlement with the place of modern Amfilochia has been attempted. Ἀμβρακία: a large decayed settlement surrounded by scattered ashlar blocks, on the coast of the Ambracian Gulf, seen by Cyriacus of Ancona. His description recalls the remains at Karvasaras but there is no indication that the settlement at the site of modern Amfilochia was decayed in the 15th c. It is likely that more such remains were visible at that time along the gulf's N coast. A 16th-c. Greek portulan mentions Ἀμβρακία as a port on the SE coast of the gulf; Koder and Soustal proposed its identification with modern Valtos. In 1668, Evlijah Celebi mentions a lake and a village both named Ἐμπρικιέ. Tradition says the inhabitants of Ἀμβρακία were forced to move to Karvasaras by Ali Pasha and from there to Amfilochia. The Lake Amvrakia is also called both Rivio (from a place-name and village near its E bank, deriving from the slavic "ryba" = fish) and Stanou (from a village at the N bank deriving from the slavic "stano" = fence, obstacle).

Date

9th century, 12th–13th century until before the 15th c.

Bibliography

Cyriacus of Ancona, 31; *Constantine Akropolitis, Vie de Saint Barbaros I*: 408 ff; *Constantine Akropolitis, Vie de Saint Barbaros II*: 41f., 45–47, 50f. Heuzey 1860, 318–328; Delatte 1947, 205; Philippson, Kirsten 1950–1959, II, 615, 619, 640; Fels 1951; Zakythinos 1960, 438–453; Hammond 1967, 139, 711; Meyer 1969b, 668; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 194; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Ambrakia) 104, (Balton) 120; Tsoutsinos 2001, 27–32 (lit.); Kaponis 2008.

S/N 12

<i>Site Name</i>	Amfilochia, Castle*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°51'23"N, 21°10'8"E
<i>Altitude</i>	155 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro, Karvassaras
<i>Area</i>	Citadel of ancient Limnaia, S of Amfilochia
<i>Settlement</i>	Amfilochia
<i>Former Community</i>	Amfilochia
<i>Municipality</i>	Amfilochia
<i>Province</i>	Valtou
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01060101
<i>HMGs map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	The location allows oversight of the pass from Aetoloacarnanian hinterland to the Ambracian Gulf, the NW coasts of Acarnania, Lefkada, and Epirus; at the same time it is near the border with Central Greece (see S/N 42). In antiquity the Lake Amvrakia must have extended to the foot of the Karvassaras hill. The irregular relief in the interior of the castle provides visual access to the Amfilochia bay and a valley to the S.

Figures

<i>Plan</i>	2
<i>Map</i>	9

Architecture

The 450 × 270 m citadel of the ancient city-walls, published by Saraga (plan 2), presents medieval repairs. The latter consist of a transverse wall

at the N part of the enceinte, some towers at the S part and most of the W part of the walls, a free-standing building and five cisterns.

Other finds

Historical evidence

The site has been correlated with the 9th–11th c. settlement of Amvrakia (S/N 11) and also identified as the 14th-c. *Κάστρον του Βάλτου* mentioned by Kandakouzenos and later travellers (Saraga, 207).

Date

14th c., Ottoman period. An earlier settlement is not out of place.

Bibliography

Koder, Soustal 1981, 104 (Ambrakia); Saraga 1991, 206–220, pls. 51–56; Paradeisis 1994, 100–105; Portelanos 1998, III 1299–1312.

S/N 13

<i>Site Name</i>	Analipsi (f. Dervekista), Castle*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°29'44"N, 21°42'10"E
<i>Altitude</i>	571 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro, Kolymbithra, Kefalovryssos, Mana tou Nerou, St' Filippa to Rema, Vrysses
<i>Area</i>	Mt. Arakynthos/Zygos, approx. 400 m from the village centre
<i>Settlement</i>	Analipsi
<i>Former Community</i>	Analipsi, Dervekista
<i>Municipality</i>	Thermo
<i>Province</i>	Trichonidos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1120601
<i>HMGs map</i>	Karpenission 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

12.2003

Geomorphology

Analipsi is a large village in the hinterland of Mt. Arakynthos. The location of the hill with the castle dominates the Avarikos valley and allows easy communication with the lakes' district to the W and the Nafpaktia to the E. The castle is built on a steep rocky hill with a view over the area towards Trichonida Lake.

Figures

Plan

Map

Architecture

The medieval fortifications at the top of the hill have used the fabric of ancient ones and surround a church (Ag. Dimitrios). Traces of other medieval buildings are seen at the hill top. Most constructions are covered by vegetation. Tsolodimos identified the castle as the 'Paliokastron' – while others have correlated the latter with the fortifications at Kambos (S/N 47); he also suggested that there is a paved pass linking the fortifications in Analipsi and Kambos. Bommeljé/Doorn recorded a cistern of 3×4 m near Ag. Dimitrios in 1987; they also mentioned several graves containing Byzantine silver coins and suggested the site possibly was a Byzantine settlement. Not far from the castle, to the NE of Analipsi, there is a spring (Kefalovryso) and water-mills. Traces of graves and a small enceinte have been located at Kolymbithra, near the spring, where Byzantine coins are also said to have been discovered.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

The old name of the village, Dervekista, is Slavic and the name of the valley, Avarikos, is Avar. See also S/N 47).

Date

The site is possibly Byzantine but the specific periods of use cannot be precised.

Bibliography

Woodhouse 1973, 241; Toynbee 1973, 630; Tsolodimos, Dimitrakakis 1978, 371; Leekley, Efstratiou 1980, 3; Koder, Soustal 1981, 184 (Derbekista); Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 76; Portelanos 1998, I 513–516, 540.

S/N 14

<i>Site Name</i>	Analipsi (f. Dervekista), Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Monastery
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°29'15"N, 21°43'36"E
<i>Altitude</i>	593 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Moni Prodromou
<i>Area</i>	2.2 km ESE of the hill of the castle (S/N 13)
<i>Settlement</i>	Analipsi
<i>Former Community</i>	Analipsi, Dervekista
<i>Municipality</i>	Thermo
<i>Province</i>	Trichonidos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1120601
<i>HMGS map</i>	Karpenission 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 12.2003

Geomorphology The monastery is situated in the hinterland of the village (see S/N 13) on the bank of a tributary of Evinos River.

*Figures**Plan*

Map 11

Architecture

The monastery, built on the site of an earlier one burnt down in the Ottoman period, dates in 1802. According to local tradition it was among the most famous and rich Aetolian monasteries; it had archives with manuscripts and relics, which were looted in the 19th c.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

Μονή Προδρόμου is mentioned in a sigillion from the Patriarch to the Myrtia Monastery (S/N 74) as founded in the 12th c. It is a moot point as to whether this is the same monastery as the one in the letter, where Michael Choniates describes passing from Calydon bay in Aetolia on his way back to the Cycladic islands;⁷ Katsaros (1985, 1529–1530) correlated that monastery with a church located in the citadel of Calydon (S/N 44). See also S/N 13.

Date

12th c. onwards

Bibliography

Konstas 1964a; Tsolodimos, Dimitrakakis 1978, 374–376, 382ff; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 77 (Analipsis F); Paliouras 2004a, 250–252.

S/N 15

Site Name Angelokastro*

Geographical Coordinates 38°34'22"N, 21°17'54"E

Altitude 107 m

Place-names Kastro, Ag. Georgios Hill, Traganoula

Area At the village's N outskirts

Settlement Angelokastro

Former Community Angelokastro

Municipality Angelokastro

⁷ Michael Choniates, v. II, 333, letter no. ρξγ'.

<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1020101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	11.2003, 12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Conical-shaped hills in the centre of the Agrinio plain, 2 km E of Acheloos, to the W of Lake Lyssimachia. The site overlooks the lower course of Acheloos as well as the areas of Acarnania to its W.
<i>Figures</i>	43, 61, 98, 99, 108, 179, 180
<i>Plan</i>	3
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

At the site of the ancient Konopi/Arsinoi, there are medieval remains of fortifications and a church of Ag. Georgios (plan 3). Several graves, of which some could also have been medieval, have been discovered in this and its adjacent hill (Traganoula). The enceinte on Ag. Georgios Hill consists of two lines of walls enclosing two plateaus of different elevations and a total area of 1.66 km². Limited parts of the enceinte survive at the NE, SE and NW sides; Portelanos thinks these were superstructures of earlier fortifications. At the higher plateau there is the church of Ag. Georgios; next to it survives a tower-like construction which must have been part of the citadel's outer façade, since it has a brick inscription (figs. 98, 108); Portelanos suggested it was a tower adjacent to a gate. Little remains of the walls (SW side) and a gate at the lower plateau (fig. 99). The church was very damaged, when photographed by Woodhouse and Lambakis in the turn of the 20th c. The original building has been dated to the second half of the 13th c.; after collapsing in 1914 it was rebuilt in a different plan. Several barrel-vaulted, cist and tile-covered graves have been found at both Ag. Georgios and Traganoula Hills.⁸

⁸ Papapostolou 1973, 391; oral information by locals (V. Triandafyllou, P. Karandrikas).

Other finds

Pottery (P21), inscription (I1)

A tile-covered grave at Traganoula contained coarse pottery sherds and two metal-bands – one gold and one of copper-alloy – which remain unpublished.

Historical evidence

Ἀγγελόκαστρο: first mentioned in 1215 and thereafter regularly in 13th–17th-c. texts, also under the names Gello-Castro and Ἀγγελίκαστρί. It has been suggested that the medieval name – which survived for the modern settlement – derived from the hypothetical name Ἀχελόκαστρον and that this site was the seat of the Acheloos bishopric (S/N 1). This hypothesis is plausible; the contra-hypothesis in literature – according to which Angelokastro was named by the Angeloi Komnenoi Doukes, 13th c. rulers of Epirus – seems unlikely since Komnenodoukes were actually not called Angeloi. At Rigani, near Angelokastro, there was one of the three crossing-points of Acheloos – and the most important according to Polybius; only two other crossing-points existed at Stratos (S/N 105) and Stamna (S/N 102–103). In 1668, Evlijah Celebi wrote that the ‘Lake of Angelokastro’ (Λίμνη τοῦ Ἀγγελοκάστρου – now Lake Lyssimachia) provided inhabitants with innumerable eels and many fish; a whole suburb of Angelokastro (Varossi) was established on its bank.

Date

13th c. (Portelanos; Paliouras), “non-Late Byzantine” (Tsouris), perhaps Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnica*, 401; *Ioannis Apokaukos*, *Letters III*, 273; *Ioannis Apokaukos*, *Letters V*, 110, 128, 135, 202, 219; Woodhouse 1987, fig. p. 211; Lambakis 1904, 97; Kirsten 1941, 112; Orlandos 1961a, 54–73; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 189–194; Meyer 1969a, 295; Papapostolou 1973, 391; Pritchett 1980, 283; Koder, Soustal 1981, 108 (Angelokastron 2); Sfikopoulos 1981, 161–166; Nicol 1984, 3; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 77 (lit.); Tsouris 1988, 287, note 469; Papatrechas 1991, 334; Paradeisis 1994, 72–73; Portelanos 1998, I 140–147; Priovolos 1998; Paliouras 2004a, 28, 35, 37–38, 202.

S/N 16

<i>Site Name</i>	Arakynthos (Zygos) Mt., Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°28'57"N, 21°23'31"E
<i>Altitude</i>	ca. 600 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos

<i>Area</i>	SW slope of Mt. Arakynthos/Zygos, 1 km NW of the village Ellinika, 4 km NE of the village Kefalovrysso, 12 km N of Messolongi
<i>Settlement</i>	Ellinika (f. Sivista)
<i>Former Community</i>	Sivista, Ellinika (1928)
<i>Municipality</i>	Iera Poli Messolongiou
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01010500
<i>HMGs map</i>	Messolongion 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Cave at the N slope of a ravine which is cut-off from the W, on the steep SW slopes of Mt. Arakynthos. The site has a view over the Aetoliko Lagoon.

Figures 5, 109

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

The cave monastery of Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos is located at ca. 50m from the bottom of the ravine. The site, to which the access is difficult, has been described in detail by Paliouras. There are several – not investigated – caves on the slope, while traces of other buildings including a church and a barrel-vaulted cistern have been seen in the ravine.

Other finds

Frescos (F2)

Inscriptions (I2–I3)

Historical evidence

The site has to be most probably identified with the Μονή Ἀγίου Νικολάου τοῦ Κρεμαστοῦ in the episkepsis of Acheloos, mentioned by John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Nafpaktos (1199?–1232). Apokaukos explains that the name (Kremastos: Gr. 'hanging') was given to the monastery by its founder, because of the geomorphology (steepness of the ravine). That founder must have been the monk Nikandros (mentioned in I2), who undertook some projects in this area from 990 to 1005. Katsaros suggested he might have been also the painter of some frescos (see I2); however, signatures of painters are uncommon at such an early date. In 1172, the scribe Nikon wrote he had been living in the monastery since

1145 (Oxford, Christ Church, MS Wake 33; see Katsaros 1980, 367–388). The monastery's finances must have deteriorated by the early-13th c., because Apokaukos asked for the intervention of the duke of the episkopis Achelou, Nikolaos Gorianitis – the second phase of fresco decorations in the cave should be dated some time before that crisis, probably in the mid-12th c. Paliouras suggested that Michael, donor of a fresco (see I3), could be Michael Komnenodoukas, founder of the 13th-c. Independent State of Epirus; however, such a dating of those frescos is not certain. The old name of the nearby village (Sivista) may be Slavic.

Date

970–1000 (architecture, frescos, inscription), 12th-early 13th c. (frescos, inscription)

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V, Appendix 62–64, 172; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters VI*, 167–196; *Demetrios Chomatianos*, 964; Bersimis 1958; Konstas 1964c; Vocotopoulos 1967, 327–328; *Archaeologos* 1970a, 512; Kissas 1978; Katsaros 1980a, 29–30, notes 52, 54; Katsaros 1980b, 367–388; Koder, Soustal 1981, 212–213 (Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos); Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 82; Paliouras 2004a, 187–196, 417.

S/N 17

<i>Site Name</i>	Arakynthos (Zygos) Mt., Panagia Trimitou
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°25'41"N, 21°35'57"E
<i>Altitude</i>	278 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Panagia Trimitou, Erimitou
<i>Area</i>	SE foot of Mt. Arakynthos, ca 3 km NW of the village Paradeissi, 16 km SE of Messolongi
<i>Settlement</i>	Paradeissi
<i>Former Community</i>	Messarista
<i>Municipality</i>	Makryneia
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1160803
<i>HMGs map</i>	Patra 1979

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	The site is located near a small valley, at 3 km NW of the W bank of Evinos. The access is difficult but the landscape is exceptional. The location is strategic, on the pass from

Analipsi/Dervekista to Galatas (i.e. from Lake Trichonida to Varassova and the Gulf of Patras). The economy is almost exclusively pastoral.

Figures

47, 70, 114–120a–b

Plan

Map

11

Architecture

This was a small, 10th-c. monastery published by Vocotopoulos. Traces of the Katholikon, the enceinte and another building survive today. A new church was built on the site of the old one in 1902. The site is not far from Panaxiotissa near Gavrolimni (S/N 45), from which it is cut-off due to the flow of Evinos. Koder & Soustal mentioned a nearby spring.

Other finds

Mosaics, opus sectile (Mo1, OS1), sculpture (Sc1–Sc12). Vocotopoulos recorded 17 pieces of sculpture in total, several dating from antiquity and the Early Byzantine period; this led Paliouras and Megaw to suggest that the 10th-c. monastery was built near some ancient site and over an Early Byzantine religious building.

Historical evidence

Bommeljé/Doorn and Koder/Soustal recorded the place-name 'Panagia Erimitou' for this site; Vocotopoulos suggested an etymology of the name 'Trimitou' from 'Erimitou'. If these are correct, the site may be identified with the 'Monastery of Hermites' (Μονὴ τῶν Ἐρημιτῶν) mentioned in Athens Codex 1377 in 1238: the patriarch Germanos II blessed a metochion of that monastery during his visit to W Greece. That monastery was at the village 'Pteri' (χωρίον τᾶς Πτέρης), the abbot's name was Bartholomeus Sanianus, and the metochi was dedicated to the archangel Michael. This identification was questioned by Katsaros due to a mention in a chrysosvoulon of a 'Stylos tou Erimitou' (Στῦλος τοῦ Ἐρημίτου τῇ τοῦ Βόδεση) in the Theme of *Vagenetia* – thus connecting the 'Moni ton Erimiton' with modern Epirus and the Acheron area. The modern church celebrates on August 23rd like the 'Panagia Arvanitissa' – the celebration (panigyri) keeps the traditional pattern where the faithful sit on the earth and spend the night in open air.

Date

Early Byzantine period, 10th c. and later

Bibliography

Laurent 1954, 108–109; Megaw 1977, 238; Koder, Soustal 1981, 223–224 (Panagia Erimitou); Katsaros 1985, 1528–1533; Katsaros 1991; Vocotopoulos 1992, 29–35, 189–191, plans 11–12, pls. 14–23; Paliouras 2004a, 173–176.

S/N 18

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Ag. Theodora
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'46"N, 20°59'1"E
<i>Altitude</i>	32 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Agia Theodora
<i>Area</i>	Ag. Theodora Square (defined by Nikopoleos-Kyprou-Pelasgon St.)
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	05.2002, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	City centre, not far from the hill of the castle.
<i>Figures</i>	50
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	12

Architecture

The core of the 13th-c. church has an initial phase dated to 1050–1150; that building was venerated to Ag. Georgios. The area under the Late Byzantine portico was a Middle Byzantine cemetery. At the nearby residential quarter of Ag. Minas (E part of the modern Ethnikis-Andistasis Square defined by Priovolou – Karaiskaki – Kosma tou Aetolou Streets) a Middle Byzantine architectural sculpture has been found.

Other finds

Ag. Theodora: reused Middle Byzantine sculpture (Table 11), unpublished glazed and plain pottery from excavation.

Ag. Minas: 12th-c. capital (Table 11)

Historical evidence

Monastery of Ag. Georgios.

Date

10th–12th c. (architecture, sculpture), Late Byzantine period

Bibliography

Orlandos 1936, 88–104; Koder, Soustal 1981, 114 (Arta); Karantzeni 1987, 315; Papadopoulou 1992a, 387; Laskaris 2000, 118–119; Tsoutsinos 2001, 223–224; Yiannelos 2001, 31; Papadopoulou 2002a, 45–55; Papadimitriou 2004, 56; Vanderheyde 2005, 35, no. 36, fig. 33.

S/N 19

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Ag. Mercurios
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'59"N, 20°59'0"E
<i>Altitude</i>	27 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Metropoli
<i>Area</i>	On the Ring Road, close to the castle
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	05.2002, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Low hill close to the hill of the castle, inside the ancient city walls.
<i>Figures</i>	212
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	12
<i>Architecture</i>	
Excavations at the SW slope of the hill revealed medieval buildings but the research remained incomplete. It has been suggested this was the site of the Byzantine bishop's palace. Many Middle Byzantine sculptures have been reused in the church of Ag. Mercurios.	
<i>Other finds</i>	
Marble icon, liturgical vessel and architectural sculptures (Ag. Mercurios' basement, see Table 11)	
Overstruck lead-seal (from the excavation, Se1)	
<i>Historical evidence</i>	
According to local tradition this hill became an island when Arachthos flooded. All pre-existing buildings on the hill were demolished in 1726, when the new Metropolitan church and buildings were built. The residential quarters near the site were called Perilifti (>Perivleptou) because of a church of Perivleptos to the S of Ag. Mercurios (S/N 34), which later became the Mosque of Beys (Τζαμί τῶν Μπέηδων) [Tsoutsinos]. See also S/N 23.	
<i>Date</i>	
11th–13th c. (sculpture), end of 12th–beginning of 13th c. (lead-seal), later periods	

Bibliography

Orlandos 1936, 176–177; Andreou 1977, 153; Triantaphyllopoulos 1977, 167, note 45; Papadopoulou 1992a, 382; Tsoutsinos 2001, 225–226; Papadopoulou 2002a, 19, fig. 10; Papadopoulou 2005, 283–302; Koltsida-Makre 1990.

S/N 20

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Ag. Vassilios
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'46"N, 20°59'5"E
<i>Altitude</i>	30 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Agios Vassilios
<i>Area</i>	Junction of Vassileos Pyrou and F. Manolaki St.
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	–
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	05.2002, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	At the city centre, not far from the hill of the castle.
<i>Figures</i>	131
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	12

Architecture

The church is a 13th c. building.

Other finds

Earlier sculpture reused in the E façade (Sc23)

Historical evidence

See S/N 23

Date

Perhaps 8th–11th c. (only the sculpture), Late Byzantine period (church)

Bibliography

Orlandos 1936, 115–130; Koder, Soustal 1981, 114 (Arta); Papadopoulou 2002a, 128.

S/N 21

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Agiou Vassiliou St.
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<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'48"N, 20°59'2"E
<i>Altitude</i>	30 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kourtis Plot
<i>Area</i>	Ag. Vassiliou St., in the city centre
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the lowland of the city centre, close to the hill of the castle (S/N 23) and Ag. Vassilios (S/N 20).
<i>Figures</i>	160
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	12
<i>Architecture</i>	
The excavation of the plot brought to light Byzantine pottery in a strata largely disturbed by later settlement.	
<i>Other finds</i>	
Pottery (P2)	
<i>Historical evidence</i>	
See S/N 23.	
<i>Date</i>	
Perhaps 12th c.	
<i>Bibliography</i>	
Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 460.	
<i>S/N 22</i>	
<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, ancient Small Theatre (Mikro Theatro)
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'40"N, 20°59'1"E
<i>Altitude</i>	36 m
<i>Place-names</i>	
<i>Area</i>	Ag. Konstandinou St., city center
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta

Former Community

<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	05.2002
<i>Geomorphology</i>	The site is in the city centre, between the castle (S/N 23) and Parigoritissa (S/N 33), aligned with Ag. Vassilios (S/N 20) and Ag. Theodora (S/N 18).

<i>Figures</i>	160
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Plan

<i>Maps</i>	8, 12
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Architecture

The excavation of the Hellenistic theatre revealed habitation of the Byzantine period; the relevant strata were disturbed by Post-Byzantine houses and modern pottery.

Other finds

Local pottery dating perhaps in the 12th century (P2).

Historical evidence

Seraphim Xenopoulos mentioned a Byzantine church (Ag. Ioannis Theologos) across the theatre. See also S/N 23.

Date

Byzantine, perhaps 12th c. (pottery), later periods

Bibliography

Andreou 1983, 9–23; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 460; Xenopoulos 1884, 139–140; Papadimitriou 2004, 81.

S/N 23

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Castle
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'56"N, 20°59'14"E
<i>Altitude</i>	39 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro
<i>Area</i>	Hill near the city centre, 13 km N of the Ambracian coast
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta

Former Community

<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	05.2002, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	The site is on a low hill at the NW edge of a hilly area on the W slope of a mountain which is enclosed by Arachthos by three sides so that the site is surrounded by water from the N, W, SW.
<i>Figures</i>	16, 51e, 57, 90, 91, 104, 127–129, 230
<i>Plan</i>	4
<i>Maps</i>	8, 12

Architecture

The site consists of a fortification with several medieval construction phases and few remains of other buildings (plan 4). The medieval fortification reused the fabric of and material from the fortification of the ancient settlement located at the same site, the 'lower city' of *Amvrakia*. The enceinte measures ca 280 × 175 m and has been published by Orlandos and Papadopoulou. Its initial medieval phase has been dated in the 13th c. by Orlandos, Koder/Soustal and Triantaphyllopoulos. However, a Middle Byzantine phase is very probable, as discussed in Part 2 above; evidence endorsing this argument are: a) the rubble and brick masonry used in the E and N part of the walls, which was concealed by later mortars (Orlandos and figs. 90–91), and b) the brickwork pattern at 'Alichniotissa' (W part of the walls, fig. 57) which dates to ca. 1000 up to the 12th c. The citadel (Akropoli, Kastraki or IkKale), located at the SW part of the castle, consists of Ottoman buildings in which several Middle Byzantine sculptures have been reused (see below). The N tower is probably Byzantine. Xenopoulos also mentioned a church of unspecified date on this site. Towards the E side of the castle, near the old Xenia Hotel, there are traces of a Byzantine secular building and adjacent church. It has been thought to be the palace of the Komnenodoukes, rulers of the 13th c. Independent State of Epirus, by Orlandos and Koder/Soustal. However, this seems to be a speculation as no reasoning for such a hypothesis lies in existing evidence.

Other finds

Pieces of 10th–12th c. sculpture have been reused in the citadel (Sc21–Sc22). Middle Byzantine sculpture, pottery and coinage have also been randomly discovered in several points in the vicinity of the castle and the city of Arta (see Sc23–24 and Table 11; P2; N7–N17).

Historical evidence

The mention of the name of the ancient settlement in the place of modern Arta (Ἀμβρακία/Ἀμπρακία) in 9th-c. texts has troubled the researchers who tried to correlate it with material remains (see S/N 11). Kaponis and Trombley suggested that this mention must have referred to a sizeable 9th-c. settlement in the place of modern Arta.

The etymology of the name Ἄρτα is under debate. Suggestions for a Prohellenic, ancient Greek, Slavic or Albanic origin have been set forth (see Moutsopoulos 2002, 22–23). Possible origins are the Slavic words “arda” (= irrigated valley)⁹ or “balto” (= marshes [Delopoulos]) or the Latin ‘artus a -um’ (= narrow, with a geographical meaning of a marine narrow channel, found as a place name elsewhere in the Western Balkans [Tsoutsinos]). Ἄρτα first appeared in the sources, when it was sieged by the Norman, Bohemund, in 1082 and 1131. A bishop of Arta, Vassilios, was first mentioned in 1157; however the diocese is not recorded in the *Notitiae Episcopatumum*. Lacta/Larta, mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela in 1165, might have been Arta but its confusion with Lefkada (Lecat) is more likely, since the latter was on the sea-route to the West. Before the end of the 12th c. Arta replaced Nafpaktos as the capital of *Nikopolis*. In 1204, the episkopsis of Arta (pertinentia de Arta/de Larta) was assigned to Venice. Two villages with Slavic names were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Arta in 1235: Planikovista and Dovrolista (Πλανικοβίστα, Δοβρόλιστα). In the Late Byzantine period it became the regional capital which it remained up to the 15th c. In the 15th c. Cyriacus of Ancona mentioned that the Castle of Arta had gates and Jews lived in it. He most probably referred to an outer enceinte than the current castle: that could be the Hellenistic walls which had survived at the SE part of the city up to modern times and whose gates were visible near the Faneromeni Monastery. In the 16th c., Evlijah Celebi counted “forty houses in the castle near the mosque”: the castle was obviously that outer enceinte, since the current castle does not have room for forty houses while there is no historical or traditional

⁹ Ch. Soulis, Newspaper *Epirotikon Vima*, no. 126/ 1931 in: Tsoutsinos 2001: 17.

mention of a mosque inside it. Outside the castle there was the market: in Late Byzantine texts it is called Emborio (Ἐμπορίο) and is described in the later Chronicle of Tocci as an unfortified settlement.

Arachthos was a navigable river communicating with the Ionian Sea through the harbours in the Ambracian Gulf: Phidokastro (S/N 94) and later Salaora/Salagora (Papadopoulou 2002a; Papageorgiou 1982); in 1436 Cyriacus of Ancona went with Carlo II Tocco to the Ambracian Gulf via Arachthos.

Date

10th–12th century and later periods

Papadopoulou believes the Hellenistic fortifications were still in use in the 12th c. and that the castle is of Late Byzantine construction.

Bibliography

Benjamin of Tudela, Book of Travels, 34–35, 49; *Venetian Republic*, I 470, 490 (no. 121), II 121 (no. 224); *Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos*, 140, 180; Xenopoulos 1884, 145; Sakelion 1890, 317ff.; Dendias 1931; Orlandos 1936, 151–152; Zakythinios 1951, 194–205; Delopoulos 1977, 163–177; Triantaphyllopoulos 1977, 161; *Idem* 1978, 198–199; Koder, Soustal 1981, 113–115, 143, 239 (Arta); Papageorgiou 1982, 51; Nicol 1984, 72, 186–188, 199, 201ff., 211ff., 220; Moutsopoulos 1990, 41; *Idem* 1992a, 412–430, mainly 414 (fig.); Paradeisis 1994, 2, 121–126; Prinzing 1997a, 189, 194; Papadopoulou 2002a, 105–113; Papadimitriou 2004, 38; Kaponis 2008

S/N 24

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Highway E951 (Ethniki Hodos Arta – Ioannina) – Arachthou St.
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'39"N, 20°58'51"E
<i>Altitude</i>	20 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Bandalouka and Christoyorgou Plots
<i>Area</i>	At the SW edge of the city
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	
<i>Geomorphology</i>	At the lowland near the bank of Arachthos.

Figures 160, 161d–g

Plan

Maps 8, 12

Architecture

The two nearby plots were excavated by the Archaeological Service. In the Bandalouka Plot part of a Byzantine settlement was revealed in a strata largely disturbed by later habitation. At Christoyorgou Plot Byzantine graves and two pottery kilns with their pits were found. Another part of this cemetery was found in the nearby Zikou Plot, Komenou Ave. (S/N 26). Several Byzantine tombs discovered in this area but there is no dating.

Other finds

Bandalouka Plot: Pottery local and imported, perhaps partly dated in the 12th c. (P2), a coin (Ng). Christoyorgou Plot: Near the burials: glazed pottery sherds, glass objects, ancient and Byzantine coins.

Historical evidence

See S/N 23

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine, 1195–1203 (coin), later periods

Bibliography

Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 460; Laskaris 2000, 203.

S/N 25

Site Name Arta, Kato Panagia

Geographical Coordinates 39°8'41"N, 20°59'20"E

Altitude 20 m

Place-names

Area Modern monastery of Kato Panagia

Settlement Arta

Former Community –

Municipality Artaion

Province Arta

Prefecture Arta

NSSG ID no. 31130502

HMGS map Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 05.2002

Geomorphology At the foot of the Peranthi Hill, on the E bank of Arachthos.

*Figures**Plan**Map*

8

Architecture

Traces of a Middle Byzantine building have been recently discovered under the 13th-c. Katholikon. It was damaged by some earthquake and had several construction phases. The Middle Byzantine sculpture reused on the 13th-c. church comes most probably from that building. It is a moot point as to whether some architectural sculptures of gypsum (pieces of sanctuary closure), published by Papadopoulou (2001b, 356–358, 362: no. 15, 16 and maybe also 17–20, figs. 23–28, 41–42) come from the Middle- or from the Late Byzantine church. In 1946 another church – similar to Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias (S/N 56) – was found at a 500m distance from the monastery (Papadopoulou 1992a, 389, note 86, and 394, plan).

Other finds

Pottery (unpublished), sculpture (Table 11)

Historical evidence

The site could be identified as the Timios Stavros Monastery, which existed in a village near Arta before 1229 (Orlandos).

Date

Before the mid-13th c. (architecture), 11th–12th c. (sculpture), Late Byzantine period

Bibliography

Orlandos 1936, 70–87; Koder, Soustal 1981, 223 (Panagia); Papadopoulou 1992a; Papadopoulou 2001b; Papadopoulou 2002a, 91–104; Foundas 2005.

*S/N 26**Site Name*

Arta, Komenou Avenue

Geographical Coordinates

39°9'16.11"N, 20°58'57.82"E

Altitude

22 m

Place-names

Charitou-Manara-, Seryani-, Tachou-Muller-, Kostadima-, Zikou- Plots

Area

At the end of the avenue towards the outskirts of the city, close to the Highway E951

Settlement

Arta

*Former Community**Municipality*

Artaion

Province

Arta

Prefecture

Arta

NSSG ID no.

31010101

HMGs map

Arta 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits* 07.2005*Geomorphology* At the lowlands, not far from the bank of Arachthos in the SW part of the city, on a Hellenistic cemetery site*Figures* 21, 22, 23, 160*Plan**Maps* 8, 12*Architecture*

Extensive Byzantine material remains were found in several excavations. A cemetery was excavated in the Zikou Plot; where the construction of the lowest burials had caused a destruction of the walls and pavement of two houses. In the same plot two pits contained abundant pottery. A chapel with annexes and another part of cemetery came to light in Charitou-Manara Plot; the chapel was dated by Tsouris after the 13th c. but the cemetery was earlier. At a 60 m distance, in the Seryani Plot, a Late Byzantine house with traces of earlier – probably Middle Byzantine – habitation was excavated. In the Tachou-Muller Plot two Byzantine houses were founded on a stratum with fire residues. In Kostadima Plot a four-phase – partly Byzantine – road and a building complex were discovered.

Other finds

Zikou Plot: 12th–14th c. plain and glazed pottery (P2)

Charitou-Manara and adjacent plots: glazed pottery (P2)

Seryani Plot: glazed pottery (P2), glass objects (G1), metalwork (M2), 318 coins (unpublished).

Tachou-Muller Plot: plain and glazed pottery (P2), 130 bronze coins, glass objects (G1), metalwork (M2) (most of them unpublished).

Kostadima plot: plain and glazed pottery (P2), some scyphate and 22 bronze coins, metalwork (M2) (unpublished).

Historical evidence

See S/N 23, 27–28. Current evidence so far indicates that here there was a neighbourhood of the Byzantine settlement. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou suggested these sites were located outside the Byzantine town; in my opinion that is unlikely since that town had a flexible pattern (see Part 3, chapters 1 and 3). As the Byzantine road found at Kostadima plot kept exactly the line of the older Hellenistic one, Papadimitriou assumed that Byzantine inhabitants perhaps preserved the ancient grid.

Date

Probable Middle Byzantine phase, Late Byzantine and later periods

Bibliography

Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 462; Papadopoulou 1988b, 331–334; Papadopoulou 1989b, 291–293; Papadopoulou 1992a, 384; Tsouris 1992; Papadopoulou 2002a, 19; Papadopoulou 2002b; Papadimitriou 2004, 20.

S/N 27

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Komenou Avenue – Mourganas Street
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'23"N, 20°58'56"E
<i>Altitude</i>	23 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Spai-Yanaki Plot
<i>Area</i>	Junction of Komenou Avenue and Mourganas Street
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology Not very far from the centre, towards the SW part of the city, close to Parigoritissa

Figures 24

Plan

Map 12

Architecture

Remains of a Byzantine house came to light during rescue excavation – it could be related to the building found at Mourganas St. (S/N 28).

Other finds

Pottery (P2), coins (Ng–10), glass artifacts (G1), metalwork (M2).

Historical evidence

See S/N 23, 26, 28.

Date

Possible Middle Byzantine phase; late 12th–13th c. and later (Tsouris)

Bibliography

Tsouris 1992; Papadopoulou 1992a: 383.

S/N 28

Site Name Arta, Mourganas Street*Geographical Coordinates* 39°9'23"N, 20°58'58"E*Altitude* 27 m*Place-names**Area* Mourganas St.*Settlement* Arta*Former Community**Municipality* Artaion*Province* Arta*Prefecture* Arta*NSSG ID no.* 31010101*HMGS map* Arta 1977*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology* Not very far from the centre, towards the SW part of the city, close to Parigoritissa*Figures**Plan**Maps* 8, 12*Architecture*

Remains of a Byzantine house came to light during rescue excavation and could be related to the building found at the nearby Spai-Yanaki Plot (at the junction of Komenou Ave. and Mourganas St., S/N 27).

Other finds

Glazed pottery and coins (unpublished)

Historical evidence

See S/N 23, 24, 26–27.

Date

Possible Middle Byzantine phase, late 12th–13th c. and later

Bibliography

Papadopoulou 1992b, 326–328.

S/N 29

Site Name Arta, New Bridge, church*Geographical Coordinates* 39°8'51"N, 20°58'42"E*Altitude* 14? m*Place-names**Area* At a 500 m distance from the New Bridge

<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	
<i>Geomorphology</i>	On the W bank of Arachthos
<i>Figures</i>	
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Maps</i>	8, 12
<i>Architecture</i>	
A random, underwater find – now lost – was a church located by the W bank of Arachthos.	
<i>Other finds</i>	
<i>Historical evidence</i>	
See S/N 23	
<i>Date</i>	
Perhaps Middle Byzantine period (based on the description of its architecture)	
<i>Bibliography</i>	
Papadopoulou 1984	
<i>S/N 30</i>	
<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'11.02"N, 20°57'50.36"E
<i>Altitude</i>	18 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Top-Alti, Ergatikes Katikies
<i>Area</i>	Top-Alti/Ergatikes Katikies quarter to the W of the city, to the W of Arachthos not far from the Old Bridge
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	

HMGS map Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology In the middle of a thick strata of alluvial deposits caused by Arachthos

Figures 54

Plan 1

Map 8

Architecture

The church has two Middle Byzantine phases. An excavation by Vocotopoulos revealed an interesting stratigraphy and small finds, discussed in previous chapters.

Other finds

Coins (N₁₁–N₁₇)

Pottery, metalwork and fragments of glass artifacts (unpublished)

Historical evidence

The Turkish name 'Top Altı' means the area within the range of a fire arm shot from the Castle – i.e. this area was on the borderline yet under protection. In the Ottoman period there were no *çiflik* in Top-Altı, by contrast to the rest of Arta plain; instead the area was divided into small-scale properties belonging equally to Greeks, Turks and Jews (Tsoutsinos). See also S/N 23.

Date

850–900 (initial construction), ca. 1000–1200 (restoration)

Bibliography

Orlandos 1922a, 3–6; Orlandos 1936, 115–130; Vocotopoulos 1972b, 460–463; Koder, Soustal 1981, 115 (Arta); Pallas 1971b, 275, 278; Gkioles 1987, 64–66; Vocotopoulos 1992, 45–49, 183–185; Papadopoulou 1992b, 387; Papadopoulou 2002a, 33–37.

S/N 31

Site Name Arta, Panagia Kassopitra

Geographical Coordinates 39°9'43.20"N, 20°59'16.00"E

Altitude 37 m

Place-names

Area At the junction of Kassopitras and Koleti St. in the city centre

Settlement Arta

Former Community

<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	05.2002, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Under the hill of the castle, in the commercial centre of the modern city
<i>Figures</i>	132
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Maps</i>	8, 12

Architecture

The church is post-Byzantine. A Byzantine sculpture (large closure slab? [Orlandos]) was reused to decorate the W façade, to the right of the main entrance.

Other finds

Sculpture (Sc24)

Historical evidence

Local tradition mentions a “big church with many marbles” on this site, whose name comes from the Virgin Kassopaia worshiped in Corfu. This link is an interesting detail given the relationship between the 5th–6th-c. Evroia (identified with modern Glyky, in Thesprotia to the NW of Arta) and the Fort of Kassiopi in Corfu (known from three letters of bishops). The inhabitants of Evroia seem to have moved to Kassiopi during the Slavic invasions of the year 603/4 under the guidance by their bishop; they brought with them the relics of their protector, St Donatus. The aforementioned letters do not allow understanding if the inhabitants returned to Evroia after the invasions had finished. However, they had already negotiated with the bishop of Corfu that, when they returned to their homeland, they would bring back with them the relics.

One hypothesis might be that they might have returned to Evroia, found new – Slav – settlers and decided to found a new settlement in Arta, which was not previously densely inhabited and whose location was advantageous (secure, with ample building material). On the other hand, the name ‘Kassopitra’ is definitely not an adequate proof for the inhabitants of Evroia having come from Kassiopi to Arta, after the danger had passed; however, it definitely indicates a connection between the two settlements. Obviously some of those inhabitants of Evroia returned to

Epirus and brought with them the worship of Virgin Kassopaia/Kassopitra. Some of them or of their descendants probably ended up in Arta and took on that worship by constructing this church. In my opinion (judging from the size and quality of the sculpture) that monument's size, quality and early date suggest a rather close link between the founders of the settlement in Arta and the worship of Virgin Kassopitra – regardless if they had come directly from Kassiopi or from some intermediate settlement. See also S/N 23 and Part 1, Chapter 2.IV.

Date

10th or first half of the 11th century (sculpture and old church)

Bibliography

Orlandos 1936, 179, fig. 9; Follieri 1996; Chrysos 1997b, 183; Tsoutsinos 2001, 215.

S/N 32

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Panda-Kopsia, Ag. Nikolaos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'2.22"N, 20°57'29.34"E
<i>Altitude</i>	16 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Panda-Kopsia
<i>Area</i>	Quarter Top-Alti/Ergatikes Katikies, 1 km SW of Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra (S/N 30)
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the centre of the Arachthos alluvial plain
<i>Figures</i>	
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	8

Architecture

The initial phase of this small church dates in the Middle Byzantine period. The N and the W walls were restored in 1904 according to a marble inscription on the W façade.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

See S/N 23 and S/N 30.

Date

9th or 10th century (architecture)

Bibliography

Vocotopoulos 1972b, 465; Koder, Soustal 1981, 115 (Arta).

*S/N 33**Site Name*

Arta, Parigoritissa

Geographical Coordinates

39°9'31"N, 20°59'0"E

Altitude

36 m

Place-names

Parigoritissa

Area

In the square defined by Parigoritras-, Vassileos Konstandinou-, Zalongou- and Tzoumerkou- St.

Settlement

Arta

*Former Community**Municipality*

Artaion

Province

Arta

Prefecture

Arta

NSSG ID no.

31010101

HMGS map

Arta 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

05.2002, 07.2005

Geomorphology

Western slope of the Peranthi Hill, to the S of the city's commercial centre

*Figures**Plan**Maps*

8, 12

Architecture

Excavations confirmed the site was in use even before the erection of the Late Byzantine church (Theis). In the SW corner of the church there is a square opening leading to a corridor leading below the church floor (Papadopoulou). The chapel, which is adjacent to the SW corner of the church, was used as a cemetery after the latter was erected (Papadopoulou).

Other finds

A Collection of Byzantine sculpture from the area is hosted within the former monastic facilities (Table 11).

Historical evidence

The site is not mentioned in Byzantine texts. See S/N 23.

Date

11th–12th centuries (the chapel [Orlandos; Papadopoulou]), Late Byzantine period

Bibliography

Orlandos 1963, 22–23; Koder, Soustal 1981, 114–115 (Arta); Theis 1991; Papadopoulou 1992a, 388–389; Papadopoulou 2002a, 131–161.

S/N 34

Site Name	Arta, Perivleptos Monastery (Μονή Περιβλέπτου)
Geographical Coordinates	39°9'56"N, 20°59'3"E
Altitude	27 m
Place-names	Lofos Metropolis (Cathedral Hill)
Area	Probably at the junction of Ignatiou Mitropolitou St. and the Ring Road
Settlement	Arta
Former Community	
Municipality	Artaion
Province	Arta
Prefecture	Arta
NSSG ID no.	31010101
HMGS map	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits	05.2002
Geomorphology	S part of a low hill
Figures	
Plan	
Map	12

Architecture

Papadopoulou's association of the historical monastery's location with this hill (see Ag. Mercurios, S/N 19) seems very plausible given the traditional name 'Perilifti' for the adjacent residential quarter (see below).

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

The monastery (Μονή Θεοτόκου Περιβλέπτου) in Arta is mentioned in two letters of John Apokaukos: once he was hosted in the monastery and another time a Synod took place there (in the year 1222). Therefore the monastery dates in the early 13th century. Traditionally the quarter

around the the Metropolitan church of Ag. Mercurios was called 'Perilifti', a corrupted version of 'Perivleptos', because there was a church with that name in the area. The Mosque of Beys (Τζαμί τῶν Μπέηδων) was later built on the site of that church, at the junction of Ignatiou Mitropolitou St. and the Ring Road, to the S of Ag. Mercurios (Tsoutsinos; Papadimitriou).

Date

If some of the sculpture reused or stored in Ag. Mercurios originated from that monastery, then the latter must have dated even before the 13th century.

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters II, 10f, 13, 17, 20–24, 26, 28; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters III*, 250, 269, 273f, 278f, 283f; Nicol 1984, 72, 186–188, 199, 201f; Koder, Soustal 1981, 115 (Arta); Tsoutsinos 2001, 226; Papadopoulou 2002a, 19; Papadopoulou 2003, 86; Papadimitriou 2004, 89; Papadopoulou 2005, 283–302.

S/N 35

<i>Site Name</i>	<i>Arta, Synagogue 'Greka' (Συναγωγή «Γκρέκα»)*</i>
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'51"N, 20°59'15"E
<i>Altitude</i>	34 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Papadimitriou Plot
<i>Area</i>	Hill at 100 m distance from the entrance to the castle, very close to the Horologio Square.
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology See S/N 16

Figures

Plan

Maps 8, 12

Architecture

The building of Synagogue 'Greka' was destroyed during the Second World War. Papadopoulou suggested it was built in the 12th c. A 6.30 m deep pit discovered during excavation in the Papadimitriou Plot was dated to

between the Byzantine and the modern period judging from the pottery it contained.

Other finds

Pottery from the pit (P2)

Historical evidence

‘Greka’ was the older of the two synagogues in Arta and was founded by the Romaniotes ‘Grekoi’ Jews who settled in Arta in the 12th c. (Papadopoulou). Benjamin of Tudela passed from a settlement with 100 Jews in 1165; he called it Lacta. It has been suggested this was either Arta (because it was called Larta in 1204, see S/N 23) or Lefkada (which is found in texts as Lecat, see S/N 62). The second alternative is more plausible for various reasons (see S/N 62) and mostly because Arta was not really on the sea route to the West. Nevertheless, Arta cannot be excluded either given the historical evidence for Jewish communities living there in the 12th c. (see also Part 1, Chapter 2.IV). Later evidence on the Jewish quarters of Arta dates in the 15th c., when a second synagogue – called Poulieza – was built by Jews coming from S Italy. Cyriacus of Ancona, who navigated the Arachthos with Carlo II Tocco in 1436 and arrived at the Ambracian Gulf, wrote that Jews lived in the Castle of Arta. Even later the Jewish quarters extended between the Amvrakias-/Tzavela- St. and the northern parts of Palama-/Makriyani/Filelinon St. (Papadimitriou); and that is in fact the neighbourhood around the Byzantine pit at Papadimitriou Plot.

Date

Perhaps 12th c. or later

Bibliography

Benjamin of Tudela, Book of Travels, 34–35, 49; Papadopoulou 1992a, 390, note 32; Papadopoulou 2002a, 19, 105; Papadimitriou 2004, 65.

S/N 36

<i>Site Name</i>	Arta, Vassileos Pyrou Street
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'48"N, 20°59'2"E
<i>Altitude</i>	30 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Bakayani-Yoti Plots
<i>Area</i>	Vassileos Pyrou St. in the city centre
<i>Settlement</i>	Arta
<i>Former Community</i>	
<i>Municipality</i>	Artaion
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31010101
<i>HMGs map</i>	Arta 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

Location at the foot of the hill of the castle

Figures

160, 161a–d

*Plan**Map*

12

Architecture

The excavation of the plot revealed an extensive Byzantine cemetery over an archaic temple (Laskaris). The stratum on which the cemetery was founded contained ancient and Byzantine (plain and glazed) pottery; the dating of the latter provides a *terminus post quem* for the cemetery (Vocotopoulou; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou); the *terminus ante quem* is set by 13th-c. coins found at the highest stratum.

*Other finds*Pottery (P₂), coins (N₇–N₈)*Historical evidence*

See S/N 23

Date

11th–12th c. and 13th c. (pottery, coins)

Bibliography

Karamessini-Oikonomidou 1969, 248; Vocotopoulou 1967, 342; Vocotopoulou 1975, 210–211; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 458–460; Papadopoulou 1992a, 387; Laskaris 2000, 202, note 452.

*S/N 37**Site Name*

Astakos, Castle

Geographical Coordinates

38°33'17"N, 21°5'29"E

Altitude

68–105 m

Place-names

Grava/Graves, Dragamesto, Kastrá, Tou Tafou, Kastro Astakou

Area

Hill between Astakos and Karajskaki, at ca. 2 km N of Astakos, near the Ionian coast

Settlement

Astakos

Former Community

Astakos

Municipality

Astakos

Province

Vonitsa and Xeromero

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

1110101

HMGS map

Agrinion 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

08.2001, 12.2003, 07.2005

Geomorphology

Large, steep and flat hill whose top is a natural 'terrace' allowing ample oversight of the Astakos Gulf. The hill top is inaccessible from the E and W; the main access is at the N side, where there is also a water spring. The road from the port towards the Acarnanian hinterland, to the N, passes from the foot of the NW side of the hill, in which side there is another, harder access to the top protected by a Byzantine tower.

Figures

69, 86

Plan

5

Map

11

Architecture

This extensive archaeological site has material remains dated from antiquity to the medieval period (plan 5). It has been identified with the citadel of ancient Astakos.¹⁰ Medieval remains consist of fortifications, churches and secular buildings. Ancient wells and cisterns in and around the medieval enceinte must have also been used in medieval times.

The 47.6 km² medieval enceinte used the fabric of the N part of the ancient one and material from several ancient buildings; a new wall to the N of the ancient transverse wall became the outer wall of the Byzantine enceinte and was reinforced by five towers (fig. 86a).¹¹ The enceinte runs along the S and W sides of the hill while the E side is only naturally fortified (fig. 86b). The main arched entrance gate, at the W part of the S side of the enceinte, probably remained in use in Byzantine times since a room adjacent to the gate was later repaired in brick masonry. Remains of three churches and several secular buildings survive in the enceinte. Church 'A' ('Basilica in Grava Astakou' in previous literature, fig. 69) has

¹⁰ *Scylax, Periplous*, 34, p. 182; Portelanos 1998, III 1316–1327. Leake (1809) identified ancient Astakos with modern Platygialos and Grava with ancient Krithoti. Heuzey (1831–1922) was the first one to identify Grava with ancient Astakos on the basis of a stamped tile; for the relevant discussion see Papageorgiou 1998, 98.

¹¹ Heuzey 1860, 419f; Dimitrakopoulos 1970, 8, 12–20; Vocotopoulos 1972b, 441; Benton 1931–1932, 243–245; Koder, Soustal 1981, 144; Papageorgiou 1998, 108f; Visit. In contrast Portelanos (1998, 1321) and Dimitrakopoulos (1970, 13) suggest the Byzantine transverse wall was built directly on the ancient one.

been published by Vocotopoulos; according to local tradition it was venerated to the Virgin or to St Catherine (Dimitrakopoulos; Papageorgiou). Of Church 'B', lying about 40m E of Church 'A', only the foundations survive; it measured 10 × 9m and was built on a free-cross (Papageorgiou) or cross-vaulted (Dimitrakopoulos) plan using spolia (undated). Church 'T' lies about 75 m N of Church 'B'; it is an undated, 7.80 × 5.20 m-sized basilica built with rubble, tile-fragments, one spolium and mortar. Building 'A' was a very large construction (more than 40 × 25 m with 4 m-high walls) adjacent to the N part of the enceinte, of unspecified date and use. Several remains of smaller secular buildings (houses?) are Byzantine or later.

Medieval buildings are also scattered around the enceinte. Church 'Δ', a 6 × 4.75 m building of spolia, rubble and mortar, was venerated to St Kyriaki. Church 'E' was built beside the water spring in spolia and venerated to St Constantine (Dimitrakopoulos 1970, 28); this might be the 'church in Dermatis property' (Konstantios 1981c, 40). Some graves have been discovered in Agrela (to the W of the castle, across the Kasteli) and further to the N near the Somboleika. Remains of ancient, medieval and modern buildings are also seen on the Kasteli hilltop at short distance to the S of the castle: the medieval remains consist of a small fort allowing oversight of the bay, harbour and entire valley of Astakos.

In Ag. Varvara and Mega Pigadi (a little further to the NE of the castle, towards Vassilopoulo/f. Karajskaki) a large complex (church and other buildings, graves and sculpture) were discovered (Konstantios; Konstantios, Kefallonitou). There is no accurate dating and the finds are unpublished – a relative dating in the Early Byzantine period has been proposed. An Early Byzantine basilica has been found on the coast of modern Astakos (Vocotopoulos 1972a: 109; Kirsten; Koder, Soustal).

Other finds

Pottery (P22)

Historical evidence

Place names

A settlement named Astakos (< ostakos = a marine species) is mentioned in the 6th c. by Stefanus Byzantius: «... Ἀστακὸς ... ἔστι Ἀχαρνάνιας πόλις. ὃ δὲ Κεφαλληνίας ἀποικον...»; however, this mention cannot be necessarily considered as a proof that the settlement existed at that time. Grava was initially the name of the water spring at the N foot of the *Hill of the castle*, originating either from the Albanian word 'grah' (= cut in earth or rock) or the Slavic 'grad' (= town, fort) [Dimitrakopoulos]. If the first case is correct, this place-name might be associated with the 14th-c. Albanian rule in Epirus (Koder, Soustal). Dragamesto derived from the Slavic name 'dzago-

mesto' meaning a 'good place', 'valley' or 'place with good view' (Vasmer; Spyropoulos). It must be associated with the Slavic settlement along the Acarnanian W coast and hinterland in the 6th–7th c.¹² Acropolitis cites it as a local place-name (Zakythinos). Papatrechas recorded the versions Tragamesti, Dragamezzo and Dragomestra (Τραγαμέστη, Δραγαμέζο, Δραγομέστρα).

The settlement

Δραγαμεστός is mentioned in a 13th-c. text (Λόγος εις ἄγιον Βάρβαρον by Constantine Akropolitis) in relation to the 9th-c. defense against the Arab raids in Acarnania. The town was attacked by Saracens in the years 827–829 but repelled them. During those attacks, the settlement of Amvrakia sought military help at Dragamesto, thus the latter must have been a rather strong settlement (see also S/N 57, 58 and 11). The first mention of a bishop of Dragameston/Adragameston (Ἀδραγαμέστου) under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Nafpaktos dates in 1227/8 and later. Nevertheless, there is no mention of a bishopric with that name in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*. The Chronicle of Tocci provides a description of the castle in the 15th c. Portulans and maps of that period mention the location as Assile, Assilo, Acillo, Astokos (Papageorgiou, 97, note 2) – possibly confusing it with Acheloos (S/N 1) – but a portulan found in 1559 mentions a κόρφος Δραγαμέστο [Papageorgiou, 97, note 3; Delatte]. Modern travellers (Leake and Heuzey) also provide descriptions of the site which, according to Papatrechas, was the harbour and commercial centre of products of the whole region (oak-galls, timber for the ship-construction, meat, liquorice etc.).

Date

Fortifications: 6th–8th and later until perhaps the 16th c.

Church 'A': 10th–11th c. and later

Bibliography

Constantine Akropolitis, Vie de Saint Barbaros I, 409ff; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters I*, 77; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters II*, 26; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V*, 77; *Stephanus Byzantinus, Ethnica*, 137; *Chronicle of the Tocco*, 242–244; L. 292–293; Kirsten 1941, 102; Vasmer 1941, 70; Delatte 1947, 208–209; Zakythinos 1960, 408–409; Da Costa-Louillet 1961, 311; Spyropoulos 1965, 139–141; Dimitrakopoulos 1970, 13–20; Vocotopoulos 1972b, 441; Koder, Soustal 1981, 144 (Dragameston); Sfikopoulos 1981, 167–173; Konstantios

¹² See Part 1 – Chapter 2.III and Part 3 – Chapters 1, 3; Papageorgiou 1998, 100; Malingoudis 1991; Vasmer 1941, 70.

1981c, 40; Konstantios, Kefallonitou 1984, 195; Konstantios 1984b, 126–128; Papatrechas 1991, 334–335; Vocotopoulos 1992, 95; Papageorgiou 1998, 97–121; Portelanos 1998, III 1316–1327; Kordosis 1997, 251–260; Paliouras 2004a, 66–67, 299–300.

S/N 38

<i>Site Name</i>	Drymos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°52'50"N, 21°0'39"E
<i>Altitude</i>	
<i>Place-names</i>	Palioklissi/Palioklissia
<i>Area</i>	Between Vromoneri and Tsouka, ca. 500 m W of Drymos, 2 km N from the Ambracian coast, 12 km SE of Vonitsa
<i>Settlement</i>	Drymos
<i>Former Community</i>	Drymos
<i>Municipality</i>	Anaktoriou
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01070301
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Hill not far from the S coast of the Ambracian Gulf

Figures 162, 202, 133

Plan

Map 9

Architecture

Remains of five Early Byzantine basilicas have been discovered around Drymos – here there was obviously a settlement (Koder, Soustal; Paliouras). One of these basilicas, at Palioklissi (Basilica 'A'), was used as a cemetery from the 5th c. until the Middle Byzantine period according to the architecture of one grave and a find inside it. Nothing has survived of this archaeological site. A secular complex and a tomb, dated to between the fifth and the seventh century were excavated at unknown location near Drymos.

Other finds

Pottery (P3), metalwork (M3), sculpture (Sc25)

Historical evidence

Two inscriptions mention a 5th-c. deaconess and a bishop (Mastrokostas). An anchorage close to Drymos (near modern Loutraki) has a name which may be Slavic: Γκορδοβίτσα-Κορδοβίτσα or Γκορδοβύζα-Κορδοβύζα (*Constantine Akropolitis, Vie de Saint Barbaros II*; Koder, Soustal); on this name see S/N 57.

Date

5th–7th c., possibly until the 10th c.

Bibliography

Constantine Akropolitis, Vie de Saint Barbaros II, 45, 51–55; Mastrokostas 1971, 185–195; Koder, Soustal 1981, 148 (Drymos), 185 (Kordobitza); Paliouras 2004a, 56.

S/N 39

<i>Site Name</i>	Efpalio, Nea Koukoura-Drossato, Ag. Ioannis and Metochi Paleopanagias
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°25'N, 21°56'E
<i>Altitude</i>	148 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Therma, Ai-Yanis, Konstandinou Nikolettou Property
<i>Area</i>	Two small villages to the E of Efpalio
<i>Settlement</i>	f. Nea Koukoura, f. Drossato
<i>Former Community</i>	Kamboi (–1930), Klima Efpaliou (1930–1971)
<i>Municipality</i>	Efpalio
<i>Province</i>	Dorida
<i>Prefecture</i>	Phocida
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	07070501
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patra 1979

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology Plateau at the foot of Mt. Krania, on the E bank of the Mandilo river, not far from the coast and Nafpaktos.

Figures 51a

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

(a) Nea Koukoura: The modern church Genessio tou Prodomou was built on an older one, probably Byzantine. An Early Byzantine basilica was also

excavated;¹³ after its abandonment it was used as a cemetery and much later a church of Analipsi was built on its site; a small wall section only survives (fig. 51a).

(b) Drossato: In a field approximately 2 km to the NW of the aforementioned sites a coin hoard was found in 1960. It was probably buried during the reign of John II Comnene (1118–1143).

Other finds

Coins (N18–N28)

Historical evidence

A monastery dedicated to Genessio tou Prodromou (Birth of St John the Baptist) is mentioned in 17th–18th-c. documents kept at Varnakova Monastery (S/N 41).

Date

Probably Middle Byzantine

Coins: ca. 945–1143

Bibliography

Katsaros 1980a, 45–46, note 112; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 185, note 255a; Chalkia 1988; Katsaros 1992–1993, 125–133; Galani-Krikou et al. 2002, 85.

S/N 40

<i>Site Name</i>	Efpalio (f. Soules), Ag. Ioannis Theologos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°26'05"N, 21°55'19"E
<i>Altitude</i>	182 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ai-Yanis Theologos, Ai-Nikolas
<i>Area</i>	3 km NW of Efpalio, 10 km ENE of Nafpaktos
<i>Settlement</i>	Efpalio
<i>Former Community</i>	Efpalio
<i>Municipality</i>	Efpalio
<i>Province</i>	Dorida
<i>Prefecture</i>	Phokida
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	07070101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patra 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology In the forest, on a hill by the Karyotis River at the NW part of Efpalio Valley.

¹³ On the dense habitation of the coastal area of Phocida in the Early Byzantine period see Kourenda-Raptaki 1993.

*Figures**Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

The initial construction of this small church dates in the middle of the 12th c. The existing monastic facilities are of a later date.

Other finds

No sculptures; 13th-c. frescos, partly dedicated to the Life of St Nicolas.

Historical evidence

The frescos and surviving place-name indicate the church was once venerated to St Nicolas. A homonymous metochion of Prodromos Monastery in Vodonitsa (Μονή Προδρόμου τῆς Βοδονίτσας) is mentioned in a letter from Michael Choniates to John Apokaukos (who had invited him to Nafpaktos): «...μετόχιον...μονιδιόν τι τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου ἐπιλεγομένου τοῦ Σώζοντος...δωρηθὲν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου Κομνηνοῦ...». ¹⁴ Choniates' description of the metochion – donated by a Comnene – matches that of Ag. Ioannis Theologos. Two later documents support this identification by linking a Comnenian church of St Nicolas with the Efpalio Valley: Manuel Komnenos is mentioned to have donated three churches around Nafpaktos, Koimissi tis Theotokou and two metochia – Ag. Athanassios and Ag. Nikolaos – of which the latter was built in 1152 (Lambros; Katsaros 1980a, 32–43). If this information is correct, the two metochia evidently belonged to Varnakova Monastery since Manuel Komnenos was its donor (S/N 41). An 18th-c. Chronicle of Varnakova Monastery refers to the exact location of Ag. Nikolaos, called also 'Palioklissi' (Παλιοκλήσι = old church). ¹⁵

Date

Ca. 1152 (architecture)

Bibliography

Lambros 1909, 386; Orlandos 1922b, Appendix, 37–42; Orlandos 1929–1930, 577; Katsaros 1981c – Katsaros 1981c, 237–252; Bouras, Boura 2002, 147–149 (lit.)

*S/N 41**Site Name*

Efpalio, Varnakova (Koimesis Theotokou)
Monastery

Geographical Coordinates

38°28'28"N, 21°57'56"E

¹⁴ Katsaros 1981δ, 25–29.

¹⁵ On this text see Katsaros 1980a: 38–43 and S/N 38 below.

<i>Altitude</i>	754 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Varnakova, Vernikovo, Verniko
<i>Area</i>	14 km NE of Nafpaktos
<i>Settlement</i>	Moni Varnakovis
<i>Former Community</i>	Lykochoriou, Teichiou (1929)
<i>Municipality</i>	Efpalio
<i>Province</i>	Dorida
<i>Prefecture</i>	Phokida
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	07071402
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patra 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology Aesthetically unique location on the highlands of Mt. Trikorfa on the S bank of the Mornos River.

Figures 26, 134, 135

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

The Katholikon of the famous monastery venerated to the Dormition of the Virgin dates in 1831 (Kardamitsi-Adami 1984, 78–84; Koder, Soustal). It preserves Middle Byzantine opus sectile floors and reused sculpture (see below) because it was built at the place of an old Katholikon destroyed in 1826; the old building had four construction phases of which the three first ones dated in the Middle Byzantine period (Bouras, Boura). A Late Byzantine water-mill, asset of the monastery and called Ferit-Aga, has been located at the coast near Managouli (Katsaros).

Other finds

Byzantine and Post-Byzantine sculpture is reused in or scattered around the modern Katholikon (of the scattered one only drawings by Orlandos are available; for the Middle Byzantine sculpture see Sc26–Sc27 and Table 11).

Opus sectile floors (OS2).

A donor inscription was carved on a column of the old church (I4).

Historical evidence

The place name is Slavic (Βαρνάκοβα, Βερνικόβο) [Koder, Soustal]. The donor inscription as well as a note on an 18th-c. codex – probably copied from an old codex of the monastery and published by Lambros (1915) – have provided the following information on the monastery (Μονή Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Βαρνάκοβας, Βαρνακόβης or Βερνικόβου

or Βερνικῶ). The Katholikon was built by the monk Arsenius during the patriarchy of Cosmas, in 1077. The nave and sanctuary were decorated by frescos during the reign of Alexios Komnenos and the patriarchy of Nikolaos III Gramatikos (1084–1111), i.e. 11–38 years later. The aforementioned emperor, who died 34 years later after having changed his name into Monk Acacius, was buried in a sarcophagus placed to the left of the entrance to the Katholikon. A second church was built by monk Ioannis in 1148 during the reign of Manuel Komnenos and the patriarchy of Nikolaos III Moutzalon (1147–1151). The dedicated to the Virgin, inner narthex was erected and decorated by frescos during the reign of Manuel Komnenos and the patriarchy by Nikolaos III in 1151, i.e. 3 years later. The outer narthex was erected and decorated by frescos by the Despot Constantine Doukas in 1229/1230 during the reign of Theodore Doukas¹⁶ and the patriarchy of Germanos II (1226–1240), when Timotheos was abbot.

There is a second note in the archives of the monastery, called «Μετάγραφισ εὐγαλμένη ἀπό ταῖς κολώναις τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς ἐπονομαζόμενης Βαρνάκοβα, πλησίον τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ναυπάκτου»; this is a sort of a Chronicle on the history of the site, claiming to have copied inscriptions on the columns of the old church but its credibility has been questioned.¹⁷ It gives the following information. The monastery was very wealthy in the 12th c.: in 1194, it had a huge estate, vineyards and olive groves, and 96 monks and clergy. John II Komnenos (1118–1143) donated to the monastery the Neokastron at the edge of the forest (Νεόκαστρο στὸ ἄκρο τοῦ λόγγου) and its nearby church of Ag. Arsenas and an anonymous metochion at the Rock outside Nafpaktos (Πέτρα τὴν ὑπέξωθεν τῆς Ναυπάκτου) which owned 670 olive-trees and an oil-press.¹⁸ Later, Manuel Komnenos assigned to the monastery an extensive territory from Mornos Bridge to the N until the coast and the Palioklissi of Ag. Nikolaos (see S/N 40) to the W, including all the forest. The foundation of metochia to inspect the fields was necessary: three of them were built (first the Koimitirio Theotokou and Ag. Nikolaos in 1152 and then Ag. Athanassios on the bank of Mornos). Thirty-eight years later, in 1180, the emperor was dead and buried in a sarcophagus to the right of the entrance to the church. Some graves flanked indeed the entrance to the church but historical evidence does not confirm the burial of the

¹⁶ Theodoros Doukas' brother rather mingled in issues of the Metropolis of Nafpaktos: Lambros 1909, 387.

¹⁷ On the versions of the text see Orlandos 1922b, 9; Katsaros 1980a, 35, note 71.

¹⁸ One suspects a relation of that building with the mill at Managouli.

aforementioned emperors in Varnakova – that must have been a myth stemming from homonymous deceased among those buried in the church (Lambros 1909; Orlandos). Indeed, the 13th-c. inscriptions on fragments of sarcophagi slabs from Varnakova, published by Orlandos, suggest the monastery was a burial place for the Komnenodoukes. The monastery decayed in the 14th and 15th c., shortly flourished in early-16th c. and was rather out of function from 1530 up to 1688, when re-established; its archival documents date from this latest phase.

Date

11th–16th c. (sculpture, opus sectile, historical evidence), 17th c. onwards

Bibliography

Lambros 1909; Sotiriadis 1914; Lambros 1915; Orlandos 1922a; Kalonaros 1957; CIG, IV, 337: no. 8730; Kardamitsi-Adami 1984, 78–84; Katsaros 1992–1993, 124–5, 134; Koder, Soustal 1981, 122 (Barnakoba); Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 98; Theodoropoulos et al. 1990; Bouras 1995; Bouras, Boura 2002, 92–94 (lit.)

S/N 42

Site Name

Embessos, Castle*

Geographical Coordinates

39°1'7.96"N, 21°19'13.72"E

Altitude

465 m

Place-names

Potistres

Area

S of Embessos, on the bank of Biakos River, ca. 600 m N of Sykia, 32 km SE of Arta, 22 km NE of Amfilochia, near the borderline between Aetoloacarnania and Thessaly.

Settlement

Sykia

Former Community

Embessos

Municipality

Inachos

Province

Arta

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania (1926), Arta (1925–6)

NSSG ID no.

01140701

HMGs map

Arta 1977 (the site is misplaced on the map [Koder, Soustal and visit])

Archaeological evidence

Visits

11.2005

Geomorphology

This site, on the E side of a plateau on the foot of Mt. Kanala / Valtos and in the hinter-

land of the E coast of the Ambracian Gulf, allows an oversight of the Inachos valley and the pass to the upper Acheloos near the Lake Kremaston.

Figures

Plan 14

Map 9

Architecture

A medieval fortress, consisting of a dungeon, a keep and an adjacent earlier enceinte with a circular tower protecting the entrance, has been published by Portelanos. The enceinte is oval-shaped, extending to 113 m² (45 × 22 m). The 0.90m thick walls are built in rubble, mortar and brick. Few traces of an outer enceinte are built using the fabric of the Hellenistic wall on the same site. The buildings had more than one construction phases.

Other finds

Historical evidence

The site is mentioned in Post-Byzantine sources.

Date

Perhaps Middle- or Late Byzantine period (initial construction)

Bibliography

Heuzey 1860, 314ff; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Empesos) 149; Sfikopoulos 1981, 183–185; Portelanos 1998, II, 1039–40; Papatrechas 1991, 183–185.

S/N 43

Site Name Ermitsas River, Taxiarchis

Geographical Coordinates 38°35'7"N, 21°26'0"E

Altitude 48 m

Place-names Taxiarchis, Thomopoulos Plot

Area On the bank of Ermitsas River, ca. 1 km E of the Highway E952, 200 m S of Ag. Ioannis Riganas.

Settlement Panaitolio

Former Community Panaitolio

Municipality Agrinio or Thestiaion

Province Trichonidos

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 01030100

HMGs map Agrinio 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

In the middle of the Mavrikas Plain

*Figures**Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

A cemetery consisting of ca. 320 graves and other building remains was excavated on the site of the (now lost, known by oral tradition) Taxiarchis church.

Other finds

356 coins (N29), gold ring, plain pottery (Kefallonitou-Konstantiou 1987).

Historical evidence

This was the cemetery of an important settlement whose exact location is as yet unknown. The site was mentioned by Leake.

Date

12th–15th or 17th c.

Bibliography

Kefallonitou-Konstantiou 1987, 330; Kefallonitou 1998, 24; Nikolaos Kaponis (oral information)

*S/N 44**Site Name*

Evinochori (f. Bochori), Calydon

Geographical Coordinates

38°22'21.48"N, 21°31'59.10"E

Altitude

51 m

Place-names

Kastro Kourtaga

Area

E of Messolongi, 11.5 km SW of Pleuron, by the road from Antirio to Messolongi

Settlement

Evinochori, f. Bochori

Former Community

Evinochori

Municipality

Iera Poli Messolongiou

Province

Messolongi

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

01010201

HMGS map

Patra 1979

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

Hill at the foot of Mt. Arakynthos, on the E bank of Evinos River not far from its mouth.

*Figures**Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

A Byzantine church of Ag. Ioannis Prodromos was built on the site of the Temple of Dionysos [Katsaros]; it was demolished during the excavation of the temple (Zafeiropoulou 1975, 175; Kolonas 1987, 183). Numerous Byzantine graves were constructed inside and around the space of the *temenos* devoted to Apollo and Artemis Laphria after these temples had been abandoned.

Other finds

Fragments of Byzantine marble columns were observed around that church (Katsaros).

Byzantine pottery (P5)

Historical evidence

Katsaros correlated the Μονὴ Προδρόμου mentioned by Michael Choniates with this site (vs. Koder, Soustal who correlated it with Ag. Ioannis Prodromos in Galatas; the historical reference could have also be correlated with Prodromos Monastery in Analipsi (S/N 14). Ἄρτον / Ἄιτον: mentioned by Cyriacus of Ancona as the place-name for Calydon. Μποχώρ: mentioned by Evlijah Celebi as name of a settlement near the ancient site of Calydon (now Evinochori) in 1668; he wrote that there were many fish-farms in the shallow sea and that the produced caviar-paste (avgotaracho) was exported to S France; there was also silk-, olives- and grapes production.

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Cyriacus of Ancona, 32, 112f., 161; *Michael Choniates*, 333, 12–16; Dionysios Pyrros Thetталos 1815 (ed. Bitas 1975), 34; Woodhouse 1973, 96, 98; Romaios 1926, Appendix 31, 25, fig. 1; Dyggve, Romaios 1935, 209; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 186; Pallas 1977, 25–26; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Arton) 116, (Ag. Ioannes Prodromos) 165; Katsaros 1985, 1529–1530; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 86–87; Charalabopoulos 2004.

S/N 45

Site Name

Gavrolimni, Panagia Panaxiotissa

Geographical Coordinates

38°23'53.02"N, 21°37'32.58"E

Altitude

90 m

Place-names

Panaxiotissa

<i>Area</i>	Isolated location on a low hill on the E bank of Evinos, ca. 2 km N of Gavrolimni
<i>Settlement</i>	Chania, Gavrolimni
<i>Former Community</i>	Gavrolimni
<i>Municipality</i>	Chalkeia
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1290400
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patra 1979

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the Evinos Plain, not far from Panagia Trimitou (S/N 17).
<i>Figures</i>	56, 74
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

The area has many Hellenistic and Ottoman building remains (Portelanos 1998, 303, note 4; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 83). The church, published by Vocotopoulos, was perhaps built on the site of an Early Byzantine one, as is evident from the sculpture scattered around the monument (Konstantios 1981c). Some graves, each containing more than one burial, were found near the N doorway (Konstantios 1983).

Other finds

Frescos (F3), Sculpture (Table 11, no. 10)

Historical evidence

The first half of the place-name (Gavro-) might be Slavic. Panaxiotissa derives from the family name 'Panaktzis' (Karayani-Charalambopoulou). Koder, Soustal thought it must have been part of a settlement and maybe also a monastery for some time.

Date

Last quarter of 10th c. – ca. AD 1000

Bibliography

Orlandos 1935b, 121–124; Vasmer 1941, 68; Konstantios 1981a, 266–269; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Gavrolimne) 151–2; Konstantios 1983, 237; Charalambopoulos 1985, 126; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 83; Gkioles 1987, 115–117; Vocotopoulos 1992, 80–86, 192–193; Karayani-Charalambopoulou 2003, 54; Paliouras 2004a, 183–185; Delimaris 2004, 550, pl. 3.

S/N 46

<i>Site Name</i>	Kalamos, Episkopi
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°39'4.92"N, 20°56'35.18"E
<i>Altitude</i>	53 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Minas
<i>Area</i>	Ionian Sea, across Kamilafka Cape in Acarnania, 1 mile S of Mytikas
<i>Settlement</i>	Episkopi
<i>Former Community</i>	Kalamos
<i>Municipality</i>	Kalamos
<i>Province</i>	Lefkada
<i>Prefecture</i>	Lefkada
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	24610100 (or -200)
<i>HMGs map</i>	Lefkas 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology Island with rich vegetation and sparse population, very close to the Acarnanian coast.

*Figures**Plan*

Map 10

Architecture

The archaeological finds in Kalamos are inadequately investigated. Around Episkopi there are remains of an ancient settlement, a medieval church of Ag. Minas and a castle probably dated to the 6th (Moutzali) or the 13th c. (Chalkia, Konstantios). An 18th–19th-c. settlement with a Post-Byzantine church of Ag. Nikolaos is scattered around the castle.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

Κάρνος: The island's ancient name is found in a 6th-c. Greek portulan. The place-names Ἐπισκοπή and Ἅγιος Δονάτος might have originally referred to a Byzantine settlement. The island could have been a bishopric or island refuge for people from Evroia (see S/N 31) or a naval station (given the continuity of settlement in Mytikas from the 6th up to at least the 10th c.). Early Byzantine remains have also been seen in the nearby island of Kastos where the place names 'Vigla' and 'Sarakiniko' have survived. The entire area must have been part of the Theme of *Kephallenia*.

Date

6th or 13th c.?, possibly also used in the Middle Byzantine period

Bibliography

Scylax, *Periplus*, 34, p. 182; *Stephanus Byzantinus, Ethnica*, 360; Benton 1931–32, 233f; Delatte 1947, 208; Philippson, Kirsten 1950–1959, II, 390–392; Lountzis 1969, 317; Philippa-Apostolou 1978, fig. 73; Chalkia, Konstantios 1979; Andreou 1979, 269; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kalamos) 169–170; Moutzali 2003, 71–79; Bowden 2003a, 186; Moutzali 2005.

S/N 47

<i>Site Name</i>	Kambos (f. Koftra), Paliokastro*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°30'22"N, 21°43'00"E
<i>Altitude</i>	353 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Paliokastro
<i>Area</i>	Kambos, on Mt Arakynthos
<i>Settlement</i>	Kambos, f. Koftra
<i>Former Community</i>	Analipsi
<i>Municipality</i>	Thermo
<i>Province</i>	Trichonidos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1120603
<i>HMGs map</i>	Karpenission 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Not far from Analipsi and Kefalovryso (S/N 13), on a steep hill overlooking an inner, fertile plateau allowing access towards Thermo to the N, towards Nafpaktos to the S and towards the Lake Trichonida to the W.

Figures

<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

Medieval fortress almost entirely covered with vegetation. It was visible in 1979 (Koder, Soustal).

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

This could be the Paliokastro mentioned in a map of 1876 (Katsaros – vs. Tsolodimos thinks that would be the castle in Analipsi). Κόφτρα means the fork of irrigation channels. The nearby place name, Ἀβαρίκος, is a residue of the settlement of Avars in Aetoloacarnania (as the Ἀβαρνίτσα, Ἀβόρανη) [Vasmer; Toynbee].

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine period

Bibliography

Woodhouse (1876) 1973, 241; Vasmer 1941, 65–66; Toynbee 1973, 622: note. 7; Tsolodimos, Dimitrakakis 1978, 371; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kophtra) 184; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 77; Katsaros 1992–1993, 158.

S/N 48

<i>Site Name</i>	Kandila, Glosses, Castle and 'Byzantine Nero-trivio'
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°42'47"N, 20°59'31"E
<i>Altitude</i>	260 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro, Glosses, Kastro tis Glossas, Tis Grias to Pidima
<i>Area</i>	2 km E of Kandila, 800 m NE of Georgouleika, 1.5 km from ancient Alyzia
<i>Settlement</i>	Georgouleika
<i>Former Community</i>	Georgouleika
<i>Municipality</i>	Alyzia
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01050100 (or 300)
<i>HMGs map</i>	Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	On the S exit from a ravine of the Mt. Acarnanika to the Kandila Plain and the Gulf of Mytikas. The castle is on a rocky hill in the E side of the ravine.
<i>Figures</i>	25, 30, 163, 220
<i>Plan</i>	7
<i>Maps</i>	9, 10

Architecture

Medieval remains of a dam and a building have survived in the ravine; those of a fortified settlement have survived on the hill. In the ravine, an ancient dam underwent two medieval restorations which have been dated, based on the composition of the mortar. A small building connected with the dam was dated to the first medieval restoration of the dam; it must have been of industrial use and later it served as a 'nerotrivio' (sheep-wool-washing facilities).

The enceinte on the hill is 4–5-m high and has square and trapezoidal towers. House foundations are scattered inside it, in between tiles and small finds; most of these remains were dated to the same period as the second restoration of the dam.

Other finds

Pottery (P4), glass (G2)

Historical evidence

Koder and Soustal first correlated this castle with the fortress of Βαρνάκο mentioned in medieval texts. By contrast Knauss thought of it as a settlement dated to between the early medieval period (7th c. onwards) up to the 15th c. and named it Old Varnakas (Alt Varnakas). The latter name survived as name of a village ca. 4 km to the NE. Κανδηλές also is a medieval name, mentioned in the Chronicle of the Tocchi. The ancient and Late Antique settlement of Alyzia was located at the SE part of Kandila Plain, on land and sea commercial routes; it survived at least up to the late 7th century (Scylax: 'Alosum', 'Aiofus') [Axioti; Pritchett; Petropoulos]; see also S/N 49–50.

Date

Probably 7th c. and later (1st phase) and 13th c. or later (2nd phase)

Bibliography

Scylax, *Periplous*, 34, p. 182; *Chronicle of the Toccas*, L. 794, 795, 779, 2283; Heuzey 1860, 416; Mastrokostas 1969–70, 335–8; Pritchett 1980, 284; Axioti 1980b, 202; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kandeles) 170–171; Murray 1982, 92–106; Murray 1984; Papatrechas 1991, 336; Petropoulos 1991, 103; Paradeisis 1994, 87; Knauss 1995, 154; Knauss 2002, 86–95; Portelanos 1998, 1332.

S/N 49

<i>Site Name</i>	Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°40'31.50"N, 20°57'37.23"E
<i>Altitude</i>	4 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Sophia
<i>Area</i>	200 m from the coast of Vourka Bay, 2 km NE of Mytikas
<i>Settlement</i>	Mytikas
<i>Former Community</i>	Mytikas
<i>Municipality</i>	Alyzia
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1050401
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977

Archeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Coastal location in Kandila Plain
<i>Figures</i>	9, 65, 138–140
<i>Plan</i>	7
<i>Map</i>	10

Architecture

The large Early Byzantine basilica was excavated by Vocotopoulos. The destruction of the church after the mid-7th c. was followed by the construction of a settlement and a chapel on the same site; one part of the settlement, to the N and W sides of the earlier basilica, the chapel and a road were excavated. Graves were found in several spaces of this complex including the basilica. The stratum of this Middle Byzantine settlement – which was probably destroyed by fire – was at a 0.40–1.10m depth from the surface of the ground.

Other finds

Opus Sectile (OS₃), frescos (F₄), sculpture (Sc₃₂–Sc₃₄), pottery and nails (unpublished & unspecified), glass fragments (G₃), coins (N₃₀–N₃₁)

Historical evidence

See S/N 48, 50.

Date

6th–11th century

Bibliography

Vocotopoulos 1968; *Idem* 1972a; *Idem* 1972c; *Idem* 1979; *Idem* 1980; *Idem* 1981a; *Idem* 1981b; Katsaros 1981b, 463–4; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kandeles) 170–171; Vocotopoulos 1982, 92, pls. 67^a, 69^a; *Idem* 1983, 84–86, fig. 1–4; *Idem* 1984b, 129–130, pls. 107^a, 108^b; Knauss 1995; Laskaris 2000, 85–86; Paliouras 2004a, 58.

S/N 50

<i>Site Name</i>	Kandila, Ag. Eleoussa
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°40'45.31"N, 20°55'37.17"E
<i>Altitude</i>	114 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Agia Eleoussa
<i>Area</i>	Kamilafka Cape, on the Ionian Coast, near Mytikas
<i>Settlement</i>	Mytikas
<i>Former Community</i>	Mytikas
<i>Municipality</i>	Alyzia
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero

<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1050400
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	12.2003, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	On a rocky cape into the Bourka Bay, at the W end of the fertile Kandila Plain
<i>Figures</i>	
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	10
<i>Architecture</i>	
	Small cave monastery.
<i>Other finds</i>	
	Frescos (F ₅), sculpture (Table 11, no. 68)
<i>Historical evidence</i>	
	See also S/N 48–49.
<i>Date</i>	
	12th century
<i>Bibliography</i>	
	Vocotopoulos 1968, 152–154; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kandeles) 170–171; Knauss 1995, 137–163; Paliouras 2004a, 300–301
<i>S/N 51</i>	
<i>Site Name</i>	Katochi, tower ('Koulia Kyra-Vassilikis')
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°24'43.33"N, 21°15'21.63"E
<i>Altitude</i>	15 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Koulia Kyra-Vassilikis
<i>Area</i>	At the centre of the village, 16 km WNW of Messolongi
<i>Settlement</i>	Katochi
<i>Former Community</i>	Katochi
<i>Municipality</i>	Oiniades
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1210301
<i>HMGS map</i>	Messolongion 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	On the W bank of Acheloos, 16 km NE of its mouth, on a pass across the river.

Figures 221

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

Remains of a medieval tower and a small enceinte. Mitakis also mentioned a cistern.

Other finds

Historical evidence

A strategically important settlement in Katochi is mentioned in the 14th and 15th centuries; scholars thought this was the main settlement of the area after the abandonment of Oiniades in Late Antiquity (Koder/Soustal; Heuzey; Kirsten).

Date

Late Byzantine (perhaps also a Middle Byzantine phase)

Bibliography

Chronicle of the Tocco, L. 205, 211, 225, 273, 853–923, 1109, 2288; Heuzey 1860, 457f.; Kirsten 1937, 2214; Katsaros 1977–1978; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Katoche) 174; Mitakis 1986; Petropoulos 1991, 111; Papatrechas 1991, 338–9; Kordosis 1997, 253–4; Paliouras 2004a, 197.

S/N 52

Site Name Kato Chryssovitsa*

Geographical Coordinates 38°33'35"N, 21°42'6"E

Altitude

Place-names Quarries

Area Unspecified exact location

Settlement Kato Chryssovitsa

Former Community Kato Chryssovitsa

Municipality Thermo

Province Trichonida

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 01121200

HMGs map Karpenission 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Mountainous hinterland to the NE of the Lake Trichonida, not far from Thermo (to the SE, S/N 6) and Koftra (to the N, S/N 47).

Figures

Plan

Map

11

Architecture

Site of ancient remains and later (modern?) quarries.

Other finds

Woodhouse mentioned that 'Byzantine coins' were found here.

*Historical evidence**Date*

Possibly Late Byzantine (judging from the importance of Mokista in that period).¹⁹ Potentially Middle Byzantine.

Bibliography

Woodhouse 1973, 248; Murray 1896, 643; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 89; Portelanos 1998, 511.

*S/N 53**Site Name*

Kato Makrynou

Geographical Coordinates

38°29'02"N, 21°37'17"E

Altitude

ca. 101 m

Place-names

Mega Rema

Area

Gorge to the SW of the village (unspecified exact location)

Settlement

Kato Makrynou

Former Community

Kato Makrynou / Makrinou

Municipality

Makryneia

Province

Messolongi

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

01160500

HMGS map

Patrai 1979

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

S bank of the Lake Trichonida

*Figures**Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

Christian graves were discovered.

Other finds

¹⁹ Paliouras 2004a, 223–232; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Mokista) 208.

Historical evidence

A medieval road passed here (Koder, Soustal).

*Date**Bibliography*

Koder, Soustal 1981, 94; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 94; Alexopoulou 1987, 179.

S/N 54

<i>Site Name</i>	Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°21'12"N, 21°37'53"E
<i>Altitude</i>	15 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Triada
<i>Area</i>	500 m E of Kato Vassiliki, ca. 1350 m from the E slope of Mt. Varassova
<i>Settlement</i>	Kato Vassiliki
<i>Former Community</i>	Vassiliki
<i>Municipality</i>	Chalkeia
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1290301
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patra 1979

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Low hill on the NE coast of the Gulf of Patras, at the centre of Vassiliki Bay
<i>Figures</i>	7, 27, 102, 164–166a, 167–170, 203–205, 210, 215, 222
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

This site is part of ancient Chalkis investigated by survey (Dietz et al.; Portelanos); it was excavated by the University of Ioannina (Paliouras). The final report of the excavation is forthcoming. Remains of an Early Byzantine settlement, including a sizeable basilica and fortifications, have been found; sculpture from the basilica may have been reused at Panaxiotissa (S/N 45) and at Ag. Dimitrios in E Varassova (S/N 107) [Paliouras 2004a, 417–8]. The basilica was used as a cemetery from around the 7th–9th c. From the 10th c. onwards the site was transformed into a monastic complex consisting of an enceinte, a Katholikon, cells, a refectory, a common room and a cemetery. A kiln and a pit containing metallurgical

waste have been found at the foot of the hill (as yet undated). Ancient harbour facilities are located to the S of the hill (now underwater).

Other finds

Pottery (P6), loom weights (C₁), metalwork (M4–6), glasswork (G4), coins (N₃₂)

Historical evidence

This area must be correlated with the place-name Βαρέσοβα mentioned to have been in Aetolia, along a known Byzantine sea-route (Kordosis). Ἐπίσκεψις Βαρεσόβης: mentioned by John Apokaukos in 1218/9 in relation to bad conditions in agriculture. The Slavic origin of this name – by contrast with the older ‘Chalkis’ for the settlement on the same site – suggests that a demographic change had occurred after the sixth century. Byzantine geographers used the ancient name (Chalkis). The village Τρόχωμα belonged to the episkepsis.

Date

Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine periods

Bibliography

Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Dionysios Periegetis*, 310, 349; *Ioannis Apokaukos*, *Letters* V, 67–71; Kirsten 1941, 101; Mastrokostas 1960, 196; Kordosis 1981, 44f.; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Baresoba), 121; Katsaros 1981b, 433–436; Paliouras 1985, 211–240, pls. 15–46; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 112; Paliouras 1994, 555–578; Paradeisis 1994, 44; Portelanos 1998, 288–304 (lit.); Dietz et al. 1998, 233–317; Dietz et al. 2000, 219–307; Paliouras 2004a, 50, 408–420; Dietz 2006.

S/N 55

<i>Site Name</i>	Kefalos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°57'54"N, 20°52'20"E
<i>Altitude</i>	0–3 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kefalos
<i>Area</i>	1 km NE of the Panagia Peninsula Cape, 5 km NNW of Vonitsa
<i>Settlement</i>	Panagia Neas Kamarinas
<i>Former Community</i>	Vonitsa
<i>Municipality</i>	Anaktorio
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01070003
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits* 07.2005, 07.2005*Geomorphology* Island in the SW part of the Ambracian Gulf, close to the Korakonissa Islands and Koronissia (S/N 59) and the Laskara Peninsula, E of Preveza (S/N 97). Since its relief is very low, its total 40-km² surface has been gradually shrinking (being covered by water due to the rise in sea level).*Figures* 8, 19, 20, 73, 141, 166b, 183–190, 206, 209, 216, 223a–b*Plan**Map* 9*Architecture*

The island was excavated by Barla from the 1960s onwards. The areas of two large, 6th–7th-c. basilicas were later transformed into residential and burial spaces: secular buildings have been dated to between the 7th–10th c., a chapel with annexes and a small atrium to the 10th c., graves to after the 7th c. Mosaics have been found in both basilicas and dated to the sixth century.

Other finds

Extremely dense concentration of small finds: sculpture (Sc35), pottery (P7, P25), stamped tiles and loom weight (C2), metalwork (M7–9), glass (G5), coins (N33–60).

Historical evidence

No mention of the site is known from Byzantine texts. It was probably an island-shelter in the first phase (Chrysos) and a (monastic?) settlement in a later phase. In the Ottoman period it was under the jurisdiction of Korakonissia Monastery (S/N 59) [Papadopoulou].

Date

6th–10th c. or later

Bibliography

Barla 1965; *Eadem* 1966a; *Eadem* 1966b; Daux 1966; Barla 1967; *Eadem* 1968; *Eadem* 1970; Sodini 1970, 723–724; Michaud 1971; Pallas 1977, 34–39; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kephalos) 177; Chrysos 1997b, 183; Papadopoulou 2002a, 39; Paliouras 2004a, 37.

S/N 56*Site Name* Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias*Geographical Coordinates* 39°8'24.08"N, 20°56'19.51"E

<i>Altitude</i>	11 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Nikolaos
<i>Area</i>	S outskirts of the village, S of Arta
<i>Settlement</i>	Kirkizates
<i>Former Community</i>	Kirkizates
<i>Municipality</i>	Filothei
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	3130501
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Arta Plain
<i>Figures</i>	80, 142
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	8

Architecture

Small, decorated church, with an S annex which has not survived.
Published by Orlandos.

Other finds

Pottery, sculpture (Sc71, Table 11, nos. 71, 90–91)

Historical evidence

Its name shows it was once a metochion of the Rodia Monastery on Mt. Vigla (S/N 112).

Date

End of 12th–beginning of 13th c.

Bibliography

Orlandos 1922a, 16–23; *Idem* 1936, 131–147; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Ag. Nikolaos Rodias) 213; Tsouris 1988, 197; Papadopoulou 2002a, 25, 66; Bouras, Boura 2002, 86–88 (lit.)

S/N 57

<i>Site Name</i>	Kordovitza Mt., Tryfos, Nissa River, Ag. Georgios*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°48'30"N, 21°2'35"E
<i>Altitude</i>	306 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Nissa
<i>Area</i>	Below the village of Voustrion, close to (S of) the Loutra Tryfou, 18 km SSE of Vonitsa

<i>Settlement</i>	Tryfos
<i>Former Community</i>	Tryfos
<i>Municipality</i>	Medeonos
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01170600
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology Plain of the Nissas River, to the E of Mt. Acarnanica and the E slope of Mt. Pergandi.

*Figures**Plan*

Maps 9, 10

Architecture

A (perhaps Middle Byzantine) sculpture has been reused on the N wall of the church (unpublished). Koder and Soustal observed more architectural remains and sculptures scattered around the building, which they dated to the Early Byzantine period.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

A church of Ag. Georgios in Nissa (ἀνὰ τὸ Νύσαν) is mentioned in one version of the Life of St Barbaros; it is more possible that the text referred to the Middle Byzantine remains at Loutra Tryfou (see S/N 58).

Date

Early Byzantine period or 9th–10th c.

Bibliography

Vocotopoulos 1967, 334–335, plan. 4, pl. 245β–γ; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Nysa) 216–217; Papadatos 1981; Papadatos 1988, 5–9.

S/N 58

<i>Site Name</i>	Kordovitza Mt., Tryfou Loutra
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°50'35.02"N, 21°2'45.10"E
<i>Altitude</i>	151 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Loutra Tryfou, Ag. Varvaros
<i>Area</i>	3 km NW of Tryfos, 3.5 km SW of Loutraki, 16 km SE of Vonitsa
<i>Settlement</i>	Tryfos
<i>Former Community</i>	Tryfos

<i>Municipality</i>	Medeonos
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01170600
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinion 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	7.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Sulphur/mineral water springs in a ravine with waterfalls of Nyssas River, to the N of Nyssas Plain.

Figures

Plan

<i>Maps</i>	9, 10
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Architecture

A church apse with frescos survived until 1960 (Vocotopoulos). Byzantine sculpture was found (fragments of a 12th-c. closure) [Vocotopoulos; Vanderheyde].

Other finds

Sculpture (Table 11, nos. 52, 99–103), pottery and 12 coins (lost)

Historical evidence

The local tradition associates this spring with the worship of St Barbaros, a 9th-c., Christianized Arab hermit eventually killed by hunters. According to his Life, healing essence sprang at his place of death, and a church was built there; this place was next to mineral baths. Two different versions of his Life mention Nissa (see S/N 57) and Mt. Kordovistha (ὄρος Κορδοβήσθα) as the geographical location of that place. They probably mean the same place (on Mt. Kordovistha along the course of the Nissa River) which is most probably identified with the Loutra Tryfou. The mountain is now called 'Kordovitza' (Κορδοβίτζα), a probably Slavic name mentioned in 15th-c. texts; the same name ((Γ)κορδόβιτσα or (Γ)κορδοβύτζα) survived for an anchorage near Loutraki on the S coast of the Ambracian Gulf (see S/N 38).

Date

12th c.

Bibliography

Constantine Akropolitiss, Vie de Saint Barbaros II, 45, 51–55; *Chronicle of the Tocco*, 757f.; Lekka 1938, 91; Zakythinis 1960, 438–453, 527; Da Costa Louillet 1961, 309–313; Koder, Soustal 1981, 185; Philipppson, Kirsten 1950–59, II, 377; Vocotopoulos 1967, 334–335, plan 4, pls. 245β–γ; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kordobitza), 184–5; Papadatos 1981; Papadatos 1988, 5–9.

S/N 59

<i>Site Name</i>	Koronissia, Genethlio tis Theotokou
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°0'57.39"N, 20°54'56.38"E
<i>Altitude</i>	6 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Panagia Koronissia
<i>Area</i>	In the centre of the village, ca. 17 km SW of Arta
<i>Settlement</i>	Koronissia
<i>Former Community</i>	Koronissia
<i>Municipality</i>	Amvrakikou
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31040501
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology The southernmost point of the N coast of the Ambracian Gulf, at the edge of a – naturally formed by alluvial deposition – narrow, land barrier separating the Logarou Lagoon from the Salaora Bay; before the formation of this barrier, Koronissia was an island (one of the Korakonissa). The second, 5-km-long, barrier connecting Koronissia with Salaora is artificial.

Figures 38, 75

Plan

Maps 8, 9

Architecture

Church published by Orlandos; it was once the Katholikon of a monastery of which only traces of one building and a mill (now containing two millstones) survive to the N of the church. An ancient or Late Antique architectural member, once reused as an offerings table, was found (Papadopoulos). Some building remains similar to those on Kefalos were observed on some other Korakonissa (oral information by locals).

Other finds

Sculpture (Table 11, nos. 36, 96)

Historical evidence

The site is correlated with the Μονή Γενεθλίου τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Κορακονησίας first mentioned in 1193, when Meletios was abbot. The name evidently

derived from the name of the island-complex (Korakonissa). The monastery appears in 15th–16th-c. texts; Cyriacus of Ancona visited the site and mentioned the floor slab (Table 11, no. 36). In the same period, a Greek portulan mentioned the *Καρακονησία*, *Κορακονησία* and its nearby island called ‘Ag. Georgios’. The monastery functioned at least up to the 19th c.

Date

970–1030 until the 19th c.

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters III; Xenopoulos 1884, 16, note α'-ιβ', 40, 134, 147, 65; Ziebarth 1926, 116; Zakythinos 1937, 192–196; Delatte 1947, 205; Orlandos 1969, 3–56; Andreou 1975, 218; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Theotokos Korakonesia) 269–270; Gkioles 1987, 72–73; Papadopoulou 1990a, 265; Vocotopoulos 1992, 51–56, 193; Papadopoulou 1992a, 376; *Eadem* 2002a, 38–44.

S/N 60

<i>Site Name</i>	Kryoneri
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°20'41"N, 21°35'46"E
<i>Altitude</i>	2 m?
<i>Place-names</i>	Pigi Kallirois
<i>Area</i>	E of Messolongi, SE of Galatas
<i>Settlement</i>	Kryoneri
<i>Former Community</i>	Kryoneri
<i>Municipality</i>	Chalkeia
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01290502
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology On the SE edge of the Calydon Bay and the NE coast of the Gulf of Patras, to the W of Vassiliki Bay, at the foot of the W slope of Mt. Varassova

Figures 172

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

The site is considered to have been a harbour for the ancient settlement of Calydon. An Early Byzantine settlement was excavated, including a

basilica repaired in late-6th c. After the abandonment of the basilica, its site was used as a cemetery. At 500 m NE of Kryoneri, at the SW edge of Varassova, Byzantine pottery was found (Bommeljé, Doorn; Portelanos).

Other finds

Pottery (P8)

Historical evidence

See S/N 110.

Date

Early Byzantine, late-6th c. onwards

Bibliography

Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, Kryonerion [Galatas], 91; Portelanos 1998, 288; Kefallonitou 2004a

S/N 61

Site Name

Lefkada, Apolpena, Odigitria

Geographical Coordinates

38°49'0"N, 20°41'48"E

Altitude

40 m

Place-names

Odigitria

Area

N part of the island, 1 km SE of Apolpena, 3 km SSW of Lefkada

Settlement

Apolpena

Former Community

Apolpena

Municipality

Lefkada

Province

Lefkada

Prefecture

Lefkada

NSSG ID no.

24010401

HMGS map

Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

08.2000

Geomorphology

On the foot of the mountain of Lefkada, NW of Koulmos, in short distance from Dioryktos. The location allows oversight of the N part of the island (Gyra, Ionian Sea).

Figures

Plan

Map

10

Architecture

The Katholikon was built in 1449/50, possibly on the site of an earlier one.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

A text in Codex Vat. gr. 2561 mentioned a monastery in Lefkada called 'Οδηγήτρια (11th c.); this dating has been questioned by Koder and Soustal.

Date

15th c., perhaps 11th c. onwards

Bibliography

Aland 1963, 198; Vocotopoulos 1970b, 157–158; Rontoyannis 1973, 27–57; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Hodegetria) 162–3

S/N 62

<i>Site Name</i>	Lefkada, Koulmos, Castle
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°48'33"N, 20°42'34"E
<i>Altitude</i>	66 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro
<i>Area</i>	Between the villages of Karyotes and Kaligoni, 3 km S of Lefkada
<i>Settlement</i>	Karyotes
<i>Former Community</i>	Lefkada – Karyotes
<i>Municipality</i>	Lefkada
<i>Province</i>	Lefkada
<i>Prefecture</i>	Lefkada
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	24010102/24010601
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	08.2000, 01.2001
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Coastal hill with three tops at the NE part of the island facing Acarnania. The location of the Castle is invisible from the sea.
<i>Figures</i>	96, 97, 191
<i>Plans</i>	8, 9
<i>Map</i>	10

Architecture

A fortification was built in at least two medieval periods (see Part 2 – Chapter 1), using the fabric of the acropolis of ancient Lefkas, on the middle top of the Koulmos Hill (plan 8). Traces of the settlement – consisting of a citadel (surface of 3.55 km²), an aqueduct, a keep and at least six other buildings – were recorded inside the 625-m-long enceinte in the 1980s (plan 9); only part of the citadel is now visible (Rontoyannis;

Portelanos). Early Byzantine remains (mosaic pavement and sculpture) were found in the ancient city (Kefallonitou). The main source of water for the settlement seems to have been the 'Megali Vrysi' to the N of Koulmos; some sources in the areas of Spasmeni Vrysi and Karyoti were also used (Andreou). The Hellenistic cemetery near Spasmeni Vrysi to the S of Koulmos was also reused at a later period. The concave tiles discovered in one grave and the fact that the burials had no offerings indicated the burials were Christian; however, they have not been precisely dated (Kostoglou-Depoini; Laskaris).

The ancient harbour facilities, at a carefully selected, very safe, location²⁰ in Epano Alykes (site of Ag. Georgios), 650 m E of Koulmos, were also probably used in the Byzantine period, since Lefkas was described as a harbour-city in the 10th c. (see below); these remains survived up to 1948 (Andreou). According to local tradition, a second dock was constructed in Lygia (S of Ag. Georgios) in the Byzantine period; if true, the construction and occasional use of the second harbour would have probably been imposed by navigation problems caused by the intensive alluvial phenomena in the bay (see Part 1 – Chapter 2). The first harbour became famous during the Venetian trade of salt.

Other finds

Pottery (P26)

Historical evidence

A Byzantine settlement in Lefkada is first mentioned in the Life of Hosia Anna tis Lefkadas (840–918). Λευκάς: bishopric mentioned in the Episcopal lists from 879 and at least up to the end of the 12th c. Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote it belonged to the Theme of *Kephallenia* while Liutprand of Cremona described how he arrived in the harbour in 968 and was hosted in the bishop's residence, in the nearby settlement. Λευκάτα was destroyed by Daimbert of Piza in 1099 (Anna Komnene), when it had already been upgraded to an archbishopric (*Taktikon* of Alexios I Komnenos, 1081–1116). In 1443, it became an autocephalus archbishopric (*Taktikon* of Nile Doxapatris). In the 12th c., the town is visited by the Jewish travellers, Abraham Ibn-Daoud (1153/4) and Benjamin of Tudela (1159–1173); Benjamin mentioned a hundred Jewish people living among the inhabitants. 'Al-Lquata' was mentioned by al-Idrisi (II.121) in

²⁰ This site is very hard to discern from the sea; at the same time an attack against it would be also difficult because any enemy fleet would find itself trapped between the island and the W coast of Acarnania, with no possibility to escape.

the mid-12th century. In 1170–1175, Eustathios of Thessaloniki mentioned “...τῆς Ἡπείρου πόλιν εἰς τὸ Νήρικον, ἡ λεγόμενη Λευκάς...”²¹ Its church was still a bishopric (*Taktikon* of Isaac II Angelos, 1185–1195). Leucas/Leukas was mentioned in the Byzantine Treaties with Venice (1198, 1204). No mention of Lefkada dates to the 13th c.; from the 13th–17th c. the capital of the island was Santa Mavra at Lettorna (N part of the island in the vicinity of Dioryktos).

The arguments for the identification of the Middle Byzantine settlement with the remains at Koulmos, first suggested by Rontoyannis, are:

- the site’s resemblance to the description by Liutprand (medieval settlement and nearby harbour, which do not exist elsewhere in Lefkada)
- the dating of the architectural remains on morphological criteria (see Part 2 – Chapter 1)
- the location of the harbour of Ag. Georgios on a major Byzantine sea-route (see Part 3 – Chapter 1.III.)
- the lack of 6th–12th c. material remains in other places on Lefkas with the exception of a church at Vurnikas in the S part of the island (S/N 63).²²

The name ‘Koulmos’ most probably derived from the latin ‘cumulus’. Dioryktos (the channel separating Lefkada from Acarnania) was sometimes open and sometimes blocked from the 6th c. onwards, due to intensive geological phenomena in the vicinity of the Ambracian Gulf (Pritchett; Koder, Soustal; Part 1 – Chapter 2.III.). Thus communication with Acarnania was easy, by sea or by land; the Roman bridge might have been still in use.

Date

6th–12th c. (Rontoyannis), Ottoman period (Smyris)

Bibliography

Scylax, Periplous, 34, pp. 181–2; *Liutprand of Cremona*, 210–211; *al-Idrisi, Geography*, 634; *Anna Komnene, Alexiad*, III 42⁸, XI 10; *Constantine Porphyrogenito, De thematibus*, 7.4, pp. 92, 175; *Councils*, XVII 377d; *Notitiae*, II 83, III 98, VI 125, VIII 16, IX 86, σ. 551, 571, 592, 612, 630; *Benjamin*

²¹ *Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Odyssey*, 356, 373; Νήρικον: the name of the mountain of Lefkada; Νήριχος/Νήριτος: the name of the ancient city.

²² Some mentions of Byzantine tower remains at Ag. Petros and Vouni Eglouvis (Rontoyannis 1980) were not confirmed by survey. The Byzantine site of Sotiro near Nydri dates to the Early Byzantine period (the 12th-c. monastery mentioned by Zambelis was not found); see also Koder, Soustal 1981, [Nydriion] 216.

of *Tudela, Book of Travels*, 49, 62, 142; *Venetian Republic*, I 264, 279, 473, 491, 494 (nos. 85, 121); *Gesta Pisanorum*, 368; *Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Odyssey*, 193, 356, 373–4; Zambelios 1857, 515f., 570–1; Da Costa-Louillet 1961, 315; Kostoglou-Despini 1971, 351–354; Yannopoulos 1972; Rontoyannis 1980, 261f.; Pritchett 1980, 285; Darrouzès 1981, 273, 294, 345, 351, 375, 377, 385, 389, 408, 410, 421; *Notitiae* no. 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Leukas) 195–196, (Ag. Maura) 203; Rontoyannis 1988, 129ff.; Lambrinou 1997, 148–151; Portelanos 1998, III, 1412–16; Laskaris 2000, 206; Smyris 2004; Kefallonitou 2004b

S/N 63

<i>Site Name</i>	Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°40'9"N, 20°39'17"E
<i>Altitude</i>	345 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ai-Yanis Karavias, cemetery
<i>Area</i>	In the village, 19 km SSW of Lefkada
<i>Settlement</i>	Vurnikas
<i>Former Community</i>	Vurnikas
<i>Municipality</i>	Apollonion
<i>Province</i>	Lefkada
<i>Prefecture</i>	Lefkada
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	24020501
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	08.2000, 01.2001
<i>Geomorphology</i>	S part of the island hinterland, on the N boundaries of the Vassiliki Valley, across the N cape of Ithaca, E of the Fiskardo in Kephallonia
<i>Figures</i>	192
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	10
<i>Architecture</i>	

The original construction of the church was dated to the Middle Byzantine period based on the masonry of N and E wall and on a fresco decoration in a niche on the N wall (Konstantios, Triantaphyllopoulos 1978). Byzantine frescos have also been observed in a private chapel in the nearby village of Fterno (Rontoyannis; Chalkia).

Other finds

Fresco (F6), pottery (P27)

Historical evidence

The nearby harbour of Vassiliki, located across the Fiscardo of Kephallonia, has sources of drinking water. It was mentioned in Greek portulans as κορφόπουλο Φίγο and Πόρτο Φυγέρ.

Bibliography

Konstantios, Triantaphyllopoulos 1978; Rontoyannis 1973, 93–94; *Idem* 1980, 26–27; Konstantios 1982b, 340–354; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Burnikas) 131, (Phigo) 234; Argyrou et al. 1970, 240; Chalkia 1981, 292

S/N 64

<i>Site Name</i>	Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°38'42"N, 20°38'49"E
<i>Altitude</i>	252 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Pissàs
<i>Area</i>	On the Ag. Grigorios Hill to the S of the village, ca. 4 km from it, on the road to Fterno towards the S part of the island
<i>Settlement</i>	Vurnikas
<i>Former Community</i>	Vurnikas
<i>Municipality</i>	Apollonion
<i>Province</i>	Lefkada
<i>Prefecture</i>	Lefkada
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	24020501
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	08.2000, 01.2001
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Hill in the Vassiliki Valley, across the N cape of Ithaca, E of the Fiskardo in Kephallonia
<i>Figures</i>	112a–b
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	10
<i>Architecture</i>	

The buildings of this Post-Byzantine monastery have been largely constructed using spolia from earlier ones, including an ancient temple (Dörpfeld). Dörpfeld wrote that, while excavating, he saw Byzantine foundations below the Katholikon (1927, 205).

Other finds

Inscriptions (I7–I8), pottery (P28)

Historical evidence

The monastery was founded in 1654; its potential Byzantine construction phase might be correlated with the 11th–12th c. material remains in the area (see S/N 63).

Date

17th c., perhaps with a Middle Byzantine phase

Bibliography

Dörpfeld 1927, 205; Dörpfeld 1972, 225–22, fig. 42a; Rontoyannis 1973, 2, 69–72; *Idem* 1980, 26–27.

S/N 65

Site Name *Lessiana (Λεσιανά)*

Geographical Coordinates

Altitude

Place-names

Area

Settlement

Former Community

Municipality

Province

Prefecture

NSSG ID no.

HMGS map

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology

Figures

Plan

Map

Architecture

Koder and Soustal connect this reference with the 16th-c. Lessini Monastery, where no Middle Byzantine remains have been found as yet.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

Pertinentia de Lesianis/Talisiana: mentioned in the Treaties of 1204 and 1210 with Venice and later (13th–14th c.). The name is Slavic.

Date

Possibly 12th c. or earlier.

Bibliography

Partitio, 220, 263; *Venetian Republic*, I 471, 490, 494 (no. 121), II 121 (no. 224), III 199 (no. 370); Koder, Soustal 1981 (Lesiana) 194 (lit.).

S/N 66

<i>Site Name</i>	Ligovitsi, Castle and Panagia Monastery*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°39'3"N, 21°11'47"E
<i>Altitude</i>	503 m, 432 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Lykovitsi, Ligovisti, Lighovitsi, Paliokastro
<i>Area</i>	Ca. 2 km NE of the village
<i>Settlement</i>	Skourtou
<i>Former Community</i>	Skourtou
<i>Municipality</i>	Astakos
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01111001
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinion 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

12.2003

Geomorphology

Mt. Lighovitsi on the W bank of Lake Ozeros/Galitsas. Site offering an excellent overview of the pass from the Ambracian Gulf towards Agrinio and the Gulf of Patras (i.e. of one of the land roads used during the Middle Byzantine period). The castle is on a naturally fortified hill, accessible only from the S.

*Figures**Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

Remains of medieval fortifications used the fabric of an ancient acropolis (Dirieis?) (Philippson, Kirsten; Vocotopoulos; Fessas; Koder, Soustal; Portelanos). Several medieval remains (churches, houses, cistern) have been observed in the enceinte (Heuzey; Fessas; Portelanos); Heuzey described them as 'a fortified town' and dated them to the same period as the Castle of Aetos. The monastery is at the foot of the Castle; its present Katholikon dates to the 18th c.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

The names Ozeros and Ligovitsi are Slavic (the first one meaning 'lake'). Leake has correlated the site with the Middle Byzantine settlement of 'Acheloos'. According to local tradition the monastery was founded by Slavs in the 11th c. (Fessas).

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine or later

Bibliography

Heuzey 1860, 365f.; Vasmer 1941, 72; Philippson, Kirsten 1950–1959, 398; Vocotopoulos 1967, 332; Fessas 1978, 7–14; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Lykobitsi) 200; Papatrechis 1991, 335; Paradeisis 1994, 100; Portelanos 1998, III, 1268, 1270; Paliouras 2004a, 317–320.

S/N 67

<i>Site Name</i>	Louros, Ag. Varnavas
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'21.72"N, 20°45'55.24"E
<i>Altitude</i>	15 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Varnavas
<i>Area</i>	3 km SE of the village
<i>Settlement</i>	Louros
<i>Former Community</i>	Louros
<i>Municipality</i>	Louros
<i>Province</i>	Nikopolis and Parga
<i>Prefecture</i>	Preveza
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	3405101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Fertile location on the N bank of Louros and on the E bank of a stream discharging into Louros. Alluvial phenomena are intensive.
<i>Figures</i>	111a–c, 143a–b, 144
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	8
<i>Architecture</i>	

An older construction is visible in the lower parts of the E and W façades of the church; the old building must have been eventually covered up

by alluvium. Two dedicatory inscriptions were published by Mamaloukos (1995).

Other finds

Inscriptions (I5), sculpture (Sc40–Sc43), pottery.

Historical evidence

According to one of the church's dedicatory inscriptions a church was built in a monastery (on this site?) in 1148/9 by the – otherwise unknown – magistros, called Constantinos Maniakis, his sons and the abbot (Konstantios; Katsaros; Mamaloukos). Constantinos, a member of the Maniakis family known from other sources (see relevant discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 2) was educated and probably a high official, judging from his title. The monastery obviously existed before that time, since its abbot contributed to the construction.

The precision of the site of that monastery is problematic. The way, in which both dedicatory inscriptions have been placed flanking the entrance to the modern church, and the fact that the later one closely imitates the older one indicate that the old inscription probably came from the same site (Mamaloukos). The fact that the later inscription referred to a restoration – not a foundation – of a church endorses this argument; a 19th-c. text confirmed it by saying that 'Apostolos Varnavas' was one of the two old churches of Louros, restored during that time (Xenopoulos). The Middle Byzantine sculpture reused on the church also endorses the same argument.

Mamaloukos suggested the old church was below the modern one according to a local tradition. By contrast, Papadopoulou denied the existence of an older building on this site, based on personal excavating experience.²³ Most probably the Byzantine church was located at a very close – though not the same – location, while the original construction of the modern church must have taken place at some time before the 19th c. (in order to allow for the veneration of Ag. Varnavas already established in this area since the 12th c. to be continued). The reason for the destruction of the original 12th-c. church must have been the flooding connected with the alluvial phenomena caused by the River Louros; those had not begun until after the deviation of the river into its current channel, at some time between 500–1000 BP (see Part 1 – Chapter 2.III. above). Thus the 12th-c. monument must have gradually sunk under the alluvial deposits and had to be abandoned and relocated. The 12th-c. sculpture, found or reused in later churches in the area (S/N 91, 85, 86), might have come from that

²³ Oral information, April 2002.

building. In fact, the church built by Maniakis might have been a metochion of one of two important Middle Byzantine monasteries, Kozyli and Rodia, in this area (see S/N 86 and 112 respectively).

Date

12th c. onwards

Bibliography

Xenopoulos 1884, 234; Konstantios 1984, 200, pls. 89–90; Katsaros 1992, 527; Mamaloukos 1993; Mamaloukos 1995, 195–200; Veikou 1998, 60–65.

S/N 68

Site Name

Lyssimachia, Ypsili Panagia

Geographical Coordinates

38°31'35"N, 21°19'42"E

Altitude

579 m

Place-names

Psili Panagia

Area

3 km S of Lyssimachia, on the small plateau at the top of Mt. Psili Panagia, S of the forest-guard cabin

Settlement

Lyssimachia

Former Community

Bourstiano, Lyssimachia (1927)

Municipality

Angelokastro

Province

Messolongi

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

1020300

HMGs map

Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

12.2003

Geomorphology

At the top of Mt. Psili Panagia, to which the access is very hard. The site has oversight of a big part of Aetoloacarnania, since it is located at such high elevation. Two more monasteries are located at a lower part of the slopes, Ag. Agathi and Ag. Pandeileimon.

Figures

28, 81

Plan

Map

11

Architecture

To the NE of the acropolis of ancient Lyssimachia there are remains of a Byzantine monastery (consisting of a church, cells and cistern) published by Mastrokostas and Katsibinis. These researchers recorded different

measurements for the cistern (i.e. '3 × 4 m', as opposed to the 6.50 × 2.80 m. recorded during the survey); thus there once was perhaps more than one cistern. The site is now covered by vegetation.

Other finds

Historical evidence

Woodhouse mentioned the monastery as a relatively poor one in the 19th c. See also S/N 15 on Lake Lyssimachia.

Date

12th or 13th c. (Mastrokostas, Katsibinis; Vocotopoulos oral information)

Bibliography

Woodhouse 1973, 239; Mastrokostas 1963, 217; Mastrokostas, Katsibinis 1989; Papakonstandinou 1991, 24; Portelanos 1998, A', 160.

S/N 69

<i>Site Name</i>	Macheras, Paleochori, Vristiana/Vlyziana
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°40'26.48"N, 21°10'52.36"E
<i>Altitude</i>	Ca. 250 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Paleochori, Vristiana/Vlyziana (location to the NW of the plateau)
<i>Area</i>	Plateau to the NE of Macheras, on the road from Fyteies to Astakos
<i>Settlement</i>	Macheras
<i>Former Community</i>	Macheras
<i>Municipality</i>	Astakos
<i>Province</i>	Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01110600
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Plateau to the NW of Mt. Ligovitsi (S/N 66) and SE of Aetos (S/N 5)

Figures

Plan

<i>Maps</i>	10, 11
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Architecture

Remains of medieval settlement (houses, churches, cistern, wells and a paved road) have been published by Papatrechias.

Other finds

Pottery (P9), metalwork (M10), seal (Se2), coins (N61)

Historical evidence

According to the inscription on the lead-seal, this was probably part of the Theme of *Kephallenia*. A village called Βρεστίανες in Μικρά Βαγενετία was mentioned by Akropolitis (and its inhabitant Θεόδωρος Βοδινόπουλος); however, a correlation with the settlement in Xeromero does not seem to be correct.

Date

Possibly Middle Byzantine and later

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters I, 75; Zakythinios 1941, 241; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Vagenetia) 119.

S/N 70

<i>Site Name</i>	Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°25'34"N, 21°16'38"E
<i>Altitude</i>	12 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ai-Yanis Riganas, Episkopi
<i>Area</i>	Ca. 2.1 km S of Mastro, NW of Katochi, N of Neochori
<i>Settlement</i>	Mastro
<i>Former Community</i>	Mastro
<i>Municipality</i>	Oiniades
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1210501
<i>HMGs map</i>	Messolongion 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	At the N edge of a low hill in the valley of the Acheloos on the W bank of the river
<i>Figures</i>	48a, 52, 63, 67
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

The large church, which had more than one Middle Byzantine construction phases, was published by Vocotopoulos. A grave was found to the SE of the apse.

Other finds

Mosaic floors (Mo2), frescos (F7), tiles (C3)

Historical evidence

In the beginning of the 19th c. the church was called Μητρόπολη (Cathedral) and was the seat of the bishop of 'Aetos and Acheloos' (Pyrros Thettalos). For that reason, its correlation with the Middle Byzantine diocese/settlement of Acheloos has been suggested (see S/N 1). This can only be confirmed by further evidence.

Date

7th–13th c. and later

Bibliography

Kirsten 1941, 100; Konstas 1952, 1476–8; Kokas 1964, 866–869; Vocotopoulos 1970c; Archaeologos 1970b, 448; Bitas 1975, 29; Pallas 1977, 26–28; Megaw 1977, 238; Katsaros 1981b, 443–449; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Mastron), 202–3; Katsaros 1986, 43–52; Gkioles 1987, 21–22; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 96; Katsaros 1988, 198–201; Vocotopoulos 1992, 11–20, 95–105, 179–181; Paliouras 2004a, 197–200.

S/N 71

<i>Site Name</i>	Matsouki, Ag. Dimitrios*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°42'28"N, 21°20'31"E
<i>Altitude</i>	ca. 60 m
<i>Place-names</i>	
<i>Area</i>	W bank of Acheloos, E of Matsouki (unspecified exact location)
<i>Settlement</i>	Matsouki
<i>Former Community</i>	Matsouki
<i>Municipality</i>	Stratos
<i>Province</i>	Valtos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	012706600
<i>HMGs map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	11.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Once on the E bank of the River Acheloos, now sunk into the Stratos Reservoir
<i>Figures</i>	229
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

Small church with at least two construction phases, destroyed during a close and strong earthquake.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

The site is located on the only pass across the river along its upper course. That pass is visible in old maps of the area (fig. 229).

Date

Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Konstantios 1991, 603, pl. 121.

S/N 72

<i>Site Name</i>	Megali Chora (f. Zapandi), Koimisi Theotokou at the Cemetery
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°38'40"N, 21°22'19"E
<i>Altitude</i>	63 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Cemetery
<i>Area</i>	ca. 1 km SSE of Megali Chora, 3km WNW of Agrinio (the village is now a NW suburb of Agrinio)
<i>Settlement</i>	Megali Chora
<i>Former Community</i>	Zapandi
<i>Municipality</i>	Neapoli
<i>Province</i>	Trichonidos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1200201
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	11.2003, 07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the Acheloos Plain
<i>Figures</i>	173, 193, (201)
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

Probably part of an Early Byzantine settlement.²⁴ The nave of the Early Byzantine basilica was repaired in the Middle Byzantine period and later.

²⁴ A second basilica with mosaics has been discovered at Psorolithi near this site: see Kirsten 1941, 119; Lazaridis 1960, 196.

Other finds

Pottery (P10, P11, P29)

Historical evidence

The constant medieval repairs of the church may indicate a Middle Byzantine period and later settlement. The name Zapand is possibly Slavic. In the 17th c. it was called 'Zeban' (Slavic word for 'west') by Evlijah Celebi; the latter wrote that the inhabitants were Muslimized Greeks by contrast to the Muslim Turks settled in Vrachori (now Agrinio). The church of Panagia remained in use in parallel with two mosques, because Panagia was venerated by both Greek and Turkish Muslim women [Vervenioti].

Date

Early Byzantine period, 7th–13th c. and later

Bibliography

Kirsten 1941, 99; Lazaridis 1960, 196; Orlandos 1961, 43–53; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 182–4; Pallas 1977, 28–29; Katsaros 1981b, 450–453; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Zapandi) 280; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 96; Petropoulos 1991, 109; Vervenioti 2003; Paliouras 2004a, 55, 170–2.

S/N 73

<i>Site Name</i>	Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros/Pandokratoras
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°50'17"N, 20°56'58"E
<i>Altitude</i>	440 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Pandokratoras, Ag. Sotira
<i>Area</i>	9 km SSE of Vonitsa, ca 1.8 km S of Monastiraki next to Roupakias Hill
<i>Settlement</i>	Monastiraki
<i>Former Community</i>	Monastiraki
<i>Municipality</i>	Anaktorio
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01070501
<i>HMGs map</i>	Lefkada 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the hinterland of the S coast of the Ambracian Gulf, on the SW slope of Mt. Acarnanika, with oversight of the Vonitsa Bay.
<i>Figures</i>	194

*Plan**Maps* 9, 10*Architecture*

The first church built on this site dates to the 11th c.

Other finds

Sculpture (Table 11, nos. 61, 62, 114–117)

Historical evidence

It has been correlated with the Μονή τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῶν Σφεττῶν mentioned by Ioannis Apokaukos in 1220 (Koder, Soustal; Katsaros).

Date

11th–12th c. (sculpture) onwards

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V, 154, 236; Vocotopoulos 1980–1981; Katsaros 1985, 1520–1521; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Soter ton Spheton) 262; Portelanos 1998, Γ', 1296; Paliouras 2004a, 292–8.

S/N 74

Site Name Myrtia (f. Gouritsa), Myrtia Monastery

Geographical Coordinates 38°35'39"N, 21°36'49"E

Altitude 205 m

Place-names Moni Myrtias

Area Ca. 1.5 km NNW of the village

Settlement Myrtea

Former Community Gouritsa

Municipality Thermo

Province Trichonidos

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 1121601

HMGS map Karpenission 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 11.2003

Geomorphology In the mountainous hinterland of the E bank of Lake Trichonida.

Figures 60

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

The initial construction of the Katholikon was dated to the 11th c. Another church, of Ag. Paraskevi, ca. 250 m S of Myrtia, was built of spolia from

ancient fortifications (undated, unpublished; reference by Woodhouse); this building was renovated in the 1980s (Bommeljé, Doorn) and the masonry is no longer visible.

Other finds

Frescos (F8)

Historical evidence

The wealthy monastery, which is still functioning, once owned the entire slope down to Lake Trichonida. Historical references date to the 15th c. and later. The old name of the village (Gouritsa) is Slavic.

Date

12th c. (frescos)

Bibliography

Loukopoulos 1928; Lazaridis 1960, 197–198; Orlandos 1961, 74–112, pls. 1–14; Vocotopoulos 1967, 330; Woodhouse 1973, 205ff.; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Guritsa) 161; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 98; Bouras, Boura 2002, 248–249; Paliouras 2004a, 209–219 (lit.).

S/N 75

<i>Site Name</i>	Nafpaktos, Athinon St., Gribovo
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°23'37"N, 21°50'11"E
<i>Altitude</i>	Ca. 14 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Athanassiou Konisti Plot, at Athinon-Nova-Korydalleos St.
<i>Area</i>	E part of the city, Gribovo quarters
<i>Settlement</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Former Community</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Municipality</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01190101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patra 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Not far from the harbour

Figures

Plan

Map 13

Architecture

A cemetery was excavated and dated to between the Roman and the Late Byzantine period.

*Other finds**Historical evidence**Date**Bibliography*

Alexopoulou 1988; Papageorgiou 2004, 467; Nerantzis 2007

S/N 76

<i>Site Name</i>	Nafpaktos, Castle*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°23'43"N, 21°49'29"E
<i>Altitude</i>	17–175 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro
<i>Area</i>	Hill at the NW part of the city
<i>Settlement</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Former Community</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Municipality</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01190101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology Coastal hill with many water sources. It allows excellent oversight of the Northern Gulf of Corinth and the Gulf of Patras. It is accessible from the S–SW side (the N and NE sides being too steep).

Figures 14, 15, 18, 34, 37, 53c, 82, 88, 89, 105, 106, 110, 145, 146, 148, 149, 174, 224, 225

Plan 10

Map 13

Architecture

The medieval castle consists of five enceintes (Keep or Ickale, Citadel, Inner Ward, Outer Ward, and sea walls). The fortifications are largely constructed using the fabric of ancient ones and date to between the 6th and the 15th c. or later) [Woodhouse; Lazaridis; Alexopoulou; Triantaphyllopoulos; Papadopoulou; Papageorgiou; Nerantzis]. Parts of the ancient fortification might have been in use during the Byzantine period; this is indicated by the fact that an excavation of an ancient and a Post-Byzantine tower near the Dapia tou Koukou/Faltsoporta gave Byzantine small finds.

Several buildings, two cisterns, a fountain and a road (mentioned in 13th-c. texts, see Part 3 – Chapter 2) have been observed in the three higher enceintes – some of them were safely dated to the Middle Byzantine period (Lazaridis; Koder, Soustal; Papadopoulou; Kosti; Athanasoulis, Androurdis; survey, see Part 2 – Chapter 1). Part of a wall of a large Middle Byzantine building – which probably collapsed during an earthquake – near the ‘N Complex’ was later integrated in the enceinte. Papadopoulou suggested a monastery was located in this part of the citadel. Present evidence (architecture, inscription, sculpture, pottery) rather speaks in favour of a large church (Konstantios; Athanasoulis, Androurdis) dated to the 10th–12th c., whose constructors might have worked elsewhere in Epirus (survey, see Part 2 – Chapter 1).

The Early Byzantine town of Nafpaktos must have spread along the coast near the port, while its cemeteries were located in the W and E outskirts (S/N 79; 81; 83; Papageorgiou 2004; *Eadem* 2006; Laskaris). Middle Byzantine remains seem to have been mostly scattered at the E foot of the hill of the castle and to the E of the port (see map 13).

Other finds

Inscription (I6), sculpture (Sc44, Table 11, nos. 58, 105–113, 128), pottery (P12), seals (see Part 2 – Chapter 4.IV., above, and Table 15).

Historical evidence

Νάυπακτος: Early Byzantine port-town of *Achaia*, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius and largely destroyed by the earthquake of 551/2 (Procopius). Slavic invasions / destructions date between AD 717 and the 9th c. In 700–750 Nafpaktos and Aetoloacarnania are part of the Vicariate of Illyrikon and later probably of *Epirus Vetus*. In 747–8 the town and its hinterland were almost deserted due to an epidemic disease coming from Italy; a 14th-c-text mentioned it in relation to the Arab attacks of the years 827–829. The Κάστρον τῆς Ναυπάκτου was mentioned in relation to the death of Danielis (after 886) by Theophanes Continuatus. Its bishop, Andonios, attended the Councils of 869/70 and 879/80. When the Theme of *Nikopolis* was established, the town became its capital (possibly between 880 and 889) and metropolitan seat (before 886–912). An *exartistes* of the imperial fleet was there in the second half of the 9th c; there was probably a neorion here, where the imperial fleet of *Nikopolis* – and maybe also *Kephallenia* – was being repaired [Stavrakos].

The importance of the port, on the route from the West to Constantinople, increased by the 10th c.; its visitors included St Ilias Sikeliotis and Liutprand of Cremona. Constantine Porphyrogenito described Nafpaktos as a ‘kastron in Hellas’ (*De Thematribus* 5.12) while the *Suidae Lexikon* as a

place of anchorage guarded by the army. The N dioceses of the Metropolis were subordinate to the archbishop of Ochrid around 1020; this must have significantly reduced the income of the metropolis of Nafpaktos. In 1025/6 the metropolitan was in the head of a revolt of the citizens against the governor Georgios/Morogeorgios and his taxation policy; the revolt was suppressed by 1028. The outbreak of a new revolt, led by Petros Deleanos, dates to 1040/1; all other towns in *Nikopolis* supported it and the tax collector was murdered within the Theme territory. Eleventh-century bishops were Efstratios and Chrysovergis.

An epidemic disease in 1054 and Norman attacks in 1117–1158 are mentioned in the *Galaxeidi Chronicle*; the 1147 attack was questioned by Anagnostakis and Savvides (the latter suggests it was Frankish). By contrast the Jewish visitors, al-Idrisi and Benjamin of Tudela, saw intensive commercial activity and prosperity at Nabakto (N-B-G-T-W) / Kifio; 100 Jewish merchants lived in the coastal zone. Anna Komnene (1083–after 1147) mentioned that Nafpaktos was surrounded by fortresses and villages (*Alexiad* A', 16, 1); in the same period its name was commented upon by Eustathios of Thessaloniki and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. At the time of Alexios I Komnenos many lands of the church were given to the state as settlement for debts in taxes. Twelfth-century metropolitans were Vassilios (1156), Leon (1172, see also I6), Constantine Manassis (1187), Andreas Tziros (1187–1199); the latter was a victim of pirates in the Gulf of Corinth and had to pay them 500 gold coins. Ioannis Apokaukos was probably the last 12th-c. metropolitan (1199?–1232?); he provided a description of the city among his numerous writings (see Part 3 – Chapter 2).

In the end of the century the finances in the city were bad as a result of the pirate attacks (probably Frankish); the latter had been attracted by the previous wealth. Although the capital was now Arta, Nafpaktos was demanded by Venice in 1198. In the same period, two names of villages are mentioned having been located near the city: Βατρακοχώριον and Γοβλάστι/Γοβλάστου. The economy during this time involved a trade of agricultural products from the hinterland (mostly silk and cattle-breeding); this was probably basically unchanged since the Middle Byzantine period.

References to roads in Nafpaktos date to the 10th c. and the 13th c.; the first one is a harsh, exhausting pass towards Central Greece and the Peloponnese (Liutprand of Cremona) and the second one is a nice, paved road in the city (Apokaukos). A tidal phenomenon, occasionally making the harbour inaccessible, was mentioned in a post-Byzantine period.

Later periods were rather difficult for the city, since it was poor and repeatedly destroyed, changing hands between the Venetians, the

Byzantines, the Franks, the Albanians, and the Ottomans. Only under the Venetian and Ottoman rules seems the place to have flourished again; in the 18th–19th c. it became a seat of pirates and was nick-named ‘Mikro Algeri’ (Small Alger).

Date

Continuous habitation from antiquity to the modern period

Bibliography

History

Hierocles, *Synekdemos*, 392; *Stephanus Byzantius*, *Ethnica*, 373, 470, 491; *Procopius*, *De Bello Gothico*, IV, § 25, 594–5; *Leo VI*, *Diatyposis*, E, 483, 500; *Georgios Cedrenos*, *Ioannis Skylitzis*, *Theophanes Continuatus* 372, 386, 411; *Suidae Lexicon*, 583, 1106; *Anna Komnene*, *Alexiad*, I, 56; *Constantine Porphyrogennitos*, *De thematibus*, 89; *Al-Idrisi*, *Geography*, 122; *Eustathios of Thessaloniki*, *Odyssey*, 1, 207; *Councils*, 373; *Venetian Republic*, 258f, 278: no. 135, 471f.: no. 121; *Nicephorus Gregoras*, *History*, 13; *Acta*, III, 63; *Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos*, 122:113; *Constantine Akropolitis*, *Vie de Saint Barbaros I*, 408; *Georgios Akropolitis*, 15–16; *Patrologia*, 113, p. 122; *Chronicle of Galaxeidi*, 195, 223–224; Darrouzès 1981, 273, 291, 304, 327, 343, 349, 363, 375, 381, 388, 396, 407, 413, 417, 419; *Notitiae* nos. 7–21; Chavellas 1883, I, 2, 8; Athanassiadis-Novas 1956; Konidaris 1956, 150–205; Laurent 1963, 513–514; Ahrweiler 1966, 130; Metcalf 1980; Constantakopoulou 1984; Marinou 1985; Anagnostakis 1985; N. Seibt, W. Seibt 1987, no. 613; Karayani-Charalambopoulou 1990–1991; Savvides 1991; Petropoulos 1991, 114; Savvides 1992–3; Karfakis et al. 1992–1993, 811; Stauridou-Zaphraka 1992, 320; Koutava-Delivoria 1993, II 466; Prinzing 1997b, 195; Asimakopoulos 1998–1999; Karayani-Charalambopoulou 1998–1999; Charalambopoulos 2000; Charalambopoulos 2004; Stavrakos 2007

Archaeology-Topography

Lazaridis 1966, 265–268; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Naupaktos) 210–211; Marinou 1985, 127–138; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 99; Konstantios 1991, 604, pls. 129–131; Konstantios 1980; *Idem* 1981b; Vasilatos 1991, 64–85; Vardakoulas 1992–1993; Geronikolou 1992–1993; Tripsianos 1992–1993; Paradeisis 1994, 38–41; Raptopoulos 1998–1999; Portelanos 1998, I, 570–589; Chalatsis 1998–1999, 119–194, esp. 126–8, 133–154; Theocharidou 1999; Smyris 2001, 116–118; Kosti 2004, 587–599; Athanasoulis, Androudou 2004; Nerantzis 2007.

S/N 77

Site Name

Nafpaktos, Ag. Dimitrios

Geographical Coordinates

38°23'39"N, 21°49'53"E

Altitude

7 m

Place-names

<i>Area</i>	N side of the main street of the city
<i>Settlement</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Former Community</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Municipality</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01190101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Not far from the harbour

Figures 147, 171b

Plan

Map 13

Architecture

During the demolition of the old Cathedral, in 1978, remains of a Byzantine church were found (sections of cloisonné masonry) (Triantaphyllopoulos 1991).

Other finds

Pottery / ceramic stamp (P13, C4). A sculpture was collected from the nearby Gaitani House (Table 11, no. 47).

Historical evidence

The Cathedral had Byzantine capitals in 1874 (Salvator). Ag. Dimitrios is mentioned as the most important church of the city in 1675–6 (Spon, Wheler); it is a moot point as to whether the text referred to this or another church (Koutsoyanis 1998–1999, 200, vs Nerantzis 2007, 156). According to local tradition Fait-Pasha pulled down a Byzantine church and built a mosque on this site.

Date

11th c., 15th?–19th c.

Bibliography

Spon, Wheler 1679, vol. II, 28; Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 168–170; Triantaphyllopoulos 1991, 591–8; Koutsoyanis 1998–1999, 200–1; Nerantzis 2007, 156–160; Charalambopoulos 1985, 11; Bardakoulas 1992–1993, 576; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 181–2, no. 2.

S/N 78

Site Name

Nafpaktos, Ag. Georgios Monastery

(Ναύπακτος, Μονή / Ναός Αγίου Γεωργίου)

<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	A. 38°23'45"N, 21°49'48"E / B. 38°23'43"N, 21°50'26"E
<i>Altitude</i>	A. 32 m / B. 27 m
<i>Place-names</i>	A. Vezyr-Camii / B. Ag. Georgios – Afroditi
<i>Area</i>	A. Plateau near the E part of the enceinte / B. Hill in the E outskirts of the city
<i>Settlement</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Former Community</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Municipality</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01190101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	A. Plateau at the E foot of the castle / B. Hill near the coast
<i>Figures</i>	213
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	13
<i>Architecture</i>	

The church mentioned in the text has so far been correlated with three sites:

- A. A Byzantine church close to the Vezyr-Camii Baths, mentioned in 1875 (Salvador), of which a sculpture has been found (Lazaridis).
- B. A rocky hill called Ag. Georgios, with a Post-Byzantine homonymous church, in the suburb Afroditi, at the E outskirts of the city (Koder, Soustal).
- C. Ag. Georgios in Ag. Georgios (S/N 7) [Katsaros; Papadopoulou].

Other finds

- A. Sculpture (Table 11, no. 105)

Historical evidence

A church of Ag. Georgios located in a homonymous suburb of Nafpaktos, close to the Μονή Ναυπακτιωτισσών (S/N 81), was mentioned by John Apokaukos in 1218–9.

Date

12th c. (sculpture), beginning of the 13th c. (reference)

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, *Letters V*, 71, 102, 174; Lazaridis 1966, 267, pl. 260β; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Naupaktos) 211, [Ag. Georgios (4)] 156; Katsaros 1985, 1526–9;

Triandafyllopoulos 1991, 594–8; Chalatsis 1998–1999, 155–156; Koutsoyanis 1998–1999, 204; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 181: note. 79

S/N 79

<i>Site Name</i>	Nafpaktos, Ag. Stefanos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°23'35"N, 21°49'20"E
<i>Altitude</i>	14 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Stefanos, Satlanis Plot
<i>Area</i>	W foot of the hill of the castle
<i>Settlement</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Former Community</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Municipality</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01190101
<i>HMGs map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	At the foot of the hill of the castle, outside the enceinte, on the road to the entrance to the castle

Figures 150

Plan

Map 13

Architecture

Excavations showed that the church was located at the centre of a cemetery used from the Hellenistic period and at least as late as the 6th c. (Konstantios). The building had an initial, Middle Byzantine construction phase visible on the E façade and in the foundation of an older apse; this was possibly again built on the site of an Early Byzantine building.

Other finds

Sculpture (Sc45)

Historical evidence

Date

Early Byzantine period, 11th–12th c. and later

Bibliography

Konstantios 1981b, 293; *Idem* 1984b, 133–140, pl. 8; *Idem* 1991, 604, pl. 128γ; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 191; *Eadem* 1997c, 57; Laskaris 2000, 200.

S/N 80

Site Name Nafpaktos, Noti Botsari St.*Geographical Coordinates* 38°23'N, 21°49'E*Altitude* 5 m*Place-names* Kostia Fragou Plot*Area* City centre*Settlement* Nafpaktos*Former Community* Nafpaktos*Municipality* Nafpaktos*Province* Nafpaktia*Prefecture* Aetoloacarnania*NSSG ID no.* 01190101*HMGS map* Patrai 1979*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology* Close to the harbour, to the E*Figures**Plan**Map* 13*Architecture*

Some excavated building remains in the Frangou Plot and other parts of the street were dated to the Byzantine period and later.

*Other finds**Historical evidence**Date*

Perhaps Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Alexopoulou 1990; Eadem 1991c

S/N 81

Site Name Nafpaktos, Theotokos Nafpaktiotissa church
(Ναύπακτος, Ναός Θεοτόκου Ναυπακτιωτίσσης)*Geographical Coordinates* A. 38°23'36"N, 21°50'3"E / B. 38°23'46"N, 21°49'57"E*Altitude* A. 2 m / B. ca. 17 m*Place-names*

Area Unspecified exact location; the proposed sites are located in the NE and SE outskirts of the city

<i>Settlement</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Former Community</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Municipality</i>	Nafpaktos
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01190101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Unspecified exact location

Figures

Plan

Map 13

Architecture

The church mentioned in the text has so far been correlated with three sites:

- A. Remains of Byzantine church below the 1st Primary School (Athanassiadis-Novas; Oikonomou)
- B. Remains of Early Byzantine basilica and graves in Kapordeli St. (Lazaridis; Vocotopoulos; Zias; Papadopoulos; Alexopoulou)
- C. Some location near – not inside – the city (Koder, Soustal).

Other finds

Historical evidence

A religious fraternity, connected with the veneration of Virgin Nafpaktiotissa in Thebes and dated in the years 1048–1068, is mentioned in a parchment in the archives of Regia Capella Palatina, Palermo (Koutsoyanis; Paliouras). Paliouras (1988) suggested that the fraternity was initiated by refugees from Nafpaktos who ended up in Boeotia after the 1026 revolt (see S/N 76).

The icon of Virgin Nafpaktiotissa was kept at the Katholikon of the homonymous Μονή τῶν Ναυπακτιτισσῶν, whose location is unknown. Bees thought that the veneration of the Virgin Nafpaktiotissa – originating from the monastery in Nafpaktos – became quite widespread in the 11th c.

An old Cathedral, venerated to the Virgin, was located at a prestigious post of Nafpaktos and in need of extensive repairs according to John Apokaukos (beginning of the 13th c.). The church is also mentioned in a chrysouvoullon by Theodoros Komnenodoukas (1228).

Date

11th c. onwards (or even earlier)

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters I, 80 (12), IX, L. 9; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V*, 85–88: no. 27, 115; nos. 58, 9, 20, 153: no. 103 (L. 7–8), 154: no. 104 (L. 7–10); Garufi 1910; Bees 1935; Athanassiadis-Novas 1953; Lazaridis 1966, 267–268; Vocotopoulos 1973, 394–5; Zias 1973–4; 280; Oikonomou 1980, 41; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Naupaktos) 211; Katsaros 1985, 1522–1526; Charalambopoulos 1985, 160; Paliouras 1988, 613–619; Koutsoyanis 1988–89, 7–24; Alexopoulou 1989; Papadopoulou 1990b; Terezis 1998–1999, 587–593; Nerantzis 2007, 156–7.

S/N 82

Site Name

Nafpaktos, Town Hall

Geographical Coordinates

38°23'41"N, 21°49'47"E

Altitude

26 m

*Place-names**Area*

At the E part of the city

Settlement

Nafpaktos

Former Community

Nafpaktos

Municipality

Nafpaktos

Province

Nafpaktia

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

01190101

HMGS map

Patrai 1979

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

At the foot of the hill of the castle, near S/N 78 (A).

Figures

213

*Plan**Map*

13

Architecture

A Late Roman building might have been used in later periods, since its excavation revealed two coins (issues of the Emperor Theophilos) on the floor.

Other finds

Coins (N62)

*Historical evidence**Date*

9th c.

Bibliography

Konstantios 1981b, 293.

S/N 83

Site Name

Nafpaktos, Tzavela St.

Geographical Coordinates

38°23', 21°49'E

Altitude

ca. 8 m

Place-names

Tseliou Plot, Alexandra Makri Plot

Area

E part of the city

Settlement

Nafpaktos

Former Community

Nafpaktos

Municipality

Nafpaktos

Province

Nafpaktia

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

01190101

HMGS map

Patrai 1979

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

Not far from the coast

*Figures**Plan**Map*

13

Architecture

The excavation of Late Roman buildings in the Tseliou Plot (1, Tzavela St.) gave a big quantity of Byzantine pottery (Papadopoulou 1990c). The excavation of the Makri Plot revealed a Byzantine wall and drain (Alexopoulou).

Other finds

Tseliou Plot: Pottery (P12), metalwork and glasswork (unpublished), coins (damaged) (Papadopoulou).

*Historical evidence**Date*

Possibly Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Alexopoulou 1990, 142; Papadopoulou 1990c

S/N 84

<i>Site Name</i>	Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi (Kastro ton Rogon)
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'22"N, 20°50'50"E
<i>Altitude</i>	29 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro ton Rogon
<i>Area</i>	500 m ENE of Ag. Spyridon, ca. 4.5 km SW of Nea Kerassounda. Access is from Ag. Spyridon (Prefecture of Arta), although the hill is part of Nea Kerassounda's territory (Prefecture of Preveza)
<i>Settlement</i>	Nea Kerassounda
<i>Former Community</i>	Nea Kerassounda
<i>Municipality</i>	Philippiada
<i>Province</i>	Nikopolis and Parga
<i>Prefecture</i>	Preveza
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	34080701
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Very low hill on the N bank of Louros, surrounded by the river in the S, E and W sides, at the E edge of Louros Valley.
<i>Figures</i>	36, 41, 51d, 92, 93, 94, 152–154, 226, 231
<i>Plan</i>	12
<i>Map</i>	8

Architecture

The medieval fortification was built using the fabric of the acropolis of the ancient Vouchetion enclosing an area of ca. 18 km² (Dakaris). Two transverse walls, the towers 'E' and 'H' and a gate at the N side were also medieval additions (partly possibly Byzantine) [Dakaris; Andreou 1979; Papadopoulou; survey]. The tower 'H' presents four Byzantine construction phases based on the masonry (Dakaris – vs. Papadopoulou who discerned three phases) of which two date to the Middle Byzantine period (see Part 2 – Chapter 1 above). These phases are only visible in old photographs since the vegetation and alluvial deposits have now covered up the lower parts of walls.²⁵

²⁵ Such a photograph was published by D. Nicol in Sakellariou 1997, fig. 165, p. 209.

Middle Byzantine sculpture has been reused in – or is stored in/ scattered around – a later church built in the W part of the enceinte. According to an inscription this church was venerated to Panagia and restored in 1669–1687; thus the original building was earlier than that. Foundations of another church's apse were observed to the E of the church by Soteriou, while a part of a conch preserving frescos was found below the enceinte at the same spot – it might had fallen there during an earthquake (Andreou; Chalkia).

The archaeological surveys conducted as part of the 'Nikopolis Project' by the Greek Archaeological Service and the University of Boston demonstrated that small-scale medieval settlements has been scattered around the N, E and W sides of the castle. Dense concentrations of finds were observed outside the SE gate. Soteriou also suggested that the areas around the foot of the hill were inhabited and surrounded by a medieval outer enceinte whose remains he observed to the SE of the castle, near the modern highway.

The geological surveys conducted during the aforementioned Project in the area of Strongyli to the W of the castle demonstrated that the site of the Castle of Rogoi must have been an island or located on the Ambracian coast in antiquity (see Part 1 – Chapter 2.III) (Jing, Rapp). This evidence confirmed the identification of the site with the historical settlements of ancient Vouchetion and medieval Rogoi, which were mentioned in texts as harbour-towns (*Strabo* VII 7⁵; *Cyriacus of Ancona*).

The surveys also demonstrated that River Louros discharged near Strongyli to the W of Mt. Vigla in antiquity, thus creating alluvial phenomena (described in Part 1 – Chapter 2.III). The deviation of its course was caused by human works ca. 500–1000 BP, probably aiming to avoid the negative repercussions of these phenomena (floods; swamps) and create more land for agriculture – this relocation transferred the problems due to the alluvial phenomena to the W coast of the Rodia Lagoon (see S/N 67).

Other finds

Sculpture (Sc46–48), pottery (P31). Byzantine (as yet unpublished) and Post-Byzantine pottery (Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou) was found around the church (Koder, Soustal; Chalkia; Papadopoulou, Tsouris).

Historical evidence

'Ρογοί, 'Ρωγοί, 'Ρηγοί or 'Ορόλαιο: diocese, under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, continuously mentioned in the Episcopal lists from the 9th to the 12th c. and later. The name ('Ρογός – οί) means 'granaries' in the Sicilian Greek dialect (Liddel-Scott 1869, IV, 20); the word was used with a similar meaning (granary-fence made of planks) in the Epirote modern Greek dialect (Aravandinos; Bogkas). It is found elsewhere

in Greece as a place-name (Thessaly and the Peloponnese). Sicilian families were mentioned as having immigrated to *Epirus* during the Arab raids (i.e. at the same time as when the diocese of Rogoi first appeared in the sources) [Chrysos]; it is thus likely that those families might have been the founders of the settlement. The name Ὀρόλαιοι derived from one of the ancient and medieval names for Louros: Ὀρωρός (or Ἰναχος or ποτάμι τῶν Ῥωγῶν) [Gazis].

When Cyriacus of Ancona visited this settlement in 1140, the relics of St Luke were kept in the Cathedral inside the Citadel (Ziebarth). According to two 15th-c. Serbian texts, the relics had been brought to Rogoi from Constantinople after the latter's siege by the Franks (Soteriou). If this information is correct, it confirms the aforementioned archaeological assumption that there was a church inside the citadel already in the Middle Byzantine period.

Date

Bibliography

Strabo, Geography, IV, C 324; *Meletius, Geography*, 278–285; *Georgios Cyprios*, 78: no. 1664; *Notitiae*, II, 557: no. 560; Darrouzès 1981, 284, 304, 327, 363; *notitiae* αρ. 7, 9, 10, 13; Liddel-Scott 1869, IV, 20; Conybeare 1896, 132: no. 59; Aravandinos 1909, 328; Ziebarth 1926, 113, 118 ff; Soteriou 1927, 98–109; Bogkas 1964, 328; Dakaris 1977, 201–234; Andreou 1979, 245, fig. 92δ; Andreou 1980, 323; Chalkia 1980, 334–5; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Rogoi) 251–252; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1986–1987; Wiseman et al. 1992, 294–8; Papadopoulou, Tsouris 1993, 241–261; Wiseman, Zachos 2003, 179–192; Wiseman et al. 1994, 405; Paradeisis 1994, 2, 113–116; Papadopoulou 1997a, 102; Chrysos 1997b, 188–189.

S/N 85

<i>Site Name</i>	Nea Sampsounda, Agiolitharo, Ag. Apostoloi
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°5'52"N, 20°45'10"E
<i>Altitude</i>	6 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Agiolitharo
<i>Area</i>	On the W side of Highway between Arta-Preveza
<i>Settlement</i>	Nea Sampsounda
<i>Former Community</i>	Kanali, Nea Sampsounda (1952)
<i>Municipality</i>	Zalongo
<i>Province</i>	Nikopolis and Parga
<i>Prefecture</i>	Preveza
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	34030700
<i>HMGs map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology On the W bank of Louros, not far from S/N 86

Figures 151

Plan

Map 8

Architecture

Site with two churches – one old and one modern one – both venerated to Ag. Apostoloi. A Middle Byzantine sculpture was reused in the old church. Late antique remains were observed on this site.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

An inscription dated to 1804 mentions this was a metochion of Kozyli Monastery (see S/N 86). According to local tradition St Paul passed from here when visiting *Epirus*. A holy rock (i.e. 'Agiolitharo' in Greek) with healing qualities is kept on the site.

Date

12th c. (sculpture)

Bibliography

Chalkia 1987, 334; Vanderheyde 2005, 58.

S/N 86

Site Name Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili

Geographical Coordinates 39°6'01"N, 20°43'46"E

Altitude 19 m

Place-names Panagia Sto Kozili, Lamari

Area Between Kanali and Nea Sampsounda, 2 km N of Nea Sampsounda, ca. 15 km NW of Nikopolis

Settlement Nea Sampsounda

Former Community Kanali, Nea Sampsounda (1925)

Municipality Zalongo

Province Nikopolis and Parga

Prefecture Preveza

NSSG ID no. 34030700

HMGs map Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology Low hill in a valley at the foot of Mt. Zalongo

Figures 3, 53a–b, 59, 77, 78, 107

Plan

Map 8

Architecture

The church – published by Chalkia – is probably built on the site of an earlier building whose paved floor has partly survived to the S of the building. Several Middle-, Late- and Post-Byzantine construction phases are mainly visible in the N, S and W walls (see detailed discussions in Part 2 – Chapter 1). Another, secular, building and a cistern are adjacent to the SW corner of the church.

Other finds

Inscription (Triantaphyllopoulos 1976; unpublished), sculpture (Table 11, no. 132), pottery (P32), minor objects and a 13th–14th c. hoard (in the adjacent buildings, Triantaphyllopoulos 1976; unpublished).

Historical evidence

Triantaphyllopoulos correlated this site with the seat of the homonymous diocese (ἐπισκοπή Κοζύλης υπό τὴν Μητρόπολη Ναυπάκτου) which was first mentioned in the sources – not as new but as pre-existing – in 1020. The diocese appears regularly in 13th–14th-c. texts and as late as the Ottoman period. A monastery in this diocese (Μονὴ Κοζύλης) was selected by Ioannis Apokaukos as his retirement place in 1232/33 – this might be identified with the site of ‘Panagia sto Kozili’. The monastery was in function in the 19th c. (see S/N 85).

The name ‘Kozili’ is Slavic and means a place with goats (koza = goat). Triantaphyllopoulos suggested that the original settlement was established by Bulgarian pastoral communities, who are known to have settled here after the Bulgarian raids of the year 929 (Chrysos).

Date

10th–11th c. onwards

Bibliography

Lists, 46: 1.1–2; *Registers*, 807; Kurtz 1907, 140–141; Vasmer 1941, 37, 71, 92, 168; Triantaphyllopoulos 1976, 223, 227; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Kozile) 186–7; Triantaphyllopoulos 1981, 859–862; Chalkia 1982, 274–276; Nicol 1984, 121, 221–223; Chrysos 1997b, 186.

S/N 87

Site Name Neochori, ‘Sti Skamia’

Geographical Coordinates 38°23’39”N, 21°14’59”E

Altitude 4 m

Place-names Sti Skamia

Area 4 km SW of Neochori

<i>Settlement</i>	Neochori
<i>Former Community</i>	Neochori
<i>Municipality</i>	Oiniades
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01210100
<i>HMGS map</i>	Messolongi 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology On the E bank of River Acheloos, in its lower deltaic area

*Figures**Plan*

Map 11

Architecture

A Christian cemetery, measuring ca. 12 × 30 m, was excavated.

Other finds

Coins (N63)

Historical evidence

The site must be correlated with those at Mastro, Katochi and Trigardo (S/N 70, 51 and 106).

Date

12th–13th c.

Bibliography

Vocotopoulos 1967, 328–330; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Mastron) 202.

S/N 88

<i>Site Name</i>	Nikopolis
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°0'40"B, 20°44'8"A
<i>Altitude</i>	9 m
<i>Place-names</i>	
<i>Area</i>	Ca. 10 km N of Preveza
<i>Settlement</i>	Mytikas
<i>Former Community</i>	Mytikas
<i>Municipality</i>	Preveza
<i>Province</i>	Nikopolis and Parga
<i>Prefecture</i>	Preveza
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	34010400
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 8.2000, 01.2001, 07.2005

Geomorphology

Figures 33, 95a–b

Plan

Maps 8, 9

Architecture

Only a few finds in the fortified Late Antique city can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period. These are:

- the use of the SW part of the portico of the Basilica 'B'/Alkisonos as a chapel, after the abandonment of the church, possibly around the 8th–9th c.; this was deduced from sculptures (slabs decorated with crosses in relief, of poor workmanship, unpublished) (Papadopoulou 2000),
- off-hand settlements were observed inside the enceinte (Triantaphyllopoulos 1981)
- pottery-distribution, extra muros (Trombley 2002)
- sections of masonry, in the upper part of the Early Byzantine enceinte, in Arapoporta and in staircases, belonging to later repairs (dated to after 873/4 the earliest, due to the presence of dogtooth patterns in the brickwork, see Part 2 – Chapter 1)

It is yet unknown whether the Basilica 'Στ', the roads towards Komaros and Vathy and the aqueduct were in use after the end of the 6th c.

Other finds

Several 7th–12th c. lead seals refer to the city or the Theme of *Nikopolis* (Table 15); those which mention 7th–9th- or 10th-c. archbishops (nos. 1, 2, 12, 13, 30) might refer to this site or to Nafpaktos (see S/N 76).

Coin (N64)

Historical evidence

A. The Early Byzantine city seems to have undergone radical change and gradual depopulation from the 7th c. onwards resulting to its eventual abandonment at some time in the 11th c. Ostrogothic and Slavic attacks against the city were mentioned in the years 551, 587 and 614–6. Little information is available on the later history of the city; it is also ambiguous since it is not clear whether it refers to the city or the homonymous Theme. Only one archbishop is mentioned in the 7th c. and one in the 8th c. During a severe Arab raid (dated to between the years 827–829) *Nikopolis* (called 'Maza', see below) was not entirely destroyed (Life of St Barbaros). The establishment of the Theme called *Nikopolis* around the second half of the 9th c. (*Kletorologion Philotheou*, see Oikonomides 1972, 101: note 21, 105: note 13, 139: note 8) probably indicates that the city was

again the administrative and religious centre of the region. From this time onwards the name of the city became also the name of a province, which is in fact very confusing (Koder, Soustal; Chrysos). Nikopolis is mentioned as a metropolitan seat in Taktika dated in the 9th c. but this information is not very reliable (Darrouzès 1981, 236, 261, 266: notitiae 3, 4, 5). Another Arab raid is dated in the years 877–879 (Dimitriadis). The bishop Daniel was said to have been called in to Ancara in 886 – thus abandoning the city – by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (ca. 1320). In 899 Nafaktos first appeared in the sources as the capital of *Nikopolis* (see S/N 76). Chrysos suggested that Nikopolis was abandoned in the end of the 9th c. However, Bulgarians besieged and looted *Nikopolis* and settled there for a short period. Constantine Porphyrogenitus referred to *Nikopolis* as a site which flourished in the past and as a Theme (Koutava-Delivoria). Bulgarians returned to *Nikopolis* in 1034. Savvidis and Dimitriadis suggested that whatever settlement had developed on the site of the Late Antique city was entirely destroyed in 1065 by an Oghuz attack. A site called Nikopolis did not appear in 11th-c. texts.

B. An ἐμπορεῖο Νικοπόλεως was attributed to Venice in 1198; that is possibly to associate with the settlement referred to as 'Proti Preveza/Paleopreveza' in literature (Fourikis; Savvidis; see also S/N 97). To be specific, it seems possible that the inhabitants of Nikopolis sought refuge in nearby settlements after the Oghuz attack (e.g. in Kozili, Rogoi, Vonditza and Arta) and were eventually relocated mainly because their former site was too problematic to maintain (see Part 3 – Chapters 1 and 3). Some of them might have formed a settlement in a more advantageous location in Margarona Peninsula to the S of Nikopolis, close to Preveza or near Vathy. The establishment of the diocese of Kozili as a consequence of the abandonment of Nikopolis (suggested by Triantaphyllopoulos) seems unlikely, since Kozili existed already before 1020.

C. Maza, the name used for Nikopolis in a 14th-c. text (referring to the 9th-c. Arab attack, see above) survived in the name of the lagoon to the E of Nikopolis (Mazoma) [Lykoudis; Koder, Soustal]. Trombley suggested the name dates back to the 9th c. and that Nikopolis was a major naval base then. Triantaphyllopoulos suggested 'Maza' was the new name of Nikopolis after the 10th–11th c.; however there is no mention of the name in Middle Byzantine texts. By contrast Akropolititis mentioned that Maza was the local name for Nikopolis in the 14th c. Therefore, it is a moot point as to whether the emporion of Nikopolis mentioned in the 12th c. should be associated with the harbour of Mazoma or with that of Vathy and 'Paleopreveza'; in my opinion that depends on how far along

the alluvial process creating the barrier at Mazoma was after the deviation of the channel of River Louros (see Part 1 – Chapter 2.III).

Date

Early Byzantine period, 6th–11th c.

Bibliography

History

Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, 1196b; *Cyriacus of Ancona*, 28f, 31, 42; *Councils*, XII 994c, 1091c, 1151b, XIII 137b, 365d, 381d; *Venetian Republic*, 119–123; no. 223–224; Zakythinos 1941, 239ff; *Idem* 1960, 438–453; Chrysos 1981; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Nikopolis) 213–4, [Ag. Georgios (2)], 155; Darrouzès 1981, 236, 261, 266: notitiae αρ. 3, 4, 5; Savvides 1992; Chrysos 1997b, 186; Dimitriadis 2001, 13–36.

Archaeology

Dakaris 1961–1962, 194; Hammond 1967, 49, 52, 55, 156; Triantaphyllopoulos 1981; Seibt N., Seibt W. 1987, 327–347; Dakaris 1987; Hellenkemper 1987; Gregory 1987; Wozniak 1987; Paradeisis 1994, 2, 116–119; Fouache 1999, 144–159, 216–219; Papadopoulou 2000; *Eadem* 2001a; Chrysostomou, Kefallonitou 2001; Kefallonitou 2001; *Eadem* 2007; Trombley 2007; Angeli 2007; Vassileiou-Seibt 2007.

S/N 89

Site Name

Nikopolis, Analipsi, Basilica

Geographical Coordinates

39°0'15"B, 20°44'25"A

Altitude

39 m

Place-names

Analipsi

Area

On the road from Nikopolis to Neochori, ca. 1.2 km SSE of Nikopolis

Settlement

Neochori

Former Community

Municipality

Preveza

Province

Nikopolis and Parga

Prefecture

Preveza

NSSG ID no.

34010104

HMGS map

Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

07.2005

Geomorphology

Hill on the coast of the Ambracian Gulf, close to the harbour of Mazoma

Figures

*Plan**Map* 9*Architecture*

This *extra muros* church was dated to the Middle Byzantine period by Philadepheus. Triantaphyllopoulos and Kephallonitou dated it to much later periods.

*Other finds**Historical evidence**Date*

Post-Byzantine (perhaps Middle Byzantine remains were once visible)

Bibliography

Philadelphus 1914, 250–1; Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 199; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Nikopolis) 213–4; Triantaphyllopoulos 1987, 404; Chrysostomou, Kefallonitou 2001, 46.

S/N 90

Site Name Ochthia, Ag. Georgios Kissiotis*Geographical Coordinates* 38°40'9"B, 21°16'20"A*Altitude* 41 m*Place-names* Ai-Giorgis Kissiotis*Area* Between Ochthia and Sfina, 3 km SW of Stratos*Settlement* Ochthia*Former Community* Ochthia*Municipality* Stratos*Province* Valtos*Prefecture* Aetoloacarnania*NSSG ID no.* 1270700*HMGS map* Agrinio 1977*Archaeological evidence**Visits* 12.2003*Geomorphology* Small hill in the Acheloos Plain, on the E bank of the river*Figures**Plan**Map* 11*Architecture*

The – apparently modern – chapel is built on the site of a large Early Byzantine basilica with baptistery (Paliouras; Vocotopoulos; Pallas; Koder,

Soustal). The site was briefly excavated by Lazaridis and Alexandropoulou in the 1960s, yet nothing was published (Paliouras). The whole area down to the bank of Lake Ozeros is full of pottery, tiles, architectural members and remains of masonry (Paliouras). A Roman villa was found at a 500-m distance S of Ochthia as well as a modern water-mill.

Other finds

Pottery (Roman) [Nerantzis].²⁶

Historical evidence

Alexandropoulou and Paliouras suggested this site should be correlated with the Byzantine settlement of Acheloos (S/N 1).

Date

Early Byzantine and modern periods, perhaps a Middle Byzantine occupation.

Bibliography

Vocotopoulos 1972a, 109, note 3; Pallas 1977, 29; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Ochthia) 217; Kolonas 1987, 175–6; D.A.I. 1994, 606; Nerantzis 1997, 106–8; Paliouras 2004a, 59; *Idem* 2004b, 503–514.

S/N 91

<i>Site Name</i>	Oropos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°9'44"N, 20°43'3"E
<i>Altitude</i>	148 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Dimitrios in Palios Oropos
<i>Area</i>	3 km NE of the E top of Mt. Zalongo, NW of modern Oropos
<i>Settlement</i>	Oropos
<i>Former Community</i>	Paleoroforos, Oropos (1955)
<i>Municipality</i>	Louros
<i>Province</i>	Nikopolis and Parga
<i>Prefecture</i>	Preveza
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	34051000
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Plateau near the E top of Mt. Zalongo, between the mountain and the Louros val-

²⁶ Nerantzis 1997, 106–108.

ley. The site allows oversight of the pass from N Epirus and the W coast to Preveza and the Ambracian Gulf.

Figures

Plan

Map

8

Architecture

Other finds

An Early Byzantine sculpture made of local marble was reworked into a polylope capital during the 12th c. It was later found in the church of Ag. Dimitrios and transferred to the Museum of Preveza; from there it was transferred to the Museum of Nikopolis in 1941.

Historical evidence

This find should be correlated with the 12th-c. sculpture found scattered in this area (S/N 67, 85) and with the sites with S/N 86 and 121. One or more 12th-c. settlements must have been located at the foot of Mt. Zalongo – possibly associated with the diocese of Kozili (see Part 3 – Chapter 1).

Date

12th c.

Bibliography

Philippon, Kirsten 1950–1959, 107ff; Petsas 1950–51, 35–36, fig. 11; Orlandos 1952–55, II, fig. 295; Hammond 1967, 52; Panayotidi 1970–1972, Cat. 103–4, no. 73, fig. 37α; Koder, Soustal 1981, H. Georgios (2) 155, (Zallongon) 280; Barsanti 1987; Vanderheyde 1997b, 77–78; Vanderheyde 2005, 58.

S/N 92

Site Name

Paleros*

Geographical Coordinates

38°47'12"N, 20°49'23"E

Altitude

172 m

Place-names

Paleochori

Area

Plagia Peninsula, NW of Paleros, ca. 15 km SW of Vonitsa

Settlement

Paleros, Pogonia

Former Community

Paleros, Pogonia

Municipality

Kekropia

Province

Xeromero

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

HMGs map Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Peninsula in Acarnania, on the coast of the Ionian Sea facing Lefkada.

Figures 220

Plan

Maps 9, 10

Architecture

Several settlement remains were observed to the NW of modern Paleros both:

- a. to the N–NE of ancient Paleros and
- b. on the hill of Paleochori, W of modern Pogonia.

They were dated to between the Byzantine and the Ottoman periods.

Other finds

Pottery Byzantine (agora of ancient Paleros) [Lang; unpublished]

Historical evidence

Πάλυρος: castle repaired by Justinian in *Epirus Vetus* (Procopius). Ζαβέρδα: the old name of modern Paleros appears in texts from the 14th c. onwards. Δέματα / Δεματισιανά: names of the N bay and harbour (modern Ag. Nikolaos) from the Late Byzantine to the Ottoman period.

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Procopius, De Aedificiis, VI.4, 118; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Palyros) 223, (Zaberda) 278; Lang 2004, 176–177.

S/N 93

Site Name Paravola (f. Kuvelo), Castle*, Panagia

Geographical Coordinates 38°36'49"N, 21°31'30"E

Altitude 92 m

Place-names Kastro, Panagia tou Kastrou, Koimitirio (Cemetery)

Area Cemetery, ca. 300 m SE of the village, 10 km ESE of Agrinio, 1.5 km from the N bank of the Lake Trichonida

Settlement Paravola, f. Kouvelo, f. Kato Ligostiano

Former Community Paravola

Municipality Paravola

<i>Province</i>	Trichonida
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1230101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinion 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	11.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Hill not far from the N bank of Lake Trichonida
<i>Figures</i>	53d, 55, 58, 101
<i>Plan</i>	11
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

The site of a large Hellenistic settlement (Vouketion) was resettled in the Middle Ages (Portelanos). An oval-shaped enceinte, measuring 110 × 57.5 m, and at least three towers were constructed in the direction NW–SE using the fabric of the ancient acropolis. A church was built at the highest point (E part) of the hilltop and restored at least twice during the Byzantine period (Paliouras; see Part 2 – Chapter 1). A Christian cemetery was found at Dogri, on the bank of Trichonida, ca. 10 km to the ESE of Paravola (Axioti).

Other finds

Pottery (Post-Byzantine) and a copper alloy ring (Dogri; unpublished).

Historical evidence

Κούβελο/Κάτω Λιγόστιανο: older place-names of which the first one is Slavic (Vasmer).

Date

10th c. (church apse and E walls of aisles, perhaps also parts of the enceinte, see Part 2 – Chapter 1 above).

Bibliography

Leake 1835, I, 126f; Stergiopoulos 1939, 94; Vasmer 1941, 282; Lazaridis 1960, 197; Woodhouse 1973, 190–196; Axioti 1980a, 198–9; Katsaros 1981b, 453–457; Koder, Soustal 1981, 189 (Kubelo); Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 101 (lit.); Paradeisis 1994, 2, 77–78; Portelanos 1998, I, 359–455 (lit., plans); Paliouras 2004a, 53–55, 204–207 (lit.)

S/N 94

<i>Site Name</i>	Phidokastro*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°2'27"N, 20°57'12"E
<i>Altitude</i>	0 m

Place-names

<i>Area</i>	In the salines SE of Mytikas, ca. 14 km SSW of Arta
<i>Settlement</i>	Mytikas
<i>Former Community</i>	Aneza
<i>Municipality</i>	Amvrakikos
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31040103
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology Near an old mouth of Arachthos River into the Logarou Lagoon, SE of Rogoi (S/N 84) and Vigla (S/N 112), A of Salarora, NE of Koronissia (S/N 59).

Figures 32

Plan

Map 8

Architecture

On this site, which has been identified as the Hellenistic fortified harbour (Amvrakos) of ancient Amvrakia (modern Arta), there are remains of a medieval enceinte built reusing the fabric of the ancient one; these were discussed by Soustal. The enceinte was almost square, measured ca. 150 × 100 m and had a small citadel (ca. 35 × 20 m) in the NE corner (Hammond; Soustal; Koder, Soustal; Papadopoulou). The site is now almost entirely sunk into the sea.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

Ἀμβρακος: described by Scylax and Polyvios as a closed, fortified harbour. Stephanus Byzantius suggested there was also a homonymous small settlement. Papadopoulou suggested this harbour went out of use due to the rise in sea level (two other harbours, Salaora and Koprina, were mentioned in association with Arta after the 13th c.). However, Meletios mentions that the sinking of Phidokastro occurred in the 19th c. Soustal, on the other hand, suggested that no fortified harbour appeared in the 13th–15th c. texts referring to traveling to Arta (e.g. Cyriacus of Ancona, portulans etc.); therefore he thought this harbour had been abandoned before that, probably some time during the Middle Byzantine period. He sug-

gested it had been built in order to serve the defence against Arab attacks in the early 9th c. This is very probable; based on recent geological evidence (Fouache; Jing, Rapp) the abandonment of Phidokastro must have been due to the alluvial phenomena which caused repeated relocations of the mouth of Arachthos thus creating the need of new harbours further to the E, along the N coast of the Ambracian Gulf. One of those harbours should have indeed been the Salagora which is mentioned in 12th–13th c. texts (see ref. by Koder, Soustal) and whose name has survived in the Salaora Peninsula not far to the E of the Phidokastro.

Date

Possibly Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Hammond 1967, 137–139, 514, 552f., 603f., 713; Dakaris 1977, 201–234; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Phidokastron) 233; Soustal 1981, 718–720; Tzavara-Souli 1992, 208–209; Papadopoulou 1997b, 345.

S/N 95

Site Name

Platanos*

Geographical Coordinates

38°34'26"N, 21°49'13"E

Altitude

872 m

Place-names

Ai-Lias

Area

Between Kato Platanos and Perista, unspecified exact location, ENE of Thermo, NNE of Kambos and Analipsi

Settlement

Platanos

Former Community

Platanos

Municipality

Platanos

Province

Nafpaktia

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

01250101

HMGs map

Karpenission 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology

Mountainous hinterland of Nafpaktia, NE of Lake Trichonida

Figures

Plan

Map

11

Architecture

Byzantine or medieval tower at Ai-Lias; medieval remains on the sites of Pyrgouli, Lainakia and Laki.

Other finds

Byzantine pottery and coins (N65) found at the centre of the village Platanos.

Historical evidence

Area with intensive silk and grapes production (Valaoras).

*Date**Bibliography*

Valaoras 1939, 15; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, Perista (B), 102, Platanos (C) 103; Portelanos 1998, 604.

S/N 96

<i>Site Name</i>	Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°8'1"N, 20°56'4"E
<i>Altitude</i>	9 m
<i>Place-names</i>	
<i>Area</i>	Cemetery of Plissioi, 5 km SW of Arta
<i>Settlement</i>	Plissioi
<i>Former Community</i>	Kirkizates (1919)
<i>Municipality</i>	Filothei
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31130502
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the plain of Acheloos River
<i>Figures</i>	45, 121–124
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	8

Architecture

Church with at least two Byzantine construction phases in the 8th–9th and 13th c. (Orlandos; Vocotopoulos; Gkioles; Papadopoulou). The building appears too large for such an early date; Papadopoulou recently (2005) suggested it was built on the site of an earlier one (evidence is to be published). If that is correct, the 8th-c. sculpture (Sc13–16) would probably come from that building, since it doesn't seem made to fit its present location in the church.

Other finds

Frescos of the 13th or end of 12th c. (Koder, Soustal), sculpture (Sc13–16, Table 11 – nos. 8, 48–50, 72–75), pottery (unpublished).

Historical evidence

Μονὴ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου τοῦ Κατζούρη: mentioned in 1222 near Arta (Orlandos; Koder, Soustal).

Date

750–850 – 13th c. and later

Bibliography

Orlandos 1922a, 7–16; *Idem* 1936, 57–68; Pallas 1971b, 245, 276f.; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Ag. Demetrios Kature), 140; Gkioles 1987, 39–40; Voco-topoulos 1992, 56–69, 181–183; Papadopoulou 1992a, 376; *Eadem* 2002a, 25–33; *Eadem* 2005, 287: note. 51.

S/N 97

<i>Site Name</i>	Preveza, Ag. Thomas, Ag. Minas
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°58'21"N, 20°47'21"E
<i>Altitude</i>	12 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Minas
<i>Area</i>	On Margarona Peninsula, in the outskirts of Preveza, 4 km SE of Nikopolis
<i>Settlement</i>	Ag. Thomas
<i>Former Community</i>	Ag. Thomas
<i>Municipality</i>	Preveza (1920)
<i>Province</i>	Nikopolis and Parga
<i>Prefecture</i>	Preveza
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	34010105
<i>HMGs map</i>	Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Near Vathy Harbour, on the coast of the Ambracian Gulf

*Figures**Plan*

<i>Map</i>	9
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Architecture

The chapel of Ag. Minas was built on an Early Byzantine basilica (Nikopolis Basilica 'E') of which no trace is now visible. The survey conducted as part of the Nikopolis Project by the Greek Archaeological Service and the

University of Boston indicated that the area was rich in medieval pottery and that a Late Antique harbour-settlement was located further to the N. There was a second Late Antique harbour on the Lake Pogonitsa (Wiseman et al.).

Other finds

Historical evidence

A Middle Byzantine coastal settlement in the area of modern Preveza – but not on its exact site (Mamaloukos) – is suggested to have been formed after the abandonment of Nikopolis (Fourikis; Savvides; Dimitriadis); it has been conventionally called ‘Paleopreveza’ or ‘Proti Preveza’ (Gr. First Preveza). The settlement was dated to between the 10th–11th c. and the Late Byzantine period (when modern Preveza started developing). The reason for its formation was probably a gradual settlement of inhabitants of Nikopolis seeking refuge in this place due to the Bulgarian and Oghuz attacks. The exact location of this settlement is as yet unknown. The edge of Margarona Peninsula facing Aktion has been proposed by Dimitriadis and Savvides; the name ‘Preveza’ (meaning ‘pass’ in Albanian and Bulgarian) was given to the place because of its being an important pass to Acarnania and S Greece. An alternative location might have been on Margarona Peninsula in the vicinity of Vathy, i.e. closer to the Laskara Cape, Kefalos and Vonitsa (S/N 55, 116–120), though this rests on further research.

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Fourikis 1928, 155; Sodini 1970, 728; Pallas 1971b, 222, 225; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Nikopolis) 214, (Ag. Thomas), 270; Savvides 1992, 75–85; Wiseman et al. 1993, 310f.; Mamaloukos 1994; Chrysostomou, Kefallonitou 2001, 45; Dimitriadis 2001, 17–18; Wiseman, Zachos 2003, 174–177; Koder 2005, 223.

S/N 98

<i>Site Name</i>	Rachi, Ag. Nikolaos*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°6'N, 20°54'E
<i>Altitude</i>	ca. 5 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ag. Nikolaos
<i>Area</i>	Unspecified exact location
<i>Settlement</i>	Rachi
<i>Former Community</i>	Rachi
<i>Municipality</i>	Amvrakikos

<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31040700
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the alluvial plain of Arachthos, between Arta and Mt. Mavrovouni
<i>Figures</i>	
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	8
<i>Architecture</i>	
	Ruins of the W wall of a Byzantine church were found almost entirely covered up by alluvial deposits.
<i>Other finds</i>	
<i>Historical evidence</i>	
<i>Date</i>	
	Perhaps Middle Byzantine
<i>Bibliography</i>	
	Papadopoulou 2002b
<i>S/N 99</i>	
<i>Site Name</i>	Rivio, Ag. Stefanos
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°43'11"N, 21°13'4"E
<i>Altitude</i>	109 m
<i>Place-names</i>	
<i>Area</i>	Ca. 1 km E of the Highway 5 (Agriniou-Artas), S of Rivio
<i>Settlement</i>	Rivio
<i>Former Community</i>	Pappadatou
<i>Municipality</i>	Fyteies
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01280202
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977
<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	
<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Hill on the E bank of Lake Amvrakia. This lake is in a basin allowing communication

between the N coast of the Ambracian Gulf
and the Aetolian basin / Gulf of Patras.

Figures

Plan

Maps 9, 11

Architecture

Excavations revealed that the 13th-c. church was built on the site of an earlier one (Konstantios).

Other finds

Coarse pottery (unpublished)

Historical evidence

The name Rivio is Slavic; it refers to fishing in a lagoon (Fels; Vasmer; Koder, Soustal).

Date

800–1000 (1st construction phase), 13th c. onwards

Bibliography

Philippson, Kirsten 1950–1959 II, 328–331; Fels 1951, 136; Bouras 1967–1968, 47–53; Konstantios 1980, 336, pls. 186α–β; *Idem* 1981a, 275–283; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Ribion) 250; Paliouras 2004a, 304–6.

S/N 100

Site Name Riza (f. Riniassa), Castle*

Geographical Coordinates 39°8'4"N, 20°35'28"E

Altitude 100 m

Place-names Kastro, Kastro Despos

Area Ca. 500 m NE of the village, on the W side of the Highway E55

Settlement Riza

Former Community Riniassa, Riza (1928)

Municipality Zalongo

Province Nikopolis and Parga

Prefecture Preveza

NSSG ID no. 34030901

HMGS map Arta 1997

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

Geomorphology High, very steep hill on the Ionian coast.

Figures 175, (208)

*Plan**Map*

8

Architecture

The medieval castle is now inaccessible and almost entirely covered up by vegetation. It consisted of three enceintes, a keep and two cisterns (Smyris; Papadopoulou; Koder, Soustal). It was suggested that it partly dated to the Byzantine period (Koder, Soustal). On the foot of the hill there is a plateau with a church (of Panagia) which was possibly initially Late Byzantine (Mamaloukos, oral information); an excavation gave ancient and medieval small finds.

Other finds

Pottery (P14), metalwork (M11), damaged bronze coin (N66, plateau of Panagia)

Historical evidence

The castle is found in later texts (1338–18th c.) with various names.

Date

Possible Middle Byzantine construction phase

Bibliography

Chrysostomou 1980, 316–320; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Riniasa) 250–251; Chrysostomou 1983, 30; Papadopoulou 1989a, 284; Ploumidis 1993, 491; Smyris 2001, 129.

S/N 101

Site Name

Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery (old church)*

Geographical Coordinates

38°24'59.55"N, 21°51'14.26"E

Altitude

287 m

Place-names

Metamorphosi

Area

In the courtyard of the Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery, between Skala and the E outskirts of Nafpaktos, ca 6 km from the port of Nafpaktos

Settlement

Skala

Former Community

Skala

Municipality

Nafpaktos

Province

Nafpaktia

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

01191400

HMGS map

Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Hill in the hinterland to the NE of Nafpaktos
<i>Figures</i>	10, 11, 79, 155–157, 196
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

A small Byzantine chapel, two graves and a cistern have been excavated.

Other finds

Sculpture (Sc50–52), ceramics (P33, C5)

Historical evidence

Μάρμαρα: settlement mentioned in 1485; the name has survived for remains of an ancient settlement near the monastery, 4 km NE of Nafpaktos (Koder, Soustal; Portelanos).

Date

10th–12th c.

Bibliography

Katsaros 1992–1993, 123–4; On Marmara: Koder, Soustal 1981, (Marmara) 201; Portelanos 1998, 590.

S/N 102

<i>Site Name</i>	Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°32'48"N, 21°15'27"E
<i>Altitude</i>	30 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Dyo Ekklesies
<i>Area</i>	400–500 m E of the E bank of Acheloos in the area of Paleomanina, 3 km NW of Stamna, 5 km NNW of ancient Ithoria
<i>Settlement</i>	Stamna, Paleomanina
<i>Former Community</i>	Stamna (1940)
<i>Municipality</i>	Aetoliko
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01040300
<i>HMGs map</i>	Agrinion 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Low hill on the bank of Acheloos River
<i>Figures</i>	46, 51b–c, 66, 197
<i>Plan</i>	

Map

11

Architecture

Remains of two, almost contemporary, nearby churches are located on the hilltop (Vocotopoulos) – one of them is now almost entirely covered up by vegetation. Several building remains were observed all over the hill (Koder, Soustal).

Other finds

Pottery (P₃₄), ceramic milestone.

Historical evidence

A correlation of the site with the Middle Byzantine diocese of Acheloos was suggested. In this area there was a pass across the river (Celebi). See also S/N 103.

Date

9th–10th c.

Bibliography

Pritchett 1980, 283; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 193; Papatrechas 1958, 173–177; Mastrokostas 1963, 212; *Idem* 1964, 300, pl. 340; Woodhouse 1973, 159; Pallas 1976–1977, 1–80; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Stamna) 264; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 107; Vocotopoulos 1992, 41–44, 177–178.

S/N 103

<i>Site Name</i>	Stamna, Ag. Theodoroi
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°31'N, 21°16'E
<i>Altitude</i>	ca. 60 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Elaionas Nosiou Mavromati
<i>Area</i>	NW of Stamna, 50 m
<i>Settlement</i>	Stamna
<i>Former Community</i>	Stamna (1940)
<i>Municipality</i>	Aetoliko
<i>Province</i>	Messolongi
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1040300
<i>HMGs map</i>	Agrinion 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

Geomorphology Ca. 3 km from the E bank of Acheloos River

Figures 113a–b

*Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

Nothing survives of the 9th-c. church discovered in the 1980s and published by Katsaros.

Other finds

Frescos (F10)

Historical evidence

See also S/N 102.

Date

9th c.

Bibliography

Katsaros 1981a; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Stamna) 264; Katsaros 1983, 109–166; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 107.

S/N 104

Site Name

Stefani (f. Kantzas), Ag. Varvara

Geographical Coordinates

39°10'24"N, 20°48'4"E

Altitude

9 m

*Place-names**Area*

On the Highway 21 (Arta-Preveza), ca. 2 km ESE of Stefani

Settlement

Stefani

Former Community

Kandza, Stefani (1927)

Municipality

Louros

Province

Nikopolis and Parga

Prefecture

Preveza

NSSG ID no.

34050800

HMGS map

Arta 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

07.2005

Geomorphology

In the valley at the foot of Mt. Mavrovouni, on the N bank of Louros River, not far from a Roman villa, 5 km W of the Castle of Rogoi (S/N 84).

Figures

76

*Plan**Map*

8

Architecture

The excavation of the site by Papadopoulou showed that the church had at least four construction phases dated to the Byzantine period; of these

the last three possibly date to between the 7th and 10th–11th c. (Soteriou; Papadopoulou; Mamaloukos, oral information). A section of masonry dating to the last Byzantine construction is visible on the E wall of the building. Intensive landslide and alluvial phenomena make and have made this building prone to collapse. After the 10th–11th-c. church had been abandoned, the site was used as a cemetery.

Other finds

Sculpture (Table 11, no. 131), pottery (P15), stamped tiles (C6), coins (N67)

Historical evidence

It was suggested that the site was an island refuge in its first construction phase (Bowden). The Middle Byzantine church might be related to the diocese and Castle of Rogoi (S/N 84).

Date

7th–12th c.

Bibliography

Soteriou 1927, 104; Papadopoulou 1992b, 328–9; Papadopoulou 1997b, 342; Bowden 2003a, 186; Papadopoulou 2006.

S/N 105

<i>Site Name</i>	Stratos, ancient Stratiki
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°40'19"N, 21°19'3"E
<i>Altitude</i>	80–130 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Ancient Stratos, So(u)rovigli, Paleocharvati, Pezoulia
<i>Area</i>	N outskirts of modern Stratos, 9 km NW of Agrinio
<i>Settlement</i>	Stratos
<i>Former Community</i>	Sorovigli/Stratos
<i>Municipality</i>	Stratos
<i>Province</i>	Valtos
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1270101
<i>HMGs map</i>	Agrinion 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 11.2003, 12.2003

Geomorphology On a range allowing oversight of the NE entrance to Acarnania; at the N edge of the Acheloos Plain and on the N bank of the

river, which flows along the citadel's E and S sides. The relief changed significantly with the construction of the Stratos Reservoir since many land sites, previously located along the banks of Acheloos, sunk in the water. Earlier maps indicated that two islands (Vareia and Marathies) were located in the river, prior to that construction, while one of the few passes across the river was further to the N (see S/N 71).

Figures

17, 103, 195, 214, 217, 218, 229

Plan

13

Map

11

Architecture

The survey of the area of Stratiki (defined by Lake Ozeros to the NW, Acheloos to the E, Lepenou to the N and Ochthia to the SW) by the German Archaeological Institute showed that this area was continuously inhabited from the Neolithic to the modern period. A pottery workshop was dated to the classical period (Schwandner; Nerantzis). An 11th–12th c. settlement (two buildings and several walls) were excavated in the ancient agora; they had been destroyed by an earthquake (D.A.I. 1992; Schwandner 1994; *Idem* 2006). More medieval building remains (perhaps including a church) have been observed in the village of Sorovigli and in Pezoulia, a site on the E slopes of Mt. Charvati, further to the N between Stratos and Matsouki (D.A.I. 1993, 1994; Schwandner 1994). A Middle- to Post-Byzantine – extensive but scattered – settlement, including a single-aisled church with a semi-circular apse, was built on the site of an ancient settlement in Paleocharvati (D.A.I. 1994; Lang; fig. 217). The survey of a total territory of 100 km² demonstrated that this area had flourished during the Byzantine period (Lang; fig. 218). A tower located at 2 km N of Stratos, allowing oversight of the N entrance to the site, has been dated to the Late Byzantine period.

Other finds

Pottery Byzantine and Post-Byzantine (P35), coins (N68–69 and Early Byzantine)

Historical evidence

Schwandner has suggested that the site must be associated with the Middle- and Late Byzantine diocese of Acheloos (S/N 1). Cyriacus of Ancona mentioned a 'Πύργος Ἀχιλλέως' (deriving from 'Achelous?') near the village 'Gerovilia' (1436). The latter was mentioned in the Late

Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods (Koder, Soustal, Gazis, Heuzey). 'Charvati' is a Croat name found often in Greece. It was probably associated with the settlement of nomad populations of Sarmatian origin; the latter had been integrated in the Slavs who came in Greece in the Middle Byzantine period (Toynbee). The place name Spolaita also survived on the S bank of the river, across Charvati and Matsouki.

Date

1040–12th c. (Agora), 6th-Middle Byzantine period (Pezoulia)

Bibliography

Courby, Picard 1924; Heuzey 1860; Karamesini-Oikonomidou 1966, 12; Toynbee 1973, 622–4, note 7; Papadimou 1975; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Gerovalia) 157; Kolonas 1990; *Idem* 1991, 162–163; Alexopoulou 1991a, 581–590; Papaioannou 1991, 528–539; D.A.I. 1992, 1993, 1994; Schwandner 1994, 459–465; Paradeisis 1994, 2, 80–83; Nerantzis 1994, 201–11; Schwandner 1996; Nerantzis 1997; Portelanos 1998, III, 1219–1252, esp. 1242 (lit.); Lang 2004; Schwandner 2006

S/N 106

<i>Site Name</i>	Trigardo*, ancient Oiniades
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°24'22"N, 21°12'6"E
<i>Altitude</i>	81 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Trikardo, Tri kardokastro
<i>Area</i>	In the site of ancient Oiniades
<i>Settlement</i>	Katochi
<i>Former Community</i>	Katochi
<i>Municipality</i>	Oiniades
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1210300
<i>HMGS map</i>	Messolongion 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Hill in the lower delta of Acheloos River. The site could have once been one of the Echinades Islands. In antiquity it is mentioned as a harbour-city near Acheloos (Scylax).
<i>Figures</i>	31, 198
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

Remains of medieval masonry were observed on the NE top of the S citadel of ancient Oiniades. A possibly Byzantine wall was excavated in the N part of shipsheds, at the NW part of the ancient settlement (fig. 31); the building served as a small harbour in a lake formed there in this period (Kolonas 1991, 1995; Portelanos; Tsandila). The ancient city had a pottery workshop.

Other finds

Pottery (P36 at the citadel; Early Byzantine at the shipsheds: Tsandila).

Historical evidence

The site was linked to the Byzantine period by local tradition (Mitakis). The town, the alluvial deposition phenomenon and the Echinades were mentioned by Scylax. Echinades were mentioned from the 6th–14th c. – once as inhabited (Chalkokondylis).

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine period

Bibliography

Scylax, Periplus, 3.4, p. 182; Urquhart 1838, 63; Sears 1904, 233–4, fig. 49; Darkó 1922, I 196; Vocotopoulos 1967, 330, pls. 239β–γ; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Trigardon) 272–3; Murray 1982, 45; Mitakis 1986, 99–110, 137, 146, 158f.; Kolonas 1991, 164–166, pls. 73γ–ε, 74α–β; Paradeisis 1994, 2, 60–68; Kolonas 1995, 239–240; Portelanos 1998, III, 1114–1192 (lit.); Tsandila 2004, 311–332; Serbeti 2004.

S/N 107

<i>Site Name</i>	Varassova E, Ag. Dimitrios
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°22'0"N, 21°36'56"E
<i>Altitude</i>	137–150 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Samakoula
<i>Area</i>	ca. 1800 m NNW of Kato Vassiliki
<i>Settlement</i>	Kato Vassiliki
<i>Former Community</i>	Vassiliki (1928–1951), Ano Vassiliki (1951)
<i>Municipality</i>	Chalkeia
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01290301
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits 07.2005

<i>Geomorphology</i>	Low hill – invisible from the sea – to the N of Vassiliki Bay, not far from Ag. Triada (S/N 54) and on the foot of the 1,030-m-high range of Varassova (an important mountain during the Byzantine period, see S/N 108–111)
<i>Figures</i>	40, 48b, 199
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11
<i>Architecture</i>	
	Remains of a church and other buildings belong probably to a monastery; material from the basilica found on Ag. Triada Hill might have been reused here (Paliouras).
<i>Other finds</i>	
	Inscription (Mastrokostas, now lost), pottery (P37)
<i>Historical evidence</i>	
	Βαράσοβα: episkepsis where a village is called Τρόχωμα in the early 13th-c. (Apokaukos). In 1865, Bazin described Mt. Varassova as a site of ruins of 72 monasteries and chapels.
<i>Date</i>	
	950–1050 (Gkioles; Paliouras)
<i>Bibliography</i>	
	<i>Ioannis Apokaukos</i> , <i>Letters V</i> , 11, 70–71; Bazin 1865, 282–283; Orlandos 1935b, 105–120; Vocotopoulos 1967, 325; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Baresoba) 121; Gkioles 1987, 66–68; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 102; Paliouras 2004a, 178–180; Delimaris 2004, 550–1, pl. 4; Mastrokostas 1961–1962, 183; Karayani-Charalambopoulou 1990–1991, 95.
<i>S/N 108</i>	
<i>Site Name</i>	Varassova N–E, Ag. Dimitrios*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°23'N, 21°35'E
<i>Altitude</i>	
<i>Place-names</i>	
<i>Area</i>	Between the villages Ano Vassiliki and Perithori, unspecified exact location
<i>Settlement</i>	Ano Vassiliki
<i>Former Community</i>	Vassiliki (1928–1951), Ano Vassiliki (1951)
<i>Municipality</i>	Chalkeia
<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 01290200
 HMGS map Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology At the foot of NE part of Mt. Varassova, area with dense vegetation

Figures

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

Byzantine church and remains of other buildings, whose publication is forthcoming (Delimaris).

Other finds

Historical evidence

On Varassova see S/N 107.

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 102; Delimaris 2004, 552, pl. 7.

S/N 109

Site Name Varassova N–E, Ag. Pateres

Geographical Coordinates 38°22'N, 21°35'E

Altitude

Place-names

Area Not far from the village

Settlement Ano Vassiliki

Former Community Vassiliki (1928–1951), Ano Vassiliki (1951)

Municipality Chalkeia

Province Nafpaktia

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 01290200

HMGS map Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Cluster of caves near the top of the NE slope of Mt. Varassova

Figures

*Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

The monastic complex was surveyed by archaeologists for the University of Ioannina; it consisted of three caves including a church, a fortification wall and remains of cisterns and a water pipe.

Other finds

Frescos (F11), pottery (P16)

Historical evidence

On Varassova see S/N 107.

Date

10th–11th c.

Bibliography

Papathanassopoulos 1964, 451–2; Vocotopoulos 1967, 325; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Baresoba) 121; Charalambopoulos 1985, 135; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 102; Paliouras 2004a, 80, 176–7, figs. 181–2; Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 535–548 (fig.); Delimaris 2004, 551–2, pl. 6 (lit.).

S/N 110*Site Name*

Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos

Geographical Coordinates

38°20'34"N, 21°36'41"E

Altitude

Ca. 135 m

*Place-names**Area*

Ca. 2.8 km SW of Kato Vassiliki, ca. 3 km E of Kryoneri

Settlement

Kryoneri

Former Community

Galatas

Municipality

Chalkeia

Province

Messolongi

Prefecture

Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no.

01290502

HMGS map

Patrai 1979

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

Caves in a steep ravine at the southernmost edge of Mt. Varassova, above a small beach (the only access to the site). The location allows oversight of the entrance to the Gulf of Patras from Aetolia, while inaccessible and thus protected from the land.

Figures 4, 176, 211

Plan

Map 11

Architecture

A fortified monastic complex in three caves was investigated by archaeologists of the University of Ioannina (Prof. Paliouras, 1991–2001). It consisted of a church, fortification wall, tower, cemetery, cistern and water pipes, refectory, kitchen, oven-room, and egleistra. There were vine remains in the W sunny side of the ravine, across the caves.

Other finds

Sculpture (Table 11, no. 21), pottery (P17), glass (G6), coin (N70)

Historical evidence

Ἄγιος Νικόλαος Βαράσοβας: mentioned as a name of a ship in 1770 (Paliouras). See also S/N 54, 60, 107–109, 111.

Date

9th–12th c., –19th c.

Bibliography

Konstas 1964b, 592; Vocotopoulos 1970a, 301; Katsaros 1980a, 31; Paliouras, Katsibinis 1983, 67; Paliouras, Katsibinis 1985, 105–114; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 102; Paliouras 1998–1999, 291–322; Paliouras 1999, 101–6, pls. 12–15; Paliouras 2004a, 180–182, 421–432; Delimaris 2004, 551, pl. 5.

S/N 111

Site Name Varassova W, Ag. Nikolaos

Geographical Coordinates 38°22'49"N, 21°34'4"E

Altitude

Place-names

Area Above Perithori, at the height allowing oversight of Galatas

Settlement Perithori

Former Community Perithori

Municipality Chalkeia

Province Messolongi

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 01290701

HMGs map Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology Cluster of caves on the NW slope of Varassova

*Figures**Plan**Map*

11

Architecture

In the largest cave (Ag. Nikolaos) a Byzantine monastic complex – consisting of a church and a cistern used for many centuries later – was investigated by Paliouras.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

See also S/N 54, 60, 107–110. Μιλίσσι: medieval Vlach name meaning ‘holes’ referring to the W slope of Varassova (obviously due to the large number of caves) [Koder, Soustal].

Date

Possibly Middle Byzantine (see Part 2 – Chapter 1 above)

Bibliography

Vocotopoulos 1970a, 300, pl. 260B; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Baresoba) 121; Charalambopoulos 1985, 134–5; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 102; Paliouras 2004a, 180; Delimaris 2004, 552.

*S/N 112**Site Name*

Vigla, Rodia Monastery

Geographical Coordinates

39°6'2"N, 20°49'54"E

Altitude

12 m

Place-names

Moni Rodias, Ag. Georgios

Area

On the bank of Rodia Lagoon, between Strongyli and Vigla

Settlement

Vigla

Former Community

Vigla

Municipality

Amvrakikos

Province

Nikopolis and Parga

Prefecture

Preveza

NSSG ID no.

31040200

HMGs map

Arta 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits**Geomorphology*

On the foot of the W slope of Mt. Mavrovouni, SW of the Castle of Rogoi. Perhaps Mavrovouni was once an island (see Jing, Rapp; S/N 84; Part 1 – Chapter 2).

*Figures**Plan**Map*

8

Architecture

The monastery preserves no Byzantine remains. Its Katholikon, built in 1860, is called 'Rodon to Amarandon' because of a homonymous icon that existed in an earlier – probably Middle Byzantine – Katholikon (see below). A cave monastery near the Katholikon had fresco decorations which no longer survive (Yannelos). Remains of graves were observed on the site of Ag. Georgios, near Vigla, in 1988; church ruins were seen in a now underwater location (Papadopoulou).

Other finds

Glazed pottery and Byzantine tiles (Ag. Georgios; unpublished)

Historical evidence

A stavropegic monastery of Panagia called 'Ρόδον τὸ Ἀμάραντον' was founded in this location in 970 during the reign of John I Tzimiskis and the Patriarchy of Bassilius according to documents of the monastery seen by Serapheim Xenopoulos, Metropolitan of Arta (1884); these documents no longer exist. Xenopoulos suggested that the monastery had large estates, a fish-farm and four metochia among which Ag. Nikolaos – obviously referring to the 12th-c. church of Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias (S/N 56), whose Greek name means 'St Nicolas of the Rodia (Monastery)'. The monastery was destroyed during the Greek Revolution and stayed ruined up to 1860, when its church was rebuilt. The site was obviously once important, since the adjacent lagoon is known by its name. Mavrovounion is first mentioned with this name in the 14th c. (Koder, Soustal).

Date

10th–12th c. onwards

Bibliography

Xenopoulos 1884, 171; Pallas 1971a; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Maurobunion) 204; Papadopoulou 1988a, 321; Yannelos 2001, 118.

S/N 113

Site Name

Vlacherna, Vlachernae Monastery

Geographical Coordinates

39°10'19"N, 21°0'0"E

Altitude

43 m

*Place-names**Area*

NE of Arta

Settlement

Vlacherna

Former Community

Gramenitsa, Vlacherna (1922)

<i>Municipality</i>	Vlacherna
<i>Province</i>	Arta
<i>Prefecture</i>	Arta
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	31060201
<i>HMGs map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	In the highlands to the NW of Arta, on the N bank of Arachthos River

<i>Figures</i>	71, 158
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Plan

<i>Map</i>	8
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Architecture

A section of masonry on the E walls of the 13th c. Katholikon was part of the apse of an earlier church dated to the 10th c.; an excavation revealed the apse of the diakonikon of the old church (Vocotopoulos).

Other finds

Sculpture (Sc54–55, Table 11: nos. 26, 93–95)

Historical evidence

The name of the initial church is unknown. See also S/N 18–36.

Date

900 onwards (building, sculpture), 12th c. (sculpture), Late Byzantine period

Bibliography

Orlandos 1936, 6–37; Triantaphyllopoulos 1976, 222; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Blachernitissa), 125–6; Vocotopoulos 1992, 20–28, 186f.; Papadopoulou 2002a, 69–87; Bouras, Boura 2002, 88–90.

S/N 114

<i>Site Name</i>	Vlochos, ancient Acropolis of Glas*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°39'14"N, 21°29'11"E
<i>Altitude</i>	640 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Vlochos
<i>Area</i>	Ca. 5.5 km N of Kainourio, 6.5 km WSW of Agrinio
<i>Settlement</i>	Ano Vlochos
<i>Former Community</i>	Kainourio (1940)
<i>Municipality</i>	Thestieis
<i>Province</i>	Trichonidos

<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1130102
<i>HMGS map</i>	Agrinio 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	12.2003
<i>Geomorphology</i>	The flat top of a conic-shaped mountain not far from the N coast of Trichonida Lake allows oversight of the areas to the W, S and NW (Trichonida, Aetoliko Lagoon, and Stratiki).

Figures

Plan

<i>Map</i>	11
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Architecture

Medieval fortifications and a cistern were built on the site of the ancient citadel of Glas/Thestieis. The monastery of Panagia Vlochau, located on a plateau below the top (elevation ca. 614 m), has been dated to the Ottoman period; there are members of earlier (possibly Byzantine) buildings in its garden. Remains of a church and a Byzantine fountain were observed to the N of Vlochos, on the road to Kamara.

Other finds

Historical evidence

The site was correlated with the Late Byzantine fortresses of Blecola and Εὐλοχὸς (Koder, Soustal).

Date

Perhaps Middle Byzantine

Bibliography

Koder, Soustal 1981, (Eulochos) 150; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 112; Paradeisis 1994, 78–79; Paliouras 2004a, 281–282.

S/N 115

<i>Site Name</i>	Vomvokou, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Monastery
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°26'3"N, 21°49'14"E
<i>Altitude</i>	515 m
<i>Place-names</i>	
<i>Area</i>	Ca. 10 km NE of Nafpaktos
<i>Settlement</i>	Moni Timiou Prodromou (1940–1961), Moni Ag. Ioannou (1971–1997)
<i>Former Community</i>	Vomvokou
<i>Municipality</i>	Nafpaktos

<i>Province</i>	Nafpaktia
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01190505
<i>HMGS map</i>	Patrai 1979

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	Mountainous location in the hinterland to the NE of Nafpaktos
<i>Figures</i>	130
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	11

Architecture

The Katholikon was renovated in 1695; two reused sculptures indicate that the older church was probably constructed / reconstructed to the 11th c. and the Venetian period.

Other finds

Sculpture (Table 11: no. 44)

Historical evidence

The site might be correlated with the Prodomos Monastery mentioned by Choniates (see S/N 14).

Date

11th c. (sculpture) onwards

Bibliography

Lazaridis 1966, 268–9; Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 170–171; Paliouras 1985, 262–268; Vanderheyde 2005, 71.

S/N 116

<i>Site Name</i>	Vonitsa, Castle* and Ag. Sophia
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°55'N, 20°53'E
<i>Altitude</i>	42 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Kastro
<i>Area</i>	In the NW part of the town
<i>Settlement</i>	Vonitsa
<i>Former Community</i>	Vonitsa
<i>Municipality</i>	Anaktorio
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	1070101
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977

*Archaeological evidence**Visits*

12.2003, 07.2005

Geomorphology

Low, relatively flat, hill on the S coast of the Ambracian Gulf allowing overview of both the Gulf and the hinterland to the S.

Figures

49, 87

Plan

16

Map

9

Architecture

The – as yet not fully published – medieval castle has several construction phases dating to between the Byzantine and Ottoman period. It is oval-shaped, measures 300 × 150 m in total and consists of three enceintes of which the lowest one probably dates to the Comnenian period (Koder, Soustal; Konstantios). Gates are located in the NW and SE sides; the first leads to the harbour and the second to the modern settlement. Among the numerous buildings seen inside the enceinte one was once a church (Ag. Sophia, K3 in plan 16); its original construction was dated to the Middle Byzantine period (Vocotopoulos). It should be correlated with the church mentioned as having been transformed into a powder magazine in the Ottoman period (see below). The second old church mentioned in the same text to have been transformed into a cistern might have been the nearby building (K4 in plan 16); a Byzantine window was observed on a section of the building K5 (survey, fig. 49, plan 16)

Part of the ancient and Byzantine town has sunk in the Ambracian Gulf, as evident from the remains of fortifications, towers, harbour facilities, a basilica and other buildings observed by underwater survey (Spondylis) at the foot of the N side of the hill and the church of Panagia sto Limani (S/N 117).

It was suggested that the Panagia tis Choras to the N of the castle was also built on the site of a Byzantine building correlated with a monastery of Panagia which was mentioned in an early 13th-c. text (Katsaros); however, the latter seems to have rather been located on Panagia Peninsula (see S/N 120).

*Other finds**Pottery**Historical evidence*

Βόντιτζα/Βούνδιτζα: Byzantine diocese under the Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, mentioned in 901/2 and later. The name is Slavic (meaning hook in Bulgarian) according to a later source (Apokaukos) – it obviously derived from the shape of the peninsula. In 1081 it was sieged and looted

by Robert Guiscard while the Norman army spent the winter in 'Bundicia/Bontitza' in 1084/5. It was included in the treaties between Byzantium and Venice in 1082, 1148 and 1187, obviously because of its importance in trade. In the mid-12th c., Al-Idrisi describes 'B-nd-sa' as a small fortified town of merchants, lying in small distance from the sea. The town was often mentioned in 13th–15th-c. texts; its castle was described by Evlijah Celebi in 1668 (it was strong and steep, located on the coast, and included various buildings). Two old orthodox churches in the enceinte were shown in a map by Girolamo Delanges (1757); one of them was transformed into a cistern and the other one into a powder magazine (Moschonas). The Avar/Slavic place names, Ἀβαρνίτζα and Βελχόνοβον, were mentioned near Vonditza in the early 13th c. The Μονὴ Σφεττῶν and a church of Panagia were also mentioned as having belonged to the diocese (see S/N 73, 120). An ancient port called 'Akti' (Gr. for 'coast') near Anaktorion (to the W of Vonitsa) was mentioned by Scylax.

Date

901–18th c.

Bibliography

Scylax, Periplous, 34, p. 181; *Notitiae*, II 557; Darrouzès 1981, 284, 304, 327, 363; *notitiae* 7, 9, 10, 13; *Anna Komnene, Alexiad*, II 55; *Al-Idrisi, Geography*, II 121, 635; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters I*, 77; *Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V*, 61, 78, 129, 152–154, 234f; *Venetian Republic*, I, 52, 118, 184, nos. 23, 51, 70; Ziebarth 1926, 115; Vasmer 1941, 65; Mathieu 1961, 214, 246; Kollias 1969–1970, 16a; Yannopoulos 1969–1970, 184–185; Moschonas 1980, 274–9; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Bonditza) 128–129, (Abarnitza) 101; Sfikopoulos 1981, 175–182; Katsaros 1983, 119; note. 1; Nicol 1984, 19; Vocotopoulos 1984a, 113–114; Katsaros 1985, 1518–1521; Papatrechis 1991, 334–335; Spondylis 1993, 588; Paradeisis 1994, 106–107; Smyris 2001, 119–122.

S/N 117

<i>Site Name</i>	Vonitsa, Castle, quayside, Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani (old church)*
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°55'21"N, 20°52'54"E
<i>Altitude</i>	12 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Panagia sto Limani, Panagia sto Kanali
<i>Area</i>	In the N outskirts of the town
<i>Settlement</i>	Vonitsa
<i>Former Community</i>	Vonitsa
<i>Municipality</i>	Anaktorio
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 1070101
 HMGS map Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 12.2003, 07.2005
Geomorphology At the foot of the NW slope of the hill of the castle

Figures 159, 227

Plan

Map 9

Architecture

A section of masonry preserving a possibly Byzantine window (fig. 227) was observed to the N of the later church of Panagia in which an earlier sculpture was reused (fig. 159). Extensive remains of an earlier church survive to the E of Panagia; those should probably be dated in a Post-Byzantine period.

Other finds

Sculpture (Sc57)

Historical evidence

Perhaps Middle Byzantine (section of masonry with window and sculpture); Late Byzantine (Vocotopoulos)

Date

Bibliography

Vocotopoulos 1984a, 100–1, 106–7.

S/N 118

Site Name Vonitsa, cemetery, Ag. Ioannis

Geographical Coordinates 38°54'34"N, 20°53'49"E

Altitude 11 m

Place-names

Area Cemetery, in the S outskirts of the town

Settlement Vonitsa

Former Community Vonitsa

Municipality Anaktorio

Province Vonitsa and Xeromero

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 1070101

HMGS map Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits 12.2003

Geomorphology In the valley, on the road from the Castle of Vonitsa (S/N 116) to Monastiraki (S/N 73)

Figures 85

Plan

Map 9

Architecture

The church is unpublished. The original building was a three-aisled basilica whose remains are visible on the S and W walls.

Other finds

A damaged sculpture was reused on the S façade of the church (Sc56, Table 11, no. 130).

Historical evidence

Date

Possibly Middle Byzantine, perhaps 10th–11th c. (Kaponis)

Bibliography

Kaponis 2006, 222.

S/N 119

Site Name Vonitsa, Panagia Alichniotissa

Geographical Coordinates 38°54'25"N, 20°54'41"E

Altitude 25 m

Place-names

Area Ca. 3 km SE of Vonitsa

Settlement Vonitsa

Former Community Vonitsa

Municipality Anaktorio

Province Vonitsa and Xeromero

Prefecture Aetoloacarnania

NSSG ID no. 1070101

HMGs map Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

Visits

Geomorphology On a low, isolated hill in the valley, on the road from the Castle of Vonitsa (S/N 116) and Ag. Ioannis (S/N 118) to Monastiraki (S/N 73).

Figures 83, 84

Plan

Map 9

Architecture

Small church now venerated to Zoodochos Pigi. It has been dated to the 14th c., based on the brickwork on the apse. However, the apse seems to have been a later reconstruction. Some sections of masonry on the N and S walls seem earlier.

*Other finds**Historical evidence*

See S/N 116.

Date

Possible Middle Byzantine construction phase, 14th c.

Bibliography

Koder, Soustal 1981, (Bonditza) 128; Tsouris 1988, 197–8; Paliouras 2004a, 311–3.

S/N 120

<i>Site Name</i>	Vonitsa, Panagia Peninsula, Panagia
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	38°57'5"N, 20°51'59"E
<i>Altitude</i>	25 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Property of Aikaterini Isaias (visits allowed)
<i>Area</i>	Panagia Peninsula, ca. 7 km NW of Vonitsa
<i>Settlement</i>	Panagia Neas Kamarinas
<i>Former Community</i>	Nea Kamarina
<i>Municipality</i>	Anaktorio
<i>Province</i>	Vonitsa and Xeromero
<i>Prefecture</i>	Aetoloacarnania
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	01070103
<i>HMGS map</i>	Lefkas 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	NW edge of the peninsula, 1 km SW of Kefalos (S/N 55)
<i>Figures</i>	72
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	9

Architecture

Remains of a monastery including an enceinte, a church, and a grave (Kefallonitou-Konstantiou). Other buildings to the S of the church were not investigated (found in the adjacent estate; now destroyed) as did a well at the SW part of the Isaias property (Visit).

Other finds

Pottery, floor- and roof-tiles

Historical evidence

The site should probably be correlated with the unknown Monastery of Panagia near Vonitsa, mentioned in letters of Ioannis Apokaukos during the years 1222–1227. Apokaukos traveled to the site by boat and his trip was not easy. A monastery in this location was mentioned in Venetian documents and old maps as ‘La Madonna’ (Mamaloukos). Aikaterini Isaia suggested the monastery might have been a metochion of Panagia Korakonissia judging from its name (S/N 59; oral information).

Date

10th–11th, 17th–18th c.

Bibliography

Ioannis Apokaukos, Letters V, 127–129, nos. 69, 214, 234–5; Katsaros 1985, 1518–9; Kefallonitou-Konstantiou 1987, 329, pls. 182–3; Konstantios 1991, 603, pls. 122–123; Mamaloukos 1992; *Idem* 1996, 79.

S/N 121

<i>Site Name</i>	Zalongo (f. Kamarina), Taxiarches
<i>Geographical Coordinates</i>	39°8'54"N, 20°41'7"E
<i>Altitude</i>	772 m
<i>Place-names</i>	Mnimio Souliotisson, Zalongo
<i>Area</i>	Ca. 400 m ESE of the Monument of Zalongo/ Souliotisses, 21 km NNW of Preveza
<i>Settlement</i>	Zalongo
<i>Former Community</i>	Kamarina, Zalongo (1971)
<i>Municipality</i>	Zalongo
<i>Province</i>	Nikopolis and Parga
<i>Prefecture</i>	Preveza
<i>NSSG ID no.</i>	34030400
<i>HMGS map</i>	Arta 1977

Archaeological evidence

<i>Visits</i>	07.2005
<i>Geomorphology</i>	On the E top of Mt. Zalongo
<i>Figures</i>	44, 200
<i>Plan</i>	
<i>Map</i>	8

Architecture

A church of Taxiarches was built using material of a Byzantine church (Koder, Soustal; Triantaphyllopoulos). The church is unpublished but restored. It is a building measuring 5.93×10.58 m (height 3.43 m) with a porch to the W (measuring 4.68×4.47 m) and a well in the SW corner. Several architectural members of other buildings were reused in or are scattered around the church; Triantaphyllopoulos suggested they came from Nikopolis or ancient Kassopi at the foot of the mountain. Triantaphyllopoulos and Soustal did not give the same measurements or elevations for the churches they referred to; therefore they might have talked about different buildings. However, no other building remains were located by survey on the top of the mountain, now covered by dense vegetation.

Other finds

Pottery (P40), sculpture (very damaged)

Historical evidence

The name Zalongo is Slavic as well as the nearby place names of Sesovo, Libohovo, Martani (Vasmer). Soustal suggested this was the seat of the diocese of Kozyli (1975). By contrast Triantaphyllopoulos thought the building was too small and too remote; besides the place name 'Kozili' survived in another Byzantine site (S/N 86).

Date

Perhaps built on the site of a Middle Byzantine church

Bibliography

Vasmer 1941, 33f., 62; Vitalis 1959; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1975, 223–4; Soustal P., *Die griechischen Quellen zur mittelalterlichen historischen Geographie von Epirus (unpublished PhD thesis)*, Vienna 1975, 76: note 3; Triantaphyllopoulos 1976, 223–4; Koder, Soustal 1981, (Zalongon), 280; Triantaphyllopoulos 1981, esp. 859–860: note 68.

APPENDIX ONE

MATERIAL CULTURE INVENTORY

(The Site Numbers (S/N) refer to the Inventory in Part 5 of this study.)

I.1. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS ON OR IN BUILDINGS

(TABLE 9, P. 158, AND FIGS. 108–112)

Published Inscriptions

I₁ – S/N 15 – *Angelokastro*

In the conspicuous W façade of the tall construction surviving at the SW corner of the citadel, at a height of approximately 9 m, there is a brick inscription (fig. 108). Anastasios Orlandos was the first to transcribe it.¹ The inscription has not yet been interpreted or dated.

Text: ΠΙΝΑΠΙΓΕΚΙ

Commentary

It is written in uncial letters. No accents and breathings are indicated. Some characters may represent abbreviations. Orlandos has read the sixth and seventh letter as Π or IT with which I do not agree.

Date: Unknown.

I₂ – S/N 16 – *Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos, Mt. Arakynthos, large cave*

In the large cave of this monastery there is a fresco depicting the Theotokos Spiliotissa beneath which runs an explanatory inscription² and the following dedicatory inscription (fig. 109) published by V. Katsaros.³

Text:

†Ν'ΙCαΝΔρῶC (μον)αχ(ος) (ε)ν μηνοι Ιουλίω Ινδικτιῶνος τρίτιC ιCταθ<ι>·.

Transcription:

Νίσανδρος μοναχός, ἐν μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος τρίτης εἰς τὰ[ς] θ'.

Commentary

The inscription is written in miniscule letters mixed with a few uncials. Abbreviations: (μον)αχ(ός) (ἐ)ν. Some accents and breathings are indicated. It is written in a single but not very precise curved line. There are many

¹ Orlandos 1961a, 67.

² Paliouras 2004a, 193.

³ Katsaros 1980b, pl. 3.

spelling mistakes (ΝῖCαΝΔρῶC, μῆΝοι Ιοῦλιω, τρίτιC, ιC, τα). The reading of the name as Νισανδρῶς (Νίσανδρος) for the more usual Νίκανδρος is presumably also due to a spelling mistake.

Katsaros has read “εν” as “ἐν” but in my opinion it is written in abbreviated form.

The inscription was probably written by a not very scholarly scribe. However it follows the usual Byzantine formula: name (usually including titles or attributes) of donor – chronology (month, indiction, and date).

Date:

The dating part of the inscription mentions the 9th? day of July and the third indiction of an unknown year. Possible dates could be the years 990 or 1005 on the basis of prosopographic evidence (see discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 2).

I3 – S/N 16 – *Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos, Mt. Arakynthos, small cave*

On the external façade of the small cave, to the right of the entrance, there is a second dedicatory inscription written next to a fresco depicting the archangel Gabriel. Its text has been published by A. Paliouras but no illustration has been provided.⁴

Text:

†Αρχιστ | ρατηγε βο | ιθι τον δου | (λ)ον σου | Μιχαηλ αμ(ην)

Transcription:

Ἀρχιστράτηγε, βοήθι τὸν δοῦ[λ]ον σοῦ, Μιχαήλ, ἀμ(ήν).

Commentary

The inscription is written in uncial letters, no accents or breathings indicated. There is one spelling mistake (βοίθι) in L. 3.

Date:

Paliouras has dated the fresco and the inscription to the beginning of the thirteenth century on the basis of his interpretation of the inscription and stylistic analysis of the fresco.⁵ Nevertheless, a rather earlier dating, as suggested by Vasilakeris, is equally likely based on the same criteria (see relevant discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 2).⁶

⁴ Paliouras 2004a, 194.

⁵ Paliouras 2004a, 196.

⁶ Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 548.

I4 – S/N 41 – *Katholikon, Varnakova Monastery near Efpalio*

A dedicatory inscription had been engraved on a column of the old Katholikon which has not survived. According to its publication, this inscription measured 1.52 × 0.22 m and had the following four lines of text.⁷ No illustration is available.

Text:

Δεδόμητε τη του Θεου συνεργία εκ του μη όντος ο θειος και πάνσεπτος νεος της |
υπεραγίας Θεοτόκου παρα του οσιωτάτου μοναχου κυρου Αρσενίου επι Κοσμά
του Αγιωτάτου | Πατριάρχου έτους ζ'φ'π'ε'. 'Ο δε Β' νας δια του μοναχου
κυρου 'Ιωάννου βασιλεύοντος κυρου Μανου | ηλ του Πορφυρογεννήτου επι
Νικολάου του αγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου έτους ζ'χ'ν'ζ'[ινδ] ια'.

Transcription:

Δεδόμηται τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος νεὼς
τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου παρὰ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Ἀρσενίου ἐπὶ
Κοσμᾷ τοῦ Ἀγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου ἔτους στ'φ'π'ε' (6585). "Ο δε β' νας διὰ τοῦ
μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου βασιλεύοντος κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου
ἐπὶ Νικολάου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου ἔτους στ'χ'ω'στ' (6656) ἰνδικτιῶνος ια'.

Commentary

Accents and breathings sporadically indicated. There is one spelling mistake (δεδόμητε) on L. 1. Spyridon Lambrou suggested correcting the word ἀρχιμανδρίτου read by the authors of the *C.I.G.* on L. 2 and 4 to μοναχοῦ (one would guess that they were reading an abbreviation) based on an eighteenth-century document found in the monastery's archives.⁸ A note in that document referring to the foundation of the monastery mentioned exactly the same facts and historical figures as the inscription; it could have been copying either the inscription itself or an earlier document.

Date

The date given in the inscription is almost complete; only the month is missing. It leads us to the years 1147/8. Prosopographic evidence supports a date within 1148 AD (see relevant discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 2).

I5 – S/N 67 – *Ag. Varnavas, Louros*

Two inscriptions are embedded in the S façade of the church, flanking the entrance door (fig. 111a). They were both published by S. Mamaloukos in 1995, although they had already been mentioned by several scholars

⁷ See Lambros 1909, 388–389; Orlandos 1922b, 6. The text was published in the *CIG* (vol. 4, 337, no. 8730) and revised by Lambros whose version is cited here.

⁸ Lambros 1909, 388–9, 382–392; Lambros 1915, 445–449.

before that.⁹ The inscription to the left of the entrance falls into the chronological span of this study. The one on the right helps the interpretation of the first, thus it will also be cited.

Inscription to the left of the entrance (I5)

The characters of the inscription, which have recently been painted black, are carefully carved on a white marble slab measuring about 1.23×0.45 m (fig. 111b).¹⁰ The text is arranged in six lines, of which the top four are divided by straight, horizontal, engraved lines, and reads as follows:

Text:

† Ζητεις μαθειν ανθρωπε τις ονπερ βλέπεις | σεπτόν δόμον τέτευχεν εξ αυτων
βάθρων | Κωνσταντινος μάγιστρος ο Μανιάκης | έχων συνεργον την γόνων
ξυνωρίδα | τον Βαρνάβαν τε της μονης τον προστάτην | έτους ϛ'χνζ' †

Transcription:

Ζητείς μαθεῖν, ἀνθρωπέ, τις, ὄνπερ βλέπεις, σεπτὸν δόμον τέτευχεν ἐξ αὐτῶν
βάθρων. Κωνσταντίνος μάγιστρος ὁ Μανιάκης ἔχων συνεργὸν τὴν γόνων
ξυνωρίδα τὸν Βαρνάβαν τε, τῆς μονῆς τὸν προστάτην, ἔτους ϛ'χνζ' †

Commentary

The inscription is written in uncial characters with accentuation sporadically indicated. There are no breathings, ligatures and abbreviations. There are no spelling mistakes in this metrical inscription consisting of dodecasyllabic verses.¹¹ The author was probably a scholar. The formula at the beginning, i.e. ζητεῖς μαθεῖν, is common in Byzantine funerary inscriptions.

Date

No day, month or indiction is mentioned in the inscription – only the anno mundi 6657 which corresponds to the period from September 1148 to August 1149 AD.

Inscription to the right of the entrance

The six-line inscription placed to the right of the entrance commemorates the dedication of the present church of Ag. Varnavas in 1833. It presents remarkable similarity in the material, the text and the positioning with the old inscription to the left of the entrance (fig. 111c).¹²

⁹ Mamaloukos 1995, 195–200, including references to earlier literature.

¹⁰ Mamaloukos 1995, 195–6.

¹¹ For a discussion of the metrical inscriptions from *Epirus* see § Conclusions below.

¹² Mamaloukos 1995, 196.

Text:

† Ανεκτίσθη δε νυνί ο ιερὸς οὗτος | ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου |
 Βαρνάβα διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν | κηρ Κώνστα Π(α)παχρήστου Λουριώτου κε | υιοῦ
 τοῦ Δημητρίου ἡς μνημόσυνον αὐ | τῶν ἐν ἔτη ἀωλγῇ Ἀπρίλι ιβ’.

Transcription:

Ἀνεκτίσθη δὲ νυνὶ ὁ ἱερὸς οὗτος ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα
 διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν κυρ-Κώνστα Π(α)παχρήστου, Λουριώτου, καὶ υἱοῦ τοῦ,
 Δημητρίου, εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν ἐν ἔτει ἀ’ω’λ’γ’, Ἀπρίλη ιβ’.

Commentary

The text of this inscription imitates the Byzantine style of the previous one. It follows the Byzantine formulae exactly, using expressions such as “ἀνεκτίσθη ὁ ἱερὸς ναὸς (...) διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν (names, date)”.

Date

The inscription is precisely dated to 12th April, 1833.

I6 – S/N 76 – Nafpaktos, Castle

An inscription has been observed on one side of a sculpture which was embedded in the NW corner of the keep of the enceinte (called Kastraki or Ickale) to serve as a lintel (fig. 149). It was carved on the front face of a fragmentary piece of sculpture measuring 0.88 × 0.16 × 0.28 m; the whole piece must have originally served as an epistyle.¹³ The three-line inscription was published by Vocotopoulos in 1973 (fig. 110). The text is as follows:¹⁴

Text:

†Λέων ο Σεμνὸς Ναυπάκτου θυηπόλος | τὸν τύμβον ἡυτρέπισεν ὃν βλέπεις
 ξέν[ε] | ὅς εἰ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ πέσοι Θε(ε)ῶ χάρις

Transcription:

Λέων, ὁ Σεμνὸς Ναυπάκτου θυηπόλος, τὸν τύμβον ἡυτρέπισεν, ὃν βλέπεις,
 ξέν[ε], ὅς εἰ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ πέσοι Θεῶ χάρις.

Commentary

The inscription is written in uncial letters with some of the accents indicated. There is one abbreviation (Θω). It is a metrical inscription in iambic trimeter verses.

¹³ For the sculpture see Part 2 – Chapter 3.II. above.

¹⁴ Vocotopoulos 1973, 398–9, pl. 351β.

Date

The inscription has been dated to the twelfth century on the basis of the interpretation of its historical evidence (see relevant discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 2).

Unpublished Inscriptions

I7 – S/N 64 – *Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki, Vournikas, Lefkada*

Two sections of an undecorated limestone ashlar block with a carved inscription have been embedded in a wall of a building in the monastery. The inscription consists of two words carved in between two horizontal carved lines (fig. 112a). The text reads as follows:

Text:

Κυριε βοήθι :-

Transcription:

Κύριε βοήθι.

Commentary

The inscription is written in uncial characters. The epigraphy could well be dated to the Byzantine period. The formula Κύριε βοήθι is very common from the Early Byzantine to the Ottoman period.

Date

There is no date in the inscription or other evidence by which to date it.

I8 – S/N 64 – *Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki, Vournikas, Lefkada*

Another piece of limestone ashlar with a carved inscription has been embedded in the same wall as I7 but a little higher up. This piece is smaller, with only four letters of the original inscription (fig. 112b). The epigraphy is very neat. The text reads as follows:

Text:

...] μάχω [...]

Commentary

Uncial characters. No accentuation indicated. The lettering could be dated to the Byzantine period. The text could be part of an invocation to “τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ”.

Date: Unknown.

I.2. OPUS SECTILE, MARBLE-INLAY, MOSAIC AND FRESCO DECORATIONS (TABLE 10, P. 173, AND FIG. 113)

All examples are already published and dated.

I.2.A. *Opus Sectile and Marble Inlay Decorations*

OS₁ – S/N 17 – *Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou*: Vocotopoulos has recorded marble-inlay decoration of the floor in the central nave.¹⁵

OS₂ – S/N 41 – *Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery*: Marble-inlay floors with geometric and animal patterns survive in the modern Katholikon; they have been dated in the twelfth century.¹⁶

OS₃ – S/N 49 – *Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia*: Vocotopoulos mentions traces of *opus sectile*.¹⁷

I.2.B. *Mosaics*

Mo₁ – S/N 17 – *Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou*: Vocotopoulos has recorded the existence of mosaic floors in the narthex and probably also in the aisles of the church.¹⁸

Mo₂ – S/N 70 – *Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi*: Small parts of the church's initial mosaic floor have been discovered in the central nave and the apse. It consists of panels with diamond-in-square patterns together with geometric motifs of highly-stylized foliage made of white, dark blue, orange-brown and dark red tesserae. It has been dated to somewhere between the late sixth to the eighth century.¹⁹

I.2.C. *Frescoes*

F₁ – S/N 9 – *Agrinio, Mavrikas, Ag. Triada*: Frescoes have been found in the nave and the narthex of the church. They belong to at least two different phases of decoration. Their publication is forthcoming.²⁰

F₂ – S/N 16 – *Mt. Arakynthos, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos*: The cave offers the only complete programme of painted decoration in the area. Frescoes are organized in iconographic cycles related to Christological themes and the Life of the Virgin. The paintings date to three different phases: a) late tenth – eleventh century, b) twelfth century and c) the early thirteenth century. They have been discussed in detail by Paliouras.²¹

¹⁵ Vocotopoulos 1992, 32, pls. 16α, 17β.

¹⁶ Bouras, Boura 2002, 93.

¹⁷ Vocotopoulos 1979, 121.

¹⁸ Vocotopoulos 1992, 31, pl. 17α,β.

¹⁹ Pallas 1977, 28; Vocotopoulos 1992, 179–181; Paliouras 2004a, 52–53; Sodini 1970, 723, note 42.

²⁰ Paliouras 2004a, 439.

²¹ Paliouras 2004a, 187–196.

F3 – S/N 45 – *Gavrolimni, Panagia Panaxiotissa*: One representation of Constantine and Helena as well as traces of other frescoes of average quality have survived in the church. Vocotopoulos has dated them to the eleventh century.²²

F4 – S/N 49 – *Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia*: Vocotopoulos has mentioned traces of frescoes.²³

F5 – S/N 50 – *Kandila, Ag. Eleoussa*: Several frescoes survive in the cave-monastery, among which a Virgin Platytera with an archangel and eight frontal saints. They have been dated to the late twelfth century.²⁴

F6 – S/N 63 – *Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon*: Some traces of painted decoration earlier than the seventeenth-century paintings of the church survive in a niche on the N wall of the sanctuary. It has been suggested by Konstantios that it represents St Anthony in a special iconographic type, without his usual monk's hood (*koukoulion*); he has dated it to the late eleventh or twelfth century.²⁵

F7 – S/N 70 – *Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi*: A few frescoes survive in the church: part of a donor portrait accompanies the Virgin Platytera in the apse, with eight officiating bishops below. Scenes from the Gospels and frontal saints survive in the SW corner. The paintings have been dated to the twelfth–thirteenth century.²⁶

F8 – S/N 74 – *Myrtia, Myrtia Monastery*: Of the paintings in the Katholikon, those in the sanctuary belong to the initial Middle Byzantine construction. They consist of two panels with representations of the Dormition of the Virgin and St Stefanos respectively. They have been dated to the late twelfth century.²⁷

F9 – S/N 84 – *Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon*: In 1980 a large part of the apse masonry preserving fresco decoration was found and dated to probably the eleventh century.²⁸

F10 – S/N 103 – *Stamna, Ag. Theodoroi*: Non-figural, painted decoration has been observed by Katsaros in two parts of the church: a) in the N niche of the E cross arm, near the NE corner (fig. 113a), b) in the sanctuary (fig. 113b). The N niche was decorated with a foliate cross. In the sanctuary,

²² Vocotopoulos 1992, 86.

²³ Vocotopoulos 1979, 123.

²⁴ Vocotopoulos 1968, 152–154; Paliouras 2004a, 300–301.

²⁵ Konstantios 1982b, 354.

²⁶ Paliouras 2004a, 197–9.

²⁷ Vocotopoulos 1967, 330, fig. 240α.

²⁸ Andreou 1980, 323; Chalkia 1980, 334–5.

the lower part of the apse was decorated with painted panels of geometric motifs. They have been dated to the second half of the ninth century.²⁹ A similar painting in Ag. Dimitrios in Thessaloniki has also been dated to the 9th–10th c.³⁰

F11 – *S/N 109 – Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres*: Four frescoes have survived in the cave-monastery. They were initially dated to the thirteenth century but this opinion has recently been reconsidered. It seems the frescoes date to the tenth or the eleventh century at the latest.³¹

I.3. ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

(TABLE 11, PP. 177–190, AND FIGS. 114–159)

All available (published and original) evidence on architectural sculptures of the seventh–twelfth centuries from the investigated area is presented in Table 11 in chronological order. Of all published sculptures only those necessitating re-evaluation or updating are here described; these have been discussed above in Part 2 – Chapter 2. All finds can either be found in situ (in their original or later uses) or they have been collected in at least three known storage rooms (in the Museum of Nikopolis, the Nafpaktos Mosque and beside the Parigoritissa church in Arta); all locations are also shown in Table 11.

3.1. *Published Evidence*

Sc1–Sc12 – *S/N 17 – Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou*: Twelve sculptures have been published by Vocotopoulos and dated with some reservations to the initial construction period of the building.³² They are as follows:

Sc1–Sc4 – Two mullions (Sc1, Sc2) preserving inscribed letters on their bases: an omega on the first, shown in fig. 114, and the letters ΠΑΥ on the second. Their matching pyramidal mullion-dosserets (Sc3, Sc4) were decorated with plain Latin crosses in relief with flaring terminals (fig. 116). They have the same letters inscribed on them as the mullions.

²⁹ Koder, Soustal 1981; Katsaros 1983, 153 ff.

³⁰ Panayotidi 1969, 33–34, pl. 17c.

³¹ Vocotopoulos 1967, 325; Paliouras 2004a, 80, 82; Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 536–9.

³² Vocotopoulos 1992, 34.

Sc5 – A very schematic Ionic capital bears engraved spiral scrolls rather than relief volutes (fig. 117).

Sc6–Sc8 – Three fragments of slabs have been embedded in the façade of the apse of the later church. They probably belong to the original closure slabs from the old church, which were decorated with centrally-placed medallions inscribed in rectangular double-banded frames (fig. 118). The first fragment is a corner part decorated with a stylized ivy-leaf in between the circle and the frame. The second fragment comes from the central part of a closure slab as is evident from the medallion containing an eight-petalled palmette. The third fragment is believed by Vocotopoulos to have belonged to the same closure-slab as the second; here, the space between the framing band and the central medallion is occupied by a stylized Sassanid-type palmette flanked by scrolls.

Sc9 – Another slab fragment (from a closure slab?) from the old church is decorated with an eight-pointed star inscribed in a circle (fig. 119) to the right of which part of a scroll can be made out.

Sc10 – A part of the epistyle from the old church has survived; it is decorated on both sides. The front is decorated with a continuous interlace pattern in which double bands surround a Maltese cross, an eight-pointed star, a four-petal palmette and a whorl (fig. 120a). The side facing down preserves similar decoration in two registers separated by a relief band: medallions include two eight-pointed stars and a whorl (upper register) and a Maltese cross, an eight-pointed star, a four-petal palmette, a whorl and another eight-pointed star (lower register) (fig. 120b). The motifs of the upper register have been disturbed by a groove, most probably of a later date.

Sc11–Sc12 – Fragments of columns and bases are also scattered around the courtyard (fig. 115).

Sc13–Sc16 – *S/N 96 – Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri*

Five sculptures from Ag. Dimitrios tou Katsouri have been photographed and published by Vocotopoulos.³³ They have also been mentioned by other researchers but they have not been discussed in detail or precisely dated.³⁴

³³ Orlandos 1922a, 11–12, fig. 6; Vocotopoulos 1992, 66, pls. 42, 43.

³⁴ Moutsopoulos 2002, 36–37; Papadopoulou 2002a, 25.

Sc13a–b – Two dossierets have been used instead of capitals in the three-light apse window (fig. 121).

Sc14 – A schematic Ionic impost capital has been built into the S wall (fig. 122).

Sc15 – A pyramidal dossieret of almost square cross-section, has been placed under the altar-slab (fig. 123).

Sc16 – A corbel has been built into the N side of the NW pier (fig. 124).

With the exception of the Ionic capital, the aforementioned sculptures are decorated with Latin crosses in relief with flaring terminals. Sc15 is decorated with a Greek cross. In Sc16, the cross is ornate with a branch-pattern in low relief while the terminals have curved edges. The capital is decorated with engraved spiral scrolls rather than relief volutes and egg-and-dart pattern.

3.II. *Unpublished or Undated Sculptures*

Sc17–Sc18 – *S/N 2 – Aetoliko, Panagia Finikia*

Sc17 – A sculpted marble band with low-relief decoration has been embedded over the lintel of the entrance doorway on the W façade (fig. 125). It is decorated with a double line forming an interlace pattern producing interconnected roundels. The central roundel includes a Maltese cross.

Sc18 – More sculptures have been embedded very high up in the E wall of the building. A mullion and part of a stone arch may be discerned.

Sc19–Sc20 – *S/N 4 – Aetoliko, Finikia, basilica*: During the excavation fragments of architectural sculpture were found.³⁵

Sc19 – Two columns of which one is spiral-fluted.

Sc20 – Fragment of a closure slab decorated with a peacock (fig. 126).

Sc21–Sc22 – *S/N 23 – Arta, Castle*: Two sculptures – one unpublished and one published but undated – have been located inside the Castle of Arta.

Sc21 – During survey a Middle Byzantine sculpture embedded in a wall of the Keep (Kastraki or Ickale) was noticed (fig. 127); to my knowledge

³⁵ Zafeiropoulou 1973–1974, pl. 349.

it has not yet been published. The sculpture served as the lintel of a small door leading into a tiny, inner room. It measures $0.91 \times 0.13 \times 0.19$ m and is decorated on at least both its visible sides. On the front, the decoration consists of a framed scroll with half-leaves of acanthus made in what looks like champlevé technique (fig. 127a). The under side of the sculpture is decorated with an antique fish-scale pattern dating most probably to the Hellenistic period (fig. 127b).

Sc22 – Nikolaos Moutsopoulos has published a photo of another sculpture made of poros stone and embedded in an inner chamber of the castle (fig. 128).³⁶ The piece depicts a lion and is quite damaged.

Sc23 – *S/N 20 – Arta, Ag. Vassilios*: A dossieret has been embedded in the E wall of the church. It is decorated with a foliate Latin cross in relief (fig. 131). The cross is plain with flaring terminals, rendered in relief, and it is flanked by the foliate motifs.

Sc24 – *S/N 31 – Arta, Panagia Kassopitra*: A fragment measuring 1.17×0.48 m has been embedded in the W wall of the church to the right of the entrance (fig. 132). It has been published by Orlandos.³⁷ The panel is decorated with a Maltese cross inscribed in a central medallion created by a single band. The band also creates interlace motifs and a rectangular frame with which the medallion is linked by double knots on at least two sides.

Sc25 – *S/N 38 – Drymos, Basilica 'A'*

A dossieret of a capital, decorated with a Greek cross in relief with double outline and flaring terminals was found during the excavation. A photograph has been published by Mastrokostas who has not discussed or dated the piece (fig. 133).³⁸

Sc26–Sc27 – *S/N 41 – Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery*: Several sculptures scattered around the courtyard have been published by Orlandos.³⁹ Others were embedded in the Katholikon; two of them have been taken into consideration as they seem to come from the Middle Byzantine phases of the church.

³⁶ Photograph by P. Papachatzakis in Moutsopoulos 2002, 14.

³⁷ Orlandos 1936, 179.

³⁸ Mastrokostas 1971, 190, fig. 8.

³⁹ See Table 11.

Sc26 – A fragment with relief decoration has been embedded in the S wall. The relief depicts a lion stands in the usual position for this iconography, i.e. in profile raising his front foot towards the Tree of Life (fig. 134).

Sc27 – A cornice fragment in a poor state of preservation is also embedded in the S wall of the Katholikon. Its decoration consists of a rinceau with half-leaves of acanthus (fig. 135).

Sc28–Sc31 – *S/N 7 – Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios*: Several fragments of carved architectural members lie scattered in and around the church: they have not been properly published and they have been vaguely dated by Paliouras to the Early Byzantine period.⁴⁰

Sc28 – Two columns of white marble with light blue veining (3.30m and 3.10m high), one granite column (0.78 m high)

Sc29 – Several small pieces – among which a lion's head perhaps part of a fountain or drain spout

Sc30 – Large marble sculpture very worn and placed upside down by the entrance (fig. 136)

Sc31 – Fragment of a slab decorated with a whorl in relief, square and embedded in a small niche on the W façade to the right of the entrance – the piece is hardly visible due to several layers of white paint on top of it (fig. 137).

Sc32–Sc34 – *S/N 49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia*: Some sculptures have been found in the excavation of the site or are still in situ in the church precincts. They have been mentioned by Vocotopoulos but have not been thoroughly discussed or precisely dated.⁴¹

Sc32 – A capital dossier was been found during the excavation; a photograph of it has been published by Vocotopoulos.⁴² It has engraved decoration consisting of a water-leaf flanked by tendrils (fig. 138).

Sc33 – A capital dossier, which has been restored to its place on top of a matching Ionic capital and column (fig. 139).

Sc34 – A second Ionic capital similar to Sc33 lies in the courtyard (fig. 140).

⁴⁰ Paliouras 2004a, 51.

⁴¹ Vocotopoulos 1980.

⁴² Vocotopoulos 1980, pl. 46.

Sc35 – *S/N 55 – Kefalos*: Among the sculptures discovered during the excavations of the site there are fragments of a mullion and a dossieret. A photograph of the dossieret has been published by Barla.⁴³ The dossieret is decorated with a cross outlined with a low-relief single band (fig. 141).

Sc36–Sc39 – *S/N 56 – Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias*: Eight unpublished sculptures decorate the exterior of the windows: four mullions and their dossierets.

Sc36 – Two dossierets, decorated by palmettes. The pattern is highly-stylized, the relief is extremely low – rather almost flat – and of average quality (figs. 142a–b).

Sc37 – A dossieret decorated with a schematic, outlined Latin cross with flaring terminals, of poor workmanship (fig. 142c).

Sc38 – A dossieret decorated with a Maltese cross with flaring terminals which have whorl peaks (fig. 142d).

Sc39 – Four colonettes of octagonal cross-section (figs. 142a–d). They preserve their bases and their capitals. Three of them have plain capitals while one has a capital with at least three decorated sides.

Sc40–Sc43 – *S/N 67 – Louros, Ag. Varnavas*: During survey the following unpublished sculptures have been noted, embedded in the walls of the church. Since they are covered by several layers of white paint, their decoration is barely discernible.

Sc40–Sc41 – Four sculptures flank the entrance to the church, placed so as to serve as a doorframe (figs. 110a, 143a–b): two similar piers which serve as jambs and two pilaster-capitals.

Sc40 – The pilaster-capitals have plain decoration consisting of parallel horizontal mouldings.

Sc41 – The piers have their front sides decorated by identical low-relief bands of interlocking circles. The one on the right has a groove of semi-circular cross-section (fig. 143a).

Sc42 – Another sculpture was embedded in the upper part of the S façade close to the SE corner of the church. It is part of a rectangular slab decorated with a band of a figure-of-squared-eight-shaped wicker-work reminiscent of meanders (fig. 144).

⁴³ Barla 1967, pl. 21γ.

Sc43 – Mullions have been used in the windows of the dome. Unfortunately, they are at a height which does not allow close investigation.

Sc44 – *S/N 76 – Nafpaktos, Castle*: A fragment of sculpture is embedded near the entrance to one of the N rooms in the Keep of the Castle, shown in fig. 14; to my knowledge it remains unpublished. It measures $0.54 \times 0.12 \times 0.18$ m and was probably a part of a cornice or an epistyle tie-beam. Its decoration is very fragmentary as several parts of its surface have been broken (fig. 145). It seems that its sculpted decoration was arranged over at least two panels. The right-hand panel had a simplified version of the motif of arcading supported by columns and capitals with acanthus palmettes framed in the arcading. On the left-hand part a band formed a scroll surrounding a medallion decorated in high relief, now lost.

Sc45 – *S/N 79 – Nafpaktos, Ag. Stefanos*: A fragment of a Byzantine sculpture has been embedded in the E façade of the church over an oeil-de-boeuf window (fig. 150). It has been mentioned in the literature but not dated.⁴⁴ The piece bears decoration consisting of a double (patriarchal) foliate cross.

Sc46–Sc48 – *S/N 84 – Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon*: During survey the following sculptures have been observed embedded in the church or scattered around its courtyard. They were obviously part of an earlier church or churches located on this site.⁴⁵

Sc46 – A fragment of a carved architectural member is embedded in the floor of the church serving as a threshold for the entrance in the S façade (fig. 152a). It is decorated with a pattern of acanthus scroll; the technique used is champlévé (for the scroll) and low-relief (for the half-leaves of acanthus).

Sc47 – A fragment of a small colonette is embedded in the E wall, above the roof of apse (fig. 153). It is a marble piece decorated with three transverse parallel mouldings.

⁴⁴ Konstantios 1991, 604; Papadopoulou 1992–1993, 191.

⁴⁵ The apse of one church dated in the eleventh century has been discovered in the site (see relevant entry in the Inventory, Part 5).

Sc48 – Two more colonettes with integral capitals and bases were embedded in the S wall of the church so as to create a sort of niche over the entrance (fig. 154). Fragments of columns are scattered around the courtyard of the church.

Sc49 – S/N 86 – *Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili*: Many Byzantine sculptures were recorded as having been found at this site during the excavations.⁴⁶ To my knowledge they are unpublished and undated but they are no longer in situ.

Sc50–Sc52 – S/N 101 – *Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery (old church)*: Some sculptures found during the excavation of the church are exposed *in situ* around the Middle Byzantine chapel. To my knowledge they have not been published.

Sc50 – The mullion dossier has decoration on its narrow side, consisting of a plain relief Latin cross with flaring terminals (fig. 155).

Sc51 – The capital is of the Corinthian type, with schematically rendered relief (fig. 156).

Sc52 – The slab fragment is decorated with an eight-pointed star inscribed in a medallion surrounded by foliage, all rendered in low relief (fig. 157).

Sc53 – S/N 104 – *Stefani, Ag. Varvara*: During the excavation of the site, three fragments of a closure slab decorated with interlacing palmettes were found.⁴⁷ They have not been individually published or precisely dated.

Sc54–Sc55 – S/N 113 – *Vlacherna, Vlachernae Monastery*: Two trapezoidal dossiers decorate the mullions of the three-light window of the SE apse of the church. They have been discussed and photographed by Moutsopoulos (fig. 158).⁴⁸

Sc54 – The left dossier is decorated with a plain Latin cross in relief with flaring terminals.

⁴⁶ Chalkia 1982, 275.

⁴⁷ Papadopoulou 1992b, 328–9; Papadopoulou 2006, 561.

⁴⁸ Moutsopoulos 2002, 61, fig. 9.

Sc55 – The second dossieret is decorated with a palmette with whorl-like lower ends.

Sc56 – *S/N 118 – Vonitsa, cemetery, Ag. Ioannis*: A sculpture in a very poor state of preservation has been embedded in the SE corner of the church. It is unpublished as is the church itself.

Sc57 – *S/N 117 – Vonitsa Castle, quayside, Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani*: A trapezoidal dossieret has been embedded in the modern church. Its front face is decorated but survives in a very bad state of preservation. Only a plain Greek cross in relief can be faintly made out (fig. 159).

I.4. CERAMICS AND TILES

(TABLE 12, PP. 212–217, AND FIGS. 160–200)

I.4.A. Pottery

Published evidence

P1 – *S/N 9 – Agrinio, Mavrikas, Ag. Triada*: A big amount mostly coarse ware pottery was said to have been brought to light by excavation, albeit not yet published in detail.⁴⁹

P2 – *S/N 18, 21, 22, 26–28, 35, 36 – Arta*: A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou has published evidence of Byzantine pottery found during the excavations of sites located within the city by the 8th Ephoreia of the Greek Archaeological Service.⁵⁰ Among the large quantity of Late Byzantine pottery she traced two groups which may be of an earlier date. The first group consists of sherds of Monochrome Green Glazed Ware with a silver iridescent glaze. The second group of vessels comprises bowls and jugs of the Green and Brown Painted ware (fig. 160). This type of pottery comes from the excavations of the *Kourti*, *Manara*, *Bakayani* and *Bandalouka Plots* and the ancient theatre. With reservations, due to the fact that this material has not been closely examined, I have also discussed the following pieces published by Charitonidou:

⁴⁹ Paliouras 2004a, 439.

⁵⁰ Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 453–472.

1. The imported Fine Sgraffito dish from the *Bakayani Plot* (fig. 161a) with 'Spiral Style' decoration⁵¹
2. The fragment of a Sgraffito dish from the *Bakayani Plot* (fig. 161b)
3. Fragments of bases of Sgraffito open vessels (dishes?) from the *Bakayani Plot* (nos. 171 A–B, fig. 161c)
4. A base fragment of an Incised Sgraffito vessel with 'Medallion Style' decoration from the *Bakayani Plot* (no. 117, fig. 161d).
5. Vessels nos. 106 and 142 from the *Bandalouka Plot* and no. 111 from Pyrou St. (figs. 161e–g).

In the deposition pit of the *Greka Synagogue* there was also Byzantine and later pottery which has not been published. The various types of Byzantine pottery have been described as Sgraffito wares, imported pottery and wares with Islamic influence.⁵² At the *Spai-Yanaki Plot* glazed and coarse ware pottery dated in the late twelfth and the thirteenth century has been found.

P3 – S/N 38 – *Drymos, secular building*: According to the excavator a sherd "possibly of a lamp" with an incised cross decoration was found during the excavation (fig. 162).⁵³

P4 – S/N 48 – *Kandila, Glosses, Castle and 'Byzantine Nerotrivio'*: One sherd of a Glazed Painted vessel and another with an incised Byzantine cross (fig. 163) were found on the surface in the castle area.⁵⁴

P5 – S/N 44 – *Evinochori, Calydon*: According to previous research "Byzantine" pottery has been traced on the surface around the antique settlement.⁵⁵

P6 – S/N 54 – *Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill*: According to Paliouras, pottery dated to the Middle Byzantine period has been found across the whole surface of the hill.⁵⁶ The upper part of the body of an amphora (fig. 164) and an ARS lamp with a bird in relief of the sixth or seventh century (fig. 165) were surface finds from the NW part of the hilltop in 1996.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Morgan 1942, 120–123, pl. XLI.

⁵² Papadopoulou 1992a, 390.

⁵³ Mastrokostas 1971, 193.

⁵⁴ Knauss 1995, fig. 19.

⁵⁵ Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 86; Katsaros 1985, 1530.

⁵⁶ Paliouras 1985, 229; Paliouras 2004a, 413.

⁵⁷ Dietz et al. 1998, 294, 303; Dietz 2006, 523.

In the refectory some Middle Byzantine pottery, both coarse ware and tableware, was found together with a quantity of sea-shells.⁵⁸ It consisted of:

1. A large number of sherds with ridged treatment of the surface (fig. 167).
2. Fragments of cooking-pots.
3. A plain glazed cooking-pot (τρυκάλιον) with one handle (fig. 168).⁵⁹
4. A fine sgraffito shallow dish decorated with a dragon pattern was also found (fig. 169).⁶⁰
5. More sherds of fine sgraffito, painted sgraffito or from painted glazed shallow dishes were found (figs. 170a, c–e).
6. A sherd of slip-painted, dotted or oyster/spotted style ware (fig. 170b).

P7 – S/N 55 – *Kefalos*: The excavation finds included ARS lamps which were dated by the excavator up to the end of the sixth century⁶¹ (see also P25 below).

P8 – S/N 60 – *Kryoneri*: Many sherds with ridged surfaces were found (fig. 172).⁶²

P9 – S/N 69 – *Macheras, Paleochori, Vristiana / Vlyziana*: Sherds of “Byzantine dishes” have been mentioned.⁶³

P10 – S/N 72 – *Megali Chora, Koimisi Theotokou at the Cemetery*: Two sherds of pottery were taken to the Museum of Agrinio in 1967, one of which was of unknown provenance (fig. 173b).⁶⁴ It has been described as fragment of a Byzantine dish with Green and Brown Painted Sgraffito decoration.

P11 – S/N 72 – *Megali Chora, Koimisi Theotokou at the Cemetery*: Of the aforementioned two sherds of pottery were taken to the Museum of Agrinio in 1967, one came from the village of Megali Chora (fig. 173a).⁶⁵ It was a part of the base of a Green and Brown Painted cup. It had a red-dish fabric and its interior – and maybe its exterior though this did not survive – was covered with a whitish yellow slip. Its painted decoration had a fish pattern.

⁵⁸ Paliouras 1985, 227–8.

⁵⁹ Bakirtzis 1989, Group A2, 33–38, Table 2–3.

⁶⁰ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 279, fig. 11.

⁶¹ Barla 1968, 23.

⁶² Kefallonitou 2004a, 489.

⁶³ Papatrechis 1981.

⁶⁴ Mastrokostas 1967, 324, pls. 233α–β.

⁶⁵ Mastrokostas 1967, 324, pls. 233α–β.

P12 – S/N 75–83 – *Nafpaktos*: Excavations in the Castle revealed sherds of glazed and sgraffito pottery in the N part of the citadel (in the ‘Bath House’ building)⁶⁶ and in the E tower of the enceinte.⁶⁷ Rescue excavations which took place in several parts of the city of Nafpaktos also brought to light Byzantine pottery of various periods. In the city centre, at the foot of the Castle mount, evidence of Green Sgraffito ware⁶⁸ as well as mixed evidence of pottery dating from the Early Byzantine to the Post-Byzantine periods has been found.⁶⁹ Papadopoulou has published some of these finds (fig. 174).⁷⁰

P13 – S/N 77 – *Nafpaktos, Ag. Dimitrios*: During the excavation mixed Roman, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine finds were found in disturbed strata.⁷¹ Byzantine pottery consisted of plain coarse ware sherds with ridged surfaces as well as painted, sgraffito and glazed wares.⁷²

P14 – S/N 100 – *Riza, Castle*: Pottery dated from the Classical to Post-Byzantine periods has come to light during the excavation on the plateau of the Panagia church (fig. 175).⁷³ This pottery has not been published.

P15 – S/N 104 – *Stefani, Ag. Varvara*: The excavation brought to light some plain glazed sherds perhaps with ribbed surfaces.⁷⁴

P16 – S/N 109 – *Varassova N-E, Ag. Pateres*: “Only Byzantine pottery” has been found during the Survey by the University of Ioannina.⁷⁵

P17 – S/N 110 – *Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos*: Several potsherds and vessels were found during the excavation of the cave. Apart from the abundant thirteenth- to fifteenth-century vessels this pottery included plain coarse ware and a plain glazed jar dated to the tenth century (fig. 176).⁷⁶

P18 – S/N 120 – *Vonitsa, Panagia Peninsula, Panagia*: The excavation brought to light pottery sherds of coarse ware, either plain or with ribbed or ridged surface treatment, as well as one from a green glazed vessel and a small lamp.⁷⁷

⁶⁶ Raptopoulos 1998–1999, 33, 35. For this – initially Middle Byzantine – building, see discussion in Part 2 – Chapter 1.II.2.

⁶⁷ Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 167.

⁶⁸ Papadopoulou 1990c.

⁶⁹ Petritaki 1987, 169.

⁷⁰ Papadopoulou 1998–1999, 273–290.

⁷¹ Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 170; Triantaphyllopoulos 1991, 596.

⁷² Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 170.

⁷³ Chrysostomou 1980, 316–320, pl. 162.

⁷⁴ The treatment is described as “pleated” (gr. πτυχωτή) by Papadopoulou (1992b, 328–329).

⁷⁵ Vasilakeris, Foundouli 2004, 539.

⁷⁶ Paliouras 1998–1999, 294–295; Paliouras 2004a, 425, fig. 26.

⁷⁷ Kefallonitou-Konstantiou 1987, 329.

Evidence recorded during Survey

P19 – S/N 3 – *Aetoliko, Finikia, Pleuron*: Many antique and medieval coarse ware fragments as well as RSW imitations have been observed in the area of Nea Pleuron. A small handle from a storage jar or table coarse ware is made of dark purplish-red, coarse-grained fabric with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture (fig. 177).

P20 – S/N 5 – *Aetos, Castle*: One ribbed sherd and two plain glazed sherds (fig. 178) of coarse wares have been located.

P21 – S/N 15 – *Angelokastro*: A large amount of surface pottery has been observed among which sherds of the following types were photographed:

1. coarse wares including a handle from a closed vessel
2. coarse wares with incised curved patterns (fig. 179)
3. Plain Glazed ware
4. Glazed Green Painted Red Ware (fig. 180).

P22 – S/N 37 – *Astakos, Castle*: Sherds of plain coarse wares have been observed.

P23 – S/N 7 – *Agios Georgios, Ag. Georgios*: A plain brown-glazed potsherd is built into the enceinte.

P24 – S/N 8 – *Agios Ilias, tower*: A large amount of surface pottery has been identified. The preponderant type was ribbed coarse wares, Plain Glazed Ware sherds (fig. 181) including the handle of a chafing-dish with pellet decoration and drops of transparent glaze (fig. 182), and two plain handles from small storage pots (one preserving part of the rim).

P25 – S/N 55 – *Kefalos*: The island was full of pottery, mainly of the following types:

1. Coarse ware potsherds plain or with ridged and ribbed surfaces among which fragments from the bodies, necks, shoulders and handles of different variations of amphorae and other transport vessels can be distinguished (figs. 183a–f).⁷⁸ The neck and handles of light brown/orange fabric (figs. 184, 185, 186) and the vertical round handle of orange fabric (fig. 187) possibly also belong to amphorae.
2. Sherds of red slip ware and imitations (fig. 189).
3. Coarse ware sherds of dark purplish-red fabric, coarse-grained with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture (fig. 190).

⁷⁸ Vroom 2005, 52–55.

P26 – S/N 62 – *Lefkada, Koulmos, Castle*: In the castle the lower part of a coarse ware closed table vessel of orange–reddish fabric with lime and fine micaceous inclusions has been recorded (fig. 191a). Near the ancient port at Alykes two fragments of a shallow dish rim have been observed. They seem to have been part of a Glazed White Ware II vessel with yellow, opaque glaze (fig. 191b).

P27 – S/N 63 – *Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon*: On the E wall of the church a Brown and Green Sgraffito bowl has been embedded as a *bacino* (fig. 192a) – originally there must have been three but nothing survives of the other two.

P28 – S/N 64 – *Lefkada, Vurnikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki*: A part of the base of a dish of Plain Green-Glazed Red Ware type has been recorded in the monastery (fig. 192b).

P29 – S/N 72 – *Megali Chora, Koimisi Theotokou at the Cemetery*: A sherd of a closed vessel of Glazed Green Painted red ware type has been recorded (fig. 193).

P30 – S/N 73 – *Monastiraki, Metamorphosi Sotiros*: Potsherds of plain coarse ware have been recorded. A handle fragment was of dark purplish-red fabric, coarse-grained with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture (fig. 194).

P31 – S/N 84 – *Nea Kerassounda, Kastro ton Rogon*: The luxuriant vegetation has hindered the detection of potsherds. Some coarse storage wares in a very bad state of preservation have been recorded.

P32 – S/N 86 – *Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili*: Pottery of the Ottoman period has only been recorded around the site.

P33 – S/N 101 – *Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery*: Some pottery found during the excavation of the Middle Byzantine chapel is exposed at the site (fig. 196).

P34 – S/N 102 – *Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies*: Two rim fragments from large storage vessels (*pithoi*) have been recorded; they were of dark purplish-red fabric, coarse-grained with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture (fig. 197).

P35 – S/N 105 – *Stratos*: Coarse ware potsherds have been recorded. An amphora handle of light beige-yellowish fabric has been observed in the forum next to the Middle Byzantine buildings (fig. 195). A fragment of a handle from a plain coarse table ware was made of dark purplish-red fabric, coarse-grained with large rounded lime inclusions and a sandy texture.

P36 – S/N 106 – *Trigardo, anc. Oeniades*: An amphora fragment has been recorded (fig. 198).

P37 – S/N 107 – *Varassova E, Ag. Dimitrios*: Many sea shells and plain coarse ware potsherds were noted, some of which had ribbed surfaces. Two fragments of handles were also recorded: one belonged to a small vessel of orange-red fabric while the second was part of a Byzantine amphora of light orange fabric coated with light beige slip (fig. 199).

P38 – S/N 116 – *Vonitsa, Castle*: In the castle two medieval sherds were recorded:

1. part of the body of a plain coarse storage vessel,
2. part of the base of an open vessel whose interior and exterior were covered with white slip.

P39 – S/N 119 – *Vonitsa, Panagia Alichniotissa*: A ribbed coarse sherd has been recorded.

P40 – S/N 121 – *Zalongo, Taxiarches*: A sherd of a slip-painted glazed jug has been recorded (fig. 200).

I.4.B. *Other Ceramics and Tiles*

C1 – S/N 54 – *Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill*: Around 200 loom weights were found collected in a corner in the storage room of the tenth-century chapel (fig. 166a); the weights were of various shapes (pyramidal, cone or discoid) and many had a workshop's identifying mark on their base. Some of them used a head of Heracles similar to the one depicted on the Hellenistic bronze currency which was found at the same place and which was evidently still in use.⁷⁹

C2 – S/N 55 – *Kefalos*: The excavation finds included loom weights (fig. 166b) and tiles with cross-shaped stamps;⁸⁰ the latter were very similar to the tile fragment found during the survey (fig. 188).

C3 – S/N 70 – *Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi*: The tiles which were found in the church measured approximately $7 \times 2.8 \times 3.4$ cm and most of them had straight or wavy lines as finger marks (fig. 171a). They probably date to the Middle Byzantine period according to Vocotopoulos.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Paliouras 2004a, 414.

⁸⁰ Barla 1968, 23, pl. 20.

⁸¹ Vocotopoulos 1992, 20.

C4 – S/N 77 – *Nafpaktos, Ag. Dimitrios*: During the excavation a small ceramic bread stamp (fig. 171a) was found together with mixed Roman, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine finds in disturbed strata.⁸²

C5 – S/N 101 – *Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery*: Some tiles found during the excavation of the Middle Byzantine chapel are exposed at the site (fig. 196).

C6 – S/N 104 – *Stefani, Ag. Varvara*: The excavation brought to light many tiles, some of them with cross-shaped stamps.⁸³ No photographs are provided.

I.5. METALWORK (TABLE 13, P. 233, AND FIGS. 201–209)

No metal finds have been located in the sites investigated by the survey. The evidence derived from the publication of earlier research into the investigated area is cited to give a general picture of the presence of metal objects at the sites.

M1 – S/N 9 – *Agrinio, Mavrikas, Ag. Triada*: The reverse of a metal reliquary cross from the G. Papatrechas Private Collection in Agrinio has been published by Paliouras and discussed by Pitarakis (fig. 201).⁸⁴ It is made of a copper alloy and has the shape of a Latin cross with flaring terminals. It has engraved – rather than the more common relief – decoration consisting of a central figure of the Virgin, and the Evangelists depicted in four medallions, one on each terminal.

M2 – S/N 26–28 – *Arta, Komenou Ave. – Mourganass St.*: At the *Spai-Yanaki Plot* a few metal objects were revealed by excavation and have been dated to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. Except for the censer, they have not been published in detail. They consisted of three tools or household utensils, three pieces of jewellery and dressing accessories, four nails and four unidentified objects. Eleven of these pieces were of copper alloys; two were iron and one of some other alloy.⁸⁵ An iron axe and a copper-alloy bell have been found at the *Seryani Plot* but they are also unpublished.⁸⁶ Two copper-alloy rings, a part of a thimble, two copper-alloy belt buckles,

⁸² Triantaphyllopoulos 1978, 170; Triantaphyllopoulos 1991, 596.

⁸³ Papadopoulou 1992b, 328–329.

⁸⁴ Paliouras 2004a, 39 and 35 (fig. 7); Pitarakis 2006, 208 (no. 69).

⁸⁵ Tsouris 1992, 501.

⁸⁶ Papadopoulou 1989b, 293.

a thirteenth-century censer⁸⁷ and an iron knocker have been found at the *Tachou-Muller Plot*⁸⁸ (with the exception of the censer they are unpublished). Fragments of two copper-alloy belt buckles, a copper-alloy finger-ring and a gold ring have been found at the *Kostadima Plot* (unpublished).⁸⁹ Unfortunately no photographs or dating or any other information is available with respect to these objects, so they are only useful as indicative statistical data on Byzantine households.

M3 – S/N 38 – *Drymos, Basilica 'A'*: A copper-alloy belt buckle in an excellent state of preservation has been found during the excavation of a grave and it was published by E. Mastrokostas in 1971 (fig. 202).⁹⁰ It measured $7.1 \times 2.9 \times 0.2$ cm, was of the rectangular type and was decorated in relief and with incised highly stylized representations of animals. The buckle preserved the oval rim with the tongue; they both preserved decoration of incised parallel lines. The tongue was triangular in section. On the front side of the plate there was relief decoration with chased details, within a frame decorated with incised geometrical patterns. The relief depicted a moving animal in profile; it was interpreted by Mastrokostas as a lion. The front side of the rectangular plate was decorated with an incised frontal bird with its wings spread (most probably an eagle).

M4–M6 – S/N 54 – *Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill*: Among the excavation and survey finds at this site there were iron nails, an iron belt buckle and a copper-alloy fibula.

M4 – The nails were found with the iron buckle inside grave 'E' in the Middle Byzantine chapel and they were rather poorly preserved (fig. 203).⁹¹

M5 – A few things can be said about the buckle which is a plain figure-of-eight-shaped one (fig. 204).

M6 – In the NW part of the plateau on the hilltop, close to the tower, a copper-alloy fibula (fig. 205) measuring 2.3×5.3 cm was found on the surface.⁹² It was in the shape of a bird and decorated with impressed dots and incised geometrical patterns.⁹³ This object has been vaguely dated to the Byzantine period.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, 550 (no. 752).

⁸⁸ Papadopoulou 1988b, 333.

⁸⁹ Papadopoulou 1988b, 331.

⁹⁰ Mastrokostas 1971, 186–187.

⁹¹ Paliouras 1985, 224–225; Paliouras 2004a, 413.

⁹² Dietz et al. 1998, 303.

⁹³ Veikou, *Buckles*.

⁹⁴ Dietz et al. 1998, 303.

M7–M9 – *S/N 55 – Kefalos*: At this site metal finds consisted of iron nails, a copper-alloy cross and an iron weight which have not been published in detail.

M7–M8 – The nails (M6) and the copper-alloy cross were found in the area of Basilica 'A'. The cross (M7) measured 3.8×2.3 cm.⁹⁵ If the drawing – which is the only published information on this object (fig. 206) – is accurate, one can tell that the cross had a slightly disproportionate (i.e. longer) upper arm to which the suspension ring was fixed. All the arms were flared and had trefoil terminals.

M9 – The iron weight, found during the excavation of Basilica 'B', was of the discoid type, with a diameter of 3.5 cm and weighing 51.04 grams.⁹⁶ It had a value of 12 *nomismata* as inscribed on the obverse ("N IB"); this inscription is flanked by two bands of incised net pattern (fig. 209).

M10 – *S/N 69 – Macheras, Paleochori, Vristiana / Vlyziana*: In 1910 a hoard of copper-alloy dishes was found here; tradition has them as "perhaps Byzantine".⁹⁷

M11 – *S/N 100 – Riza, Castle*: During an excavation on the plateau, where the church of Panagia is located, a copper-alloy buckle of the simple square type was found.⁹⁸ The excavator, Chrysostomou, never published it – he just noted that it was very similar to one from the seventh or eighth century found in Kruje in Albania (shown in fig. 208).⁹⁹

I.6. GLASS (TABLE 14, P. 238, AND FIGS. 210, 211)

No glass artefacts have been found during the survey; the only available evidence comes from finds recorded in published excavations. I present the finds associated with specific sites in the investigated area below.

G1 – *S/N 21–24, 26–28, 36 – Arta*: A considerable quantity of fragments from glass vessels have been found in several sites throughout the city. They are made of very thin glass and decorated with gold, silver and coloured paint.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Barla 1966a, 101, fig. 7; Barla 1966b, 91.

⁹⁶ Barla 1970, 95, pl. 143.

⁹⁷ Papatrechas 1981.

⁹⁸ Chrysostomou 1980, 320; *Idem* 1983, 30.

⁹⁹ Chrysostomou 1983, 30; Anamali 1964, 181 (pl. IX, no. 4), 154, 163.

¹⁰⁰ Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 468.

G2 – S/N 48 – *Kandila, Glosses, Castle*: Fragments of glass artefacts have been found around this area.¹⁰¹ They have not been published in detail.

G3 – S/N 49 – *Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia*: Glass fragments were found in the W Room of the settlement.¹⁰²

G4 – S/N 54 – *Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill*: During excavation many fragments of light-coloured glass vessels and window panes have been found (fig. 210).¹⁰³ A bead-shaped piece of glass was found in Grave 'E'.¹⁰⁴

G5 – S/N 55 – *Kefalos*: Fragments of glass artefacts have been found around this area during the excavations.¹⁰⁵ They have not been published in detail.

G6 – S/N 110 – *Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos*: The excavation of the site brought to light several fragments of glass artefacts, which have been dated to the Middle Byzantine period (fig. 211).¹⁰⁶ They have not been published in detail.

I.7. LEAD SEALS (TABLE 15, PP. 242–248, AND FIG. 212)

No seals have been found during the survey; the only available evidence comes from published excavation reports and museum collections (see Table 15). The exact provenance of these seal finds is unknown; they are associated in a very general way with the Themes of *Nikopolis* and *Kephallenia*. Finds with known provenance are the exceptions in this respect and consist of the following examples:

Se1 – S/N 19 – *Arta, Ag. Mercurios*: An overstruck lead seal has been found in excavations around the church (fig. 212).¹⁰⁷ It has been published by I. Koltsida-Makre; it seems that this seal was sent by Ioannis Vranas to Leon Sgouros, and from him to someone in Arta.¹⁰⁸

Se2 – S/N 69 – *Macheras, Vristiana / Vlyziana*: According to G. Papatrechas, a lead seal has been found at this site; it had a depiction of the Virgin and

¹⁰¹ Knauss 1995, 154.

¹⁰² Vocotopoulos 1980a, 35.

¹⁰³ Paliouras 1985, 224–5.

¹⁰⁴ Paliouras 1985, 228.

¹⁰⁵ Barla 1966b, 91; Barla 1966a, 101.

¹⁰⁶ Paliouras 1998–1999, 291–322; Paliouras 2004a, 180–182, 421–432, esp. 426 and 430 (fig. 29).

¹⁰⁷ Andreou 1977, 153; Triantaphyllopoulos 1977, 167, note 45; Papadopoulou 1992a, 382; Papadopoulou 2002a, 19 (photograph).

¹⁰⁸ Koltsida-Makre 1990.

St Thomas on the obverse and an inscription in 7 lines on the reverse. According to Papatrechas, Oikonomides read the inscription and suggested that the seal belonged to Ioannis Protospatharios [and] Judge of Kephallenia (Ἰωάννη πρωτοσπαθάρῳ Κριτῇ Κεφαλληνίας) and should be dated to the eleventh century.¹⁰⁹

I.8. NUMISMATIC FINDS (TABLE 16, PP. 251–255, AND FIGS. 209, 213–216)

No coins have been found during the survey; the only available evidence comes from numismatic finds recorded in published excavations. I present the finds associated with specific sites below while a detailed record of available data arranged in a chronological chart is shown in Table 16. This will allow us to map the overall pattern of coin circulation in the investigated area during the seventh to twelfth centuries. The table also includes the numismatic evidence recorded for the sixth century, purely for the purpose of indicating the presence of coins which could have remained in use for several decades after their initial circulation.

N1 – S/N 4 – *Aetoliko, Finikia, Basilica*: It was found during the excavation of the basilica in unknown exact location.¹¹⁰

N2–N6 – S/N 43, 72 – *Agrinio*: The exact spot where the Agrinion Hoard was found in 1959 is unclear, yet it must have been “somewhere in or near the city”.¹¹¹

N7–N10 – S/N 24, 27, 36 – *Arta*: They were found in excavations of sites in the city of Arta. N7 was found in the cemetery at Pyrou St.¹¹² and so was N8.¹¹³ N9 have been found at Pyrou St. as well as at the *Bandalouka-* and *Spai-Yanaki Plots*.¹¹⁴ N10 have been found in the same locations as N9.¹¹⁵

N11–N17 – S/N 30 – *Arta, Old Bridge, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra*: During the excavation of the interior of the church, two thirteenth-century coins were found at a level approximately 1.80–1.90m deep; at the same level the following possibly earlier ones have been recorded:¹¹⁶ N11 (damaged)

¹⁰⁹ Papatrechas 1981; Papatrechas 1998, 132.

¹¹⁰ See Grierson 1973, vol. 3, part 2, 676, no B.1 ff.

¹¹¹ Thompson 1968, 1; Metcalf 1980; Oikonomidou et al. 1992, 117.

¹¹² Karamessini-Oikonomidou 1969, 248.

¹¹³ Vavlopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 459; Vocotopoulou 1967, 342; Vocotopoulou 1975, 210–211.

¹¹⁴ Oikonomidou et al. 1992, 108.

¹¹⁵ Oikonomidou et al. 1992, 108.

¹¹⁶ Vocotopoulos 1972b, 461.

was found in the S wall of the E cross-arm, N12 was found in the centre of the S cross-arm,¹¹⁷ N13 (damaged) was found at the SW corner of the W cross-arm.

The excavation of the courtyard of the church produced the numismatic finds N16–N20 as well as a thirteenth-century coin and a Late Roman one found at a level of 2.30m.¹¹⁸ N14 was found 1m to the W of the entrance to the church, at the level of the original church floor.¹¹⁹ N15 was found to the W of the entrance.¹²⁰ N16 (two items, very worn) were found close to N15. N17 (very worn) was found close to N16.

N18–N28 – *S/N 39 – Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Ag. Ioannis and Metochi Paleopanagias*: Near this site, at Parasporitsa close to the village of Drossato, a hoard of 34 coins was found in 1960.¹²¹

N29 – *S/N 43 – Ermitsas River, Taxiarchis*: During the excavation of the site, F. Kefallonitou-Konstantiou recorded imprecise numismatic finds dating to the twelfth century.¹²²

N30–N31 – *S/N 49 – Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia*: Two coins were found during the excavations of the site in unknown exact locations: N30¹²³ and N31.¹²⁴

N32 – *S/N 54 – Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill*: The excavation revealed a tenth-century coin hoard. It remains unpublished, though from the picture one may assume that it consisted of *folleis* (fig. 215).¹²⁵

N33–N60 – *S/N 55 – Kefalos*: During the excavation a total of 75 bronze coins (figs. 209, 213) were found.¹²⁶ The exact find locations are given below.

Basilica 'A'

The excavation of the later annexe with the banquette, built over the narthex and the exo-narthex of the basilica, brought to light the following numismatic finds:¹²⁷ N33 (damaged), N34 (very worn), N35, N36 (fig. 209),

¹¹⁷ See Hendy 1969, pl. 17 (nos. 17–18).

¹¹⁸ Vocotopoulos 1972b, 463.

¹¹⁹ See Hendy 1969, pl. 23 (nos. 1–5).

¹²⁰ See Hendy 1969, pl. 17 (nos. 17–18).

¹²¹ Galani-Krikou et al. 2002, 85.

¹²² Kefallonitou 1998, 24.

¹²³ Vocotopoulos 1972a, 113.

¹²⁴ Vocotopoulos 1981a, 81.

¹²⁵ Paliouras 2004a, 409, 419.

¹²⁶ Bowden 2003a, 188.

¹²⁷ Barla 1967, 32, pl. 24; Barla 1968, 21.

N37 (struck over another coin), N38 (very damaged, struck over another coin), N39 (struck over an older coin),¹²⁸ N40 (fig. 216), N41 (struck over another coin, fig. 216),¹²⁹ N42.

Basilica 'B'

The excavation of the basilica produced 27 copper coins of which 15 were found inside the annexe described as *Room E*.¹³⁰ Of these N43 was found near *Wall ζ*, N44 near the *Wall β*, N45, N48, N52 (damaged), N53, and N59–N60 (fig. 209) inside *Room E*, N46 near *Wall γ*, N47, N49 (damaged), N55 (fig. 209), N56 in unspecified exact location, N50 inside *Room E* by *Wall ζ*, N51 in the base of *Wall α*, N54 inside the graves of *Room Θ*, N57 in the junction of *Wall γ* and *Wall δ*, N58 at the East edge of *Wall δ*.

N61 – *S/N 69 – Macheras, Vristiana / Vlyziana*: Papatreches mentions the presence of coin finds, including issues by John I Tzimiskis (969–976).¹³¹

N62 – *S/N 82 – Nafpaktos, Town Hall*: The two coins were found during the excavation of the late Roman building (fig. 213).¹³²

N63 – *S/N 87 – Neochori, 'Sti Skamia'*: In the graves of this site five copper coins have been found.¹³³

N64 – *S/N 88 – Nikopolis*: It was found during the excavation of the fortification walls.

N65 – *S/N 95 – Platanos*: Byzantine coins (sic) have been found in the centre of the village.¹³⁴

N66 – *S/N 100 – Riza, Castle*: During the excavation on the plateau, where the church of the Panagia is located, an extremely worn Byzantine copper coin was found.¹³⁵

N67 – *S/N 104 – Stefani, Ag. Varvara*: The 13 copper coins brought to light during excavation.¹³⁶

¹²⁸ See Morrisson 1970, II, 276–279.

¹²⁹ See Grierson 1973, vol. 3, part 2, 565–7.

¹³⁰ Barla 1970, 96–97.

¹³¹ Papatrechas 1998, 132.

¹³² Konstantios 1981b, 293.

¹³³ Vocotopoulos 1967, 330, pl. 239β–γ; Koder, Soustal 1981, 202.

¹³⁴ Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 103.

¹³⁵ Chrysostomou 1980, 320.

¹³⁶ Papadopoulou 1992b, 328–9; Papadopoulou 2006, 561.

N68–N69 – *S/N 105 – Stratos, anc. Stratiki*: During the excavation of the forum the coins N68 and N69 (fig. 214) were found as well as some from the fourth and thirteenth centuries.¹³⁷

N70 – *S/N 110 – Varassova S, Ag. Nikolaos*: The coin was found during the excavation of the cave in unspecified exact location.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Nerantzis 1997, 134.

¹³⁸ Paliouras 2004a, 432.

APPENDIX TWO

ABSTRACTS OF BYZANTINE TEXTS USED IN TRANSLATION IN THIS WORK

1. TREATISE BY CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNITOS, CA. 952

ΟΣΑ ΔΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΞΕΙΔΕΥΕΙΝ

Κωνσταντίνος ὁ μέγας, μέλλων ταξειδεύειν, ἐβουλευέτο τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν πείραν τῶν ἐρωτωμένων, ποῦ δεῖ ταξειδεῦσαι καὶ πότε. ἐκ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ταύτης εὐρών τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν, ἡρεύνα καὶ, τίνες ἄλλοι γινώσκουσι ταῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸ ὀλίγου χρόνου, καὶ μαθὼν, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι ἔμπειροι τούτων εἰσὶ, συνήγε καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡρώτα ἰδίως καὶ ἰδίως ἕκαστον, πόση ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα ἀπὸ τὰ οἰκούμενα εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν καὶ ποδαπή, καὶ εἰ μία ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαὶ αἱ εἰσάγουσαι εἰς αὐτήν, καὶ εἰ ἄνυδρά εἰσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωρία ἢ ἔνυδρα, εἶτα ποία ὁδὸς ἐστὶ στενόχωρος καὶ κρημνώδης καὶ ἐπικίνδυνος καὶ ποία πλατεία καὶ εὐδιάβατος, καὶ εἰ τίς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ποταμὸς μέγας καὶ μὴ δεχόμενος πόρον. εἶτα ἡρώτα περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας, πόσα κάστρα ἔχει, καὶ ποία τούτων εἰσὶν ὄχυρά καὶ ποία ἀνόχυρα, καὶ ποία πολυάνθρωπα καὶ ποία ὀλιγάνθρωπα, καὶ ἀπὸ πόσου διαστήματος ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ, καὶ ποδαπὰ εἰσι τὰ χωρία τὰ παρακείμενα αὐτοῖς, μεγάλα ἢ μικρά, καὶ οἱ τόποι ὁμαλοὶ ἢ ἀνώμαλοι, βοτανηφόροι ἢ ξηροὶ· ταῦτα δὲ ἡρώτα διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν ἵππων.

Εἶτα ἡρώτα, ποῖος λαὸς παράκειται ὁ δυνάμενος βοηθεῖν τοῖς κάστροις ἐκείνοις ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, καὶ ἀπὸ πόσου διαστήματός εἰσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πότε εἰσὶν ἔτοιμοι εἰς ταξείδιον, καὶ πότε διεσπαρμένοι καὶ ἐπαναπαυόμενοι εἰς τὰ ἴδια καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀσύμφθαστοι, καὶ εἰς ποίους τόπους ταξειδεύουσι καὶ πότε ἢ οὐδέποτε ταξειδεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας εἰσὶ πάντοτε. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ἡρώτα καὶ περὶ ἄλλων χωρῶν, ἵνα ὠρισμένως μὴδεὶς οἶδεν, εἰς ποίαν χώραν βούλεται ταξειδεύειν. πολλάκις γάρ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων μηνυθέντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἠσφαλίσαντο τὰ ἴδια ἢ καὶ πρὸς παράταξιν | εὐτρεπίσθησαν.

Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐρωτήσας καὶ μαθὼν, ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς ἐγγράφως δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ ἀπληκτα καὶ τὰ διαστήματα αὐτῶν, καὶ πόσου λαοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ χώρασις αὐτῶν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀπασῶν ἀποκρίσεων μαθὼν, ὅτι ἀκίνδυνός ἐστιν ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ὅτι δυνατὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἔκβασις τοῦ ταξειδίου καὶ ὅτι ἔνδοξόν ἐστὶ τὸ ταξείδιον καὶ βασιλέως παρουσίας ἄξιον, καὶ ὅτι συμμαχίαν ὁ τόπος οὐ δέχεται, ἢ δέχεται μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον οὐ δέχεται, καθ' ὃν μέλλουσι ταξειδεύειν, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς ταῦτα διδάσκοντας εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαναμνηνῆσκοντας καὶ διδάσκοντας τὰ λείποντα.

Ἐπελαμβάνετο δὲ τῆς φροντίδος τοῦ ταξειδίου, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐπέτρεπε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς κεφάλαια ταῦτα ᾗ πρῶτον μὲν, ἀμφιάσαι || καὶ ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ κάστρα ᾗ δεύτερον δέ, ἐπιστήσαι ἀνδρας ἐπιτηδείους εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἵνα εἰ συμβῇ ἔλθειν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐχθροὺς, αὐτοὶ ἐκσπηλεύσωσι τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀπάγουσιν εἰς τὰ ὀχυρώματα ᾗ τρίτον, ἀμφιάσαι τὸν στρατὸν τὰ δέοντα καὶ δυνατὰ περὶ τε ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους ᾗ τέταρτον, ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰς βίγλας τοῦ σπουδάζειν μαθάνειν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀναφέρειν αὐτὰ ᾗ πέμπτον, εὐτρεπίζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς γεφύρας, ἔνθα ὁ στρατὸς μέλλει διαβιβάζεσθαι καὶ ἔνθα πόρον ὁ ποταμὸς οὐκ ἔχει ᾗ ἕκτον, παραγγέλλειν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἵνα τοὺς ἀπομένοντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταβαγείαν, ἕως τινὸς μὲν χρόνου ἐλαύνωσιν εἰς τὸ ταξίδιον, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν τὸν λαόν, ἵνα κρύπτωσιν αὐτοὺς δεσμίους.¹

2. *STRATEGIKON* OF THE 6TH OR 9TH CENTURY, COPIED BY CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNITOS²

Περὶ φρουρίων

Τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐξηύρηται πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρουσίας, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν αὐτομόλων ὑποδοχὴν, τρίτον διὰ τὸ κατέχειν τοὺς ἡμετέρους φυγάδας, καὶ τέταρτον διὰ τὸ ἀθρόον ἐμπίπτειν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τὰ ἄκρα οἰκοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ μᾶλλον λείας ἕνεκα ἢ ἀνακρίσεως τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τελουμένων καὶ | περὶ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ καθ' ἡμῶν βουλευόνται.

Δεῖ δὲ τὰ φρούρια πλησίον ποιεῖν τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ μὴ πόρρω ἀφεστηκότα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς παρόδου, ὥστε μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοικοῦντας τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάροδον, μὴ δ' οὕτω πλησιάζειν τοῖς ἀναπεπταμένοις χωρίοις ὥστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκ τοῦ λίαν σύνεγγυς ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐκείσε προσεδρευόντων διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐπιτηδειότητα μηδὲνα τῶν ἡμετέρων συγχωρεῖσθαι, εἴγε χρεῖα τούτου γένηται, μήτε εἰσιέναι κατὰ φρούριον μηδ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν θέλοντας ἐξίεναι.

Ἀσφαλίζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐ μᾶλλον τεχνικῇ ἢ φυσικῇ ὀχυρότητι, καὶ μὴ ἀποτίθεσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς πλοῦτον μήτε συνάγειν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα μὴ τῷ φθόνῳ τούτων ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι παρακάθηνται. ἔνθα δυσχερὲς μὲν ἡμῖν ἐτοίμως τοὺς ἰδίους συνάξει πρὸς πόλεμον, αὐτοῖς δὲ ῥᾶον προπαρασκευασαμένοις τὴν ἔξοδον.

Τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας κατ' αὐτὰ τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα, ᾧ τινι πάσα ἡ τοῦ φρουρίου φροντίς ἐμπεπίστευται, γνῶριμον μὲν ἐπ' εὐσεβεῖα τυγχάνειν μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρέπει ἄρχουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείσε κατοικοῦντας μὴ ἔχειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν

¹ *Constantine Porphyrogenitos, Treatises*, 82–84; Koutava-Delivoria 1993, I, 85.

² The text is widely known as the 6th-century Anonymi Strategikon copied by Porphyrogenitos; an alternative suggestion for a 9th-century dating of the original text written by Syrianus has been given recently by Rance (2008).

τάς τε γυναίκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔχειν πάντως τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μέρος ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ἵνα τῷ πόθῳ τούτων μήτε πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φεύγοιεν μήτ' ἄλλως προδιδοίεν τὰ φρούρια. μένειν δὲ οὐκ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους ἐναλλάττεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἀναστρεφόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκων ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια παραγενομένων. εἰ δὲ τῶν σφόδρα ἀσφαλεστάτων ὑπάρχει τὰ φρούρια ὥστε κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον πολιορκεῖσθαι. σιτοδοτεῖσθαι δὲ ἀνεμποδίστως δύνανται παρ' ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ τὰς ἰδίας φαμηλιάς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκέισε διὰ βίου τελεῖν.³

Περὶ οἰκοδομῆς πόλεως

Δεῖ δὲ μέλλοντας πόλεις κτίζειν πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπεῖσθαι τὸ χωρίον, εἰ τὸ μέλλον ἐπ' αὐτὸ κτίζεσθαι τεῖχος ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἔσται ποτὲ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου θέσιν.

Δεύτερον δὲ πειράσαι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ | γινῶναι εἰ πρὸς πόσιν ἀκίνδυνον καὶ εἰ ἀρκούντως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως χορηγίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι καταφεύγειν εἰς αὐτὴν μέλλοιεν ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἐκτὸς εἴη τοῦ τεύχους τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀνάγκη ἢ παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως ἢ μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς ἀντλοῦντας ἐπιδημούντων τῶν πολεμίων.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ εἰ λίθον ἔχει τέμνεσθαι δυνάμενον ἢ τετμημένον ἤδη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πόρρωθεν μετὰ πολλῶν συναγόμενον τῶν κινδύνων, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ τὸ ξύλον μὴ λίαν μακρόθεν μηδὲ διὰ δυσβάτων τόπων ἀποφέρεται ὥστε ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων συντέλειαν.

Καὶ τέταρτον, εἰ σιτοφόρας ἡ χώρα καθέστηκεν ἢ καὶ ἄλλοθεν σιτοδοτεῖσθαι δύναται, ὁμοίως δὲ εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκείθεν τρέφεσθαι οἱ πολῖται δύνανται. κἂν μὲν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχῃ, θαρρεῖν τῇ κτίσει, εἰ δὲ μὴ, λυσιτελεῖς ταύτην παραιτεῖσθαι.⁴

Ποῦ δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν

Χωρία τοίνυν ἐπιτήδεά ἐστιν εἰς κτίσιν πόλεως, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μέλλοι πλησιαίτερα κεῖσθαι τῶν ὄρων, ὅσα κατὰ λόφων κεῖται, κρημνοὶ δὲ κύκλῳ τὴν ἀνοδὸν ἀποφράττουσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κυκλοῦται ἢ κυκλοῦσθαι δύναται οὐ δυναμένων ἄλλοθι μεταφέρεισθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἢ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κείμενα ἰσθμῶν ἔχει θέσιν ὀλίγῳ παντελῶς μέρει τῇ ἡπείρῳ συναπτόμενα.

Χρὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰρημένων θέσεων μὴ καθ' ὑδάτων κεῖσθαι τὸ τεῖχος, ῥᾶον γάρ ἂν τοῦτο διὰ νεῶν καὶ κατενεγκεῖν κάτωθεν ὑπορύττοντας καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἄνωθεν ἐπιτρέχοντας, ὥστε φανερόν τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς. ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ τεῖχος μήτ' ἔλαττον πηχῶν λ', ὥς ἂν μὴ τὰς ναῦς

³ *Strategika*, θ', 28–30.

⁴ *Strategika*, ι', 30.

πυργοποιήσαντες εἴτα μηχαναῖς τισι χρώμενοι ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβαίνουσι ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει, μήτε πάλιν πλέον πηχῶν ρ'. λυσιτελεῖς μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀσύμφορον νῦν μὲν ἐξιούσι τῶν πλοίων μετὰ πλείστων τῶν τραυμάτων, νῦν δὲ ἐπαναστρέφουσι καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα μετὰ πλείστων τῶν κινδύνων. φθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡσαύτως τὰ βέλη καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι λίθοι, οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ τάχους τῶν νεῶν ἀποβήσονται καὶ αὖθις ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναβήσονται ὡς κατὰ πεδίου τρέχοντες, εἴτα ἐπαναστρέφοντες καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι σκεπόμενοι. καὶ (περὶ) | μὲν ἀσφαλείας τόπων, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν τόπων φυσικῆς ὀχυρότητος, ταῦτα.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι πολλοὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ὁρῶντες καὶ ταύτην διὰ παντὸς ἐστάναι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴν πόλεις μεγάλας ποιεῖν ἔμελλον, οὐ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἢ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐφρόντιζον, διὸ κατὰ πεδίων ταύτας πολλὰκις ἀνωκοδόμεναι κήποις τε καὶ παραδείσοις καὶ λειμῶσιν ὠραϊζόμεναι. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἄδηλον τῶν ἐπισυμβαίνοντων ὁρῶντες καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μᾶλλον τῆς εὐπρεπείας προκρίνοντες ἐκεῖ ταύτας ποιεῖν βουλευόμεθα καὶ τείχη περιβαλεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀδυνατεῖ μηχανήματα.

Γένοιτο δ' ἂν ποτε καὶ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ πόλις ὀχυρὰ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν λίθων καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ προσέτι τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν, κἂν μὴ ποταμοῖς ἢ θαλάττῃ ἢ κρημνοῖς βοηθεῖται. δεῖ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις πρῶτον μὲν πορρωτάτω τῶν ὄρων κτίζειν διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ λανθανούσας ἐπιδρομὰς, δευτέρῳ δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν αὐτὰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον τρόπον.⁵

Πῶς δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν

Δεῖ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πάχος τῶν τειχῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον πέντε πηχῶν ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πηχῶν εἴκοσι, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸ μὴ κατασεῖσθαι ἢ κριοῖς διασειόμενα ἢ λίθοις βαλλόμενα οὓς πετροβόλοι μηχαναὶ ἀποπέμπουσι, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ αἱ κλίμακες ῥαδίως τῷ τείχει προσπίπτουσι καὶ οἱ δι' αὐτῶν ποτε ἀνιόντες ἀκίνδυνον ἔχωσι τὴν ἀνάβασιν.

Συμβάλλεται δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τείχεσιν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων τῶν πύργων καὶ τοῦ τείχους βοήθεια. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς πύργους ποιεῖν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἔξω αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἀπέναντι τῶν πολιορκούντων ἐξαγώνους τε καὶ ἰσοπλεύρους, τῶν μὲν δύο εὐθειῶν ἀναιρουμένων ὑφ' ὧν ἡ ἐντὸς γωνία γίνεται, μίας δ' ἂντ' αὐτῶν ἐπιξευγνυούσης τὰς παραλλήλους εὐθείας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνδοθεν αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν κυλινδροειδεῖς, ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους, λήγοντος δὲ κατ' ἴσον τοῦ κέντρου τοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν πληροῦντος ἡμισφαίριου ἐφ' ᾧ βεβήκασιν οἱ κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

Τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπάλλξεις ἐγγωνίους γίνεσθαι, ὥστε ὑποβλέφαρα ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχοντα τὸ βάθος σπιθαμῶν τριῶν, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ ἰσχυροτέρας

⁵ *Strategika*, ια', 32.

εἶναι τὰς ἐπάλλξεις ὥστε μὴ πάσχειν ῥαδίως ταῖς τῶν λίθων βολαῖς, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλλξεων τεταγμένους καὶ μὴτε συμπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν παρερχομένων μῆτε μὴν ἐμπόδιον ἐκείνοις καθίστασθαι.

Παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ὑπὲρ γῆν κτίσματος τὰ κάτω ἄχρι πηχῶν ἑπτὰ, εἶγε εὐποροῖμεν, διὰ μεγίστων λίθων οἰκοδομείσθωσαν. τοὺς δὲ τοιοῦτους λίθους μεγίστους καὶ σκληροὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀρμόζοντας καὶ τὰ μήκη κατὰ βάθος ἔχειν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν κριῶν διασειεσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν χελωνῶν διορύττεσθαι.

Ἀσφαλὲς δὲ καὶ προτειχισμάτων φροντίζειν, τοῦτο μὲν ὑποδοχῆς ἔνεκα τῶν οἰκείων, ἐπειδὴν ἀγρόθεν ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καταφεύγοιεν, ὥς μὴ πάντῃ στενοχωρεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντας δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπομάχεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ προσκόπτειν τὰς χελώνας καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥαδίως κατὰ τοῦ τείχους χωρεῖν.

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τούτου τάφρον ἀνορύττειν ὥστε δυσὶ τούτοις, προτειχίσματα καὶ τάφρω, τὸ τεῖχος φυλάττεσθαι. τὴν δὲ τάφρον ποιήσομεν τὸ μὲν πλάτος οὐκ ἔλαττον πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ βάθος πλέον ἢ ὁπόσον ἂν ἔχοι τὸ βάθος τῶν θεμελίων, ἵνα ὑπογείους τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπειδὴν τὴν διώρυχα φθάσωσιν, ἀνακαλυπτόμενοι διελέγχονται. τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διώρυχος ἀναφερόμενον χοῦν ἀναγκαῖον μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἀποφέρειν καὶ καθαμαλίζειν, ἔνθα που οἱ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπομαχόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ τόπου ἐπιτηδεϊότερον τῶν πολεμίων καταγωνίσονται.

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆς διώρυχος γινέσθω κάπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσαι ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ κεῖνται. καθόλου δὲ, ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ λόφων κεῖνται, δυνατόν δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνιέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μάλλον διὰ τάφρων ἔξουσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἢ ὧδέ πως ποιούντων ἡμῶν. ἀποστάντες τοῦ τείχους πηχῶν τριάκοντα ἢ τεσσαράκοντα, εἴτα κύκλῳ κατὰ κάθετον περιελόντες τὸν χοῦν ἔξω θήσομεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶνές, ὥστε δύο ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κωλύοντα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἄνοδον, τὴν τε τομὴν τῆς γῆς οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ βάθος ἔχουσαν ἢ πήχεις τρεῖς καὶ τὸν πλησιάζοντα τόπον αὐτῇ ὀξύτερόν τό καὶ δυσανάβατον τῇ ἐπιχώσει γενόμενον.⁶

3. MAURICE'S *STRATEGIKON* COPIED IN THE *TAKTIKA* BY LEO VI (CA. 900)

Χρή τὰ ἀναγκαιότερα πάντα ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρωτέροις φρουρίοις συλλέγειν (...). Χρή τὰ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ὀχυρά φρούρια προασφαλίζεσθαι καὶ μέρος τῆς στρατιάς

⁶ *Strategika*, ιβ', 34-36.

πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κίνησιν ἀφανῶς συμμεθιστὰν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν. Χρὴ παρασκευάζειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων ὀχυρῶν τόπων μεθίστασθαι καὶ εἰς ὀχυρωτέρους καταφεύγειν τόπους.⁷

(...)

Χρὴ προκατασκοπῆσαι ἀκριβῶς τόπον ὀχυρὸν δυνάμενον διὰ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ξηρᾷ ὕλῃ περιβληθῆναι καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν φυλαχθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ προσβολῆς ἐναντίων· καὶ ἐάν εἰσὶν ὕλαι πλησίον λίθου ἢ ξύλου ἢ πλίνθου ἔτοιμης, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ὕδωρ ἢ ἐπινοηθῆναι δυνατόν. (...) Καὶ εἰ μὲν λίθος ἢ πλίνθος εὐρίσκεται, οἰκοδομησάτω ξηρὸν δεῖ καὶ δεῖσαι διὰ ξύλων ἀσφαλῶς καὶ συνεχῶς· εἰ δὲ ξύλα μόνον εἰσὶ, δι' αὐτῶν ἀποκλείσαι ὀλίγον καὶ ὀχυρὸν τόπον καὶ μὴ μέγαν τέως. (...) Ἀδείας δὲ γενομένης εὐθέως κατ' ὀλίγον ἀποτεριχίζουσι τοὺς πρὸς ποιητὸν οἰκοδόμημα, καὶ ἐγχορήγῳ ἰσχυρὸν κτίζειν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον φροντίζειν. (...) Εἰ δὲ ἀπόρως πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ τόπος ἔχει μηδὲ ρυτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος, μηδὲ ἐν ὀρύγματι εὐρισκομένου, δεῖ ἢ πίθους ὀστρακίνας ἢ βουττία προευνεπίζειν καὶ γεμίζειν ὕδατος καὶ κόχλακας ἐν αὐτῷ ποταμίους ῥίπτειν... καὶ φθάσαι κινστέρνα οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ ὁμβριον ὑποδέξασθαι ὕδωρ. Δυνατὸν ἐστὶ καὶ (...) ξυλίνης κινστέρνης συμμετρου κατασκευάσαι (...) ἐχούσας εἴκοσι ἐπὶ δέκα πόδας μῆκος καὶ ὕψος ὀκτώ ἢ δέκα, μέχρις οὗ ἐγχορήγοι αἱ κινστέρναι γέγονται.⁸

4. *STRATEGIKON* BY NIKEPHOROS PHOCAS (963–969)

Πρὸς πολιορκίαν δὲ κάστρου κατανοῶν εὐτρεπιζομένους τοὺς πολεμίους, δέον καὶ σὲ, ὦ στρατηγέ, ὅσα πολιορκεῖσθαι δυνατόν (εἰσὶ γὰρ πολλὰ κάστρα μὴ δεδιότα πολιορκίαν) ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξελεύσεως παρασκευάσαι τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς καταφευγόντα λαὸν μηνῶν τεσσάρων τροφὰς καθένα ἑκάστον, εἰ δυνατόν καὶ πλείονων (...) ἀποτίθεσθαι. Καὶ τῶν ἐν κινστέρναῖς ὑδάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι... (...). ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ παραδρομῆς καὶ κατασχέσεως κλεισουργῶν προσταχθέντες εἰπεῖν, τὰ ταύτη συντελοῦντα καὶ ἐφαρμόζοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐνὸν ἐκθεῖναι κατεπειγόμεθα. (...) ἐπεὶ ἐν ὀχυροῖς τόποις καὶ δύσβατοις σχεδὸν τὰ πλείστα ἡμῶν ἱδρυνταί κάστρα. (...) εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χώρου δυσχέρειαν καὶ σκληρότητα οὐ θαρρήσουσιν <οἱ πολέμιοι> οὕτως κυκλόθεν καὶ διεσπαρμένως ἀπληκεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ δύο μερῶν ἢ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἅπας ὁ λαὸς αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεύσει, δέον πρότερον πᾶσαν τροφήν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἀλόγων πυρπολῆσαι καὶ τελείως

⁷ Maurice, *Strategicon*, β', 23–38, p. 342.

⁸ Maurice, *Strategicon*, δ', 346–350; *Patrologia*, 107, line 905, ζβ'. According to the authors this is a text by an unknown author, possibly a professional soldier who fought against the Slavs, dating to 602–630, which was copied by Leo VI in his *Taktika* around 900.

ἐξαφανίσαι, καὶ μὴδὲν εἰς χρεῖαν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀνθρώπων πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου ἢ πόρῳ καταλιπεῖν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις. εἰ δὲ καὶ ξύλον ἐπιλείπει, ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ὄρους μὴ ὄντος, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ στέγη τῶν οἰκημάτων πυρπολῆσαι. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ξύλων ἐν χρεῖᾳ γένωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τροφῶν ἐνδεεῖς ὦσιν, ἀνάγκη τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν ἐξέρχεσθαι μακρότερον πρὸς συλλογὴν τῶν χρειῶν. σοῦ δὲ ἐμπείρως καὶ στρατηγικῶς διατιθεμένου, δυνήσῃ τούτους μετὰ ἐγκρυμμάτων τραυματίζειν καὶ κατατροποῦσθαι.⁹

5. *STRATEGIKON* BY KEKAUMENOS (LATE 11TH CENTURY)

Βλέπε δὲ καὶ καθεκάστην τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐνδον καὶ ἔξω, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς πόρτας. Τὰ δὲ τείχη τοῦ κάστρου ἔστωσαν ἐλεύθερα· μὴ ἔστω οἰκία σύγκολλα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ ἔστι, κατὰστρεψον αὐτήν, καὶ ἐκγύμνωσον τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐνδον καὶ ἔξω, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς πόρτας πάσας παντελῶς, ἵνα ἔχῃς ἄδειαν διέρχεσθαι καὶ βλέπειν αὐτά. Εἰ δὲ ἀρχαῖος οἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πολύτιμος σύγκολλα τοῦ τείχους, μὴ σε ποίησῃ ἢ καταστροφὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατάλυσον αὐτόν.¹⁰

6. VASSILEIOS PEDIADITIS, LETTER TO CONSTANDINOS STILVIS (EARLY 13TH. CENTURY)

Κελλύδριά ἐν ἡμῖν πνιγνῆρά τε καὶ καλυβοπρεπὴ ταῖς ἐν τοῖς ἀμπελώσι σκιναῖς ἢ ὀπωροφυλακίαις προσεικότα, ὧν πρὸς καταγέλωτα ἐκφραστέον τὸν ὄροφον. Κάλαμοι κατὰ δυάδα ζευγνύμενοι, βοτάναις συνδεδεμένοι, τὰς κεράμους ὀχοῦσιν, οὐ συγκειμένους κατὰ συνάφειαν, ἀλλὰ διεστηκυῖας ἀλλήλων ὅσον συνεκάλυψεν ἢ ἐπικειμένη, ὥς εἶναι καὶ τῷ φλογμῷ καὶ τῷ ψύχει καὶ τοῖς ὄμβροις βάσιμα πανταχόθεν. Ὅπως ἄλλ' οὐδὲ μία ἐστὶν αὐτόχθων, ῥητέον δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲ μέτοικος. Ἡ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἱκανότης ὁποῖα οὐδὲ πτωχοεπισκοπῆς...¹¹

⁹ Nicephorus Phocas, *De velitatione bellica*, 245 ff.

¹⁰ *Cecaumeni Strategikon*, 29, οδ'-οη'.

¹¹ *Vassileios Pediaditis, Letter*, 49.

APPENDIX THREE

GEOMORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES IN LOWLANDS CAUSED BY FLUVIAL SEDIMENTATION

The predominant landforms of the area under consideration, which contribute to geological instability and change, are large fluvial systems and the sedimentary valleys created by them. These fluvial systems cause geological phenomena which interact with fluctuations in sea level to produce a long-term process of geomorphological change; some of these phenomena are of quite recent date and therefore have radically changed the landscape since Byzantine times.¹ In order to understand the radical and complex change the Western Greek mainland landscape has undergone since antiquity and the Middle Ages, a brief explanation of the interaction of these phenomena will accompany the account of the ways in which the phenomena have affected specific regions and been expressed in geomorphological transformation (see Part 1 – Chapter 2).

Geomorphological Phenomena in Fluvial Systems

The important fluvial systems in this area are formed by large rivers rising in central Mt Pindos and discharging into the Ionian Sea, the Corinthian Gulf and the Ambracian Gulf. Their flow transports sediments (eroded material) depositing them in riverine and coastal lowlands; these are known as alluvial deposits. They cause morphological changes to the river basins while the sedimentation process also produces morphodynamic phenomena in the coastal areas where they are discharged, known as deltas.² A delta is a coastal deposit of sediment extending above and below sea level. It is created at the mouth of a river, where that river flows into a large body of water (ocean, sea, lake, another river etc.) discharging sediments at a faster rate than the sea water is able to absorb.³ The sedimentary deposit thus causes a gradual seaward progradation of the shoreline.

¹ Fouache 1999, 11.

² Cowel, Thom 1994, 33.

³ Sutter 1994, 87–88.

Deltaic deposits accumulate in three main environments:

- A – the upper plain delta dominated by the fluvial process of alluvial deposition,
- B – the lower delta front (mouth of the river) reflecting an interaction between fluvial and marine environments and
- C – the pre-delta, a marine formation at the river mouth.

In environments B and C, the process of alluvial deposition depends on the hydrodynamics of the two bodies of water (river and receiving basin). As these two bodies combine, the flow of the former is diffused and loses velocity and thus the sediment is deposited.

Deltaic morphodynamic phenomena are complex because they constantly 'respond' to the constant change in external conditions. Namely the alluvial deposits provoke a gradual transformation of topography which in turn transforms the limit conditions for the liquid dynamic which afterwards develops in such a way as to cause further changes in how sediment is transported and deposited and thus to the relief.⁴ This happens because the coastline 'responds' to the phenomenon of alluvial deposition in a variety of ways depending on its extent, geological structure and tectonic context, the type and quantity of deposited sediment, the sea level, the sea currents and wave mechanisms and the surrounding land and marine environments.⁵ The interaction of these factors produces an alteration in shoreline progradation, marine transgression or stability (i.e. a displacement of the land in relation to the sea) forming the architecture of the deltas.⁶ The coast is a system: its morphodynamics involve a complex mutual co-adjustment of forms and processes.⁷

So the phases of land displacement, which gradually form a synthesis of land and marine deltaic areas, depend on two main factors:

- a. The size of the fluvial body and the quantity and composition of the alluvium as well as the way it is transported and deposited by the flow and

⁴ Cowel, Thom 1994, 33.

⁵ Carter, Woodroffe 1994, 8–9.

⁶ Postma 1995, 9.

⁷ Carter, Woodroffe 1994, 8–9.

- b. The relative fluctuation in sea level, which determines the size of the marine body receiving the river flow with the alluvium as well as the mechanisms determining its dynamics.

Both factors are controlled by the tectonic structure, the geology of the drainage basin, the climate and the time. The sea level is connected to the parallel sea level on land; erosion discrepancies appear mostly in periods of rises and falls in sea level, while shoreline progradation is observed in periods of slight variations in sea level.⁸

The physical expression of such environments is a result of many dynamics. However, it usually consists of the following landforms. The upper delta plain is a mosaic of the environments of two fluvial channels: the channel distributing water with alluvium and the intermediate channel (between the distributive channel and the area of the lower delta which is the area of the river mouth). These channels divide the upper delta plain in two zones: the *upper delta-plain zone* (distributive channel) and the *lower delta-plain zone* (intermediate channel). The first is a riverside land environment with fluvial processes of alluvial deposits through the channels and with intensive and varied vegetation. By contrast, the lower delta plain zone is characterized by a variety of embayment, lagoons, lakes, flooding valleys, swamps, marshes, estuaries or salt flats; vegetation is necessarily limited to plants resistant to salt which can survive extended flooding. In other words, while the upper delta-plain zone is a land-based environment with fresh running water, the lower one is a relatively stagnant, salt-water zone.⁹

The morphology of the lower delta, the deltaic front, around the mouth of the river, depends on the dynamics of the two liquid bodies (river and receiving basin). Large open seas and oceans have a greater capacity for eroding alluvium and thus the deltas are marine areas with intense wave activity. By contrast, a small and enclosed sea does not have the same capacity: in this case the front is dominated by the river environment with limited marine energy (i.e. a swamp).

⁸ Postma 1995, 6–9.

⁹ Sutter 1994, 99.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologische Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Archaeologica Analekta Ex Athinon</i>
ABME	<i>Archeion Byzantinon Mnimeion tis Ellados</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AD	<i>Archaeologiko Deltio</i>
AE	<i>Archaeologiki Ephemeris</i>
AEAS	<i>Archeia Etaireias Aetoloacarnanikon Spoudon</i>
AEE	<i>Aetoloacarnaniki kai Evrytaniki Encyclopedia (1964)</i>
AEMTh	<i>Archaeologiko Ergo Makedonias Thrakis</i>
AEuM	<i>Archeion Euboikon Meleton</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AM	<i>Archeologia Medievale</i>
ASCSA	<i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BCH Supp.	<i>Suppléments du Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
Byzbulg	<i>Byzantinobulgarica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CArch	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DChAE	<i>Deltion Christianikis Archaeologikis Etaireias</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EEBS	<i>Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon</i>
EEBoM	<i>Epeteris Etaireias Boeotikon Meleton</i>
EELM	<i>Epeteris Etaireias Lefkadikon Meleton</i>
EESM	<i>Epeteris Etaireias Stereoelladikon Meleton</i>
Ergon	<i>Ergon tis en Athinai Archaeologikis Etaireias</i>
EpChron	<i>Epirotika Chronika</i>
HAM	<i>Hortus Artium Medievalium</i>
IRAIK	<i>Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
KlPauly	<i>Der Kleine Pauly, Lexicon der Antike, I–V, Stuttgart – München 1964–1975</i>
KOA	<i>Kosmas o Aetolos</i>
MEE	<i>Megali Elliniki Encyclopedia (ed. P. Drandakis, Phoenix, Athens)</i>
NE	<i>Neos Ellinonmemon</i>
PAA	<i>Praktika tes Akademias Athenon</i>
PAE	<i>Praktika tis en Athinai Archaeologikis Etaireias</i>
PBW	<i>Prosopography of the Byzantine World, online at www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk</i>
PMBZ	<i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
RbK	<i>Reallexicon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i>
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>

REB	<i>Révue des Etudes Byzantines</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici</i>
RN	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
ChAE	<i>Christianiki Archaeologiki Etaireia</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

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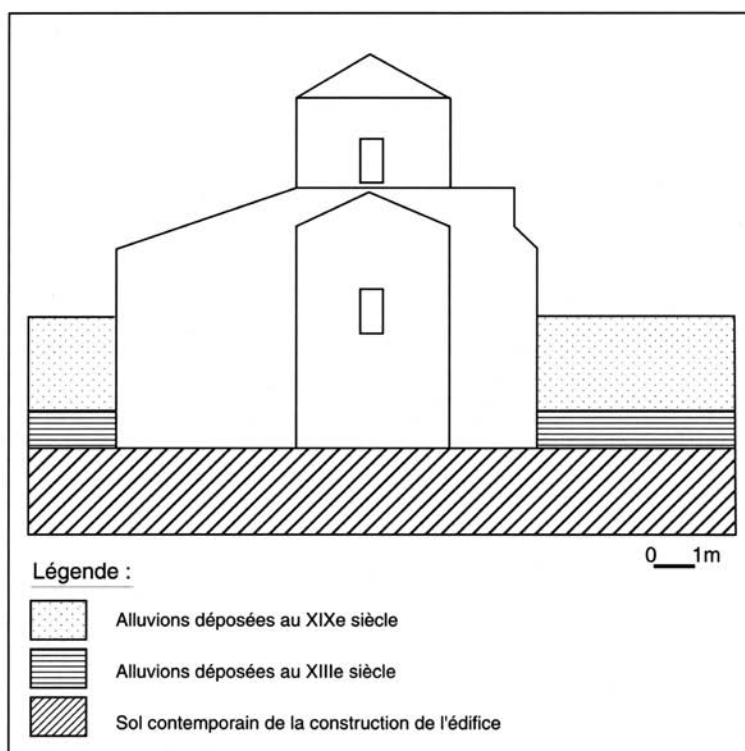
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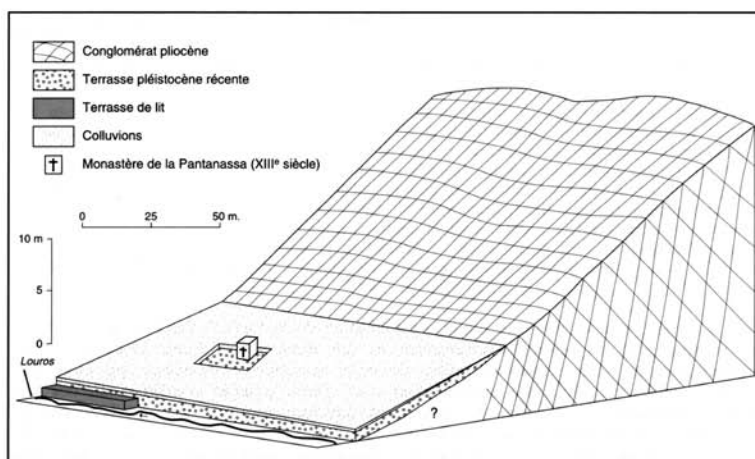
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ILLUSTRATIONS

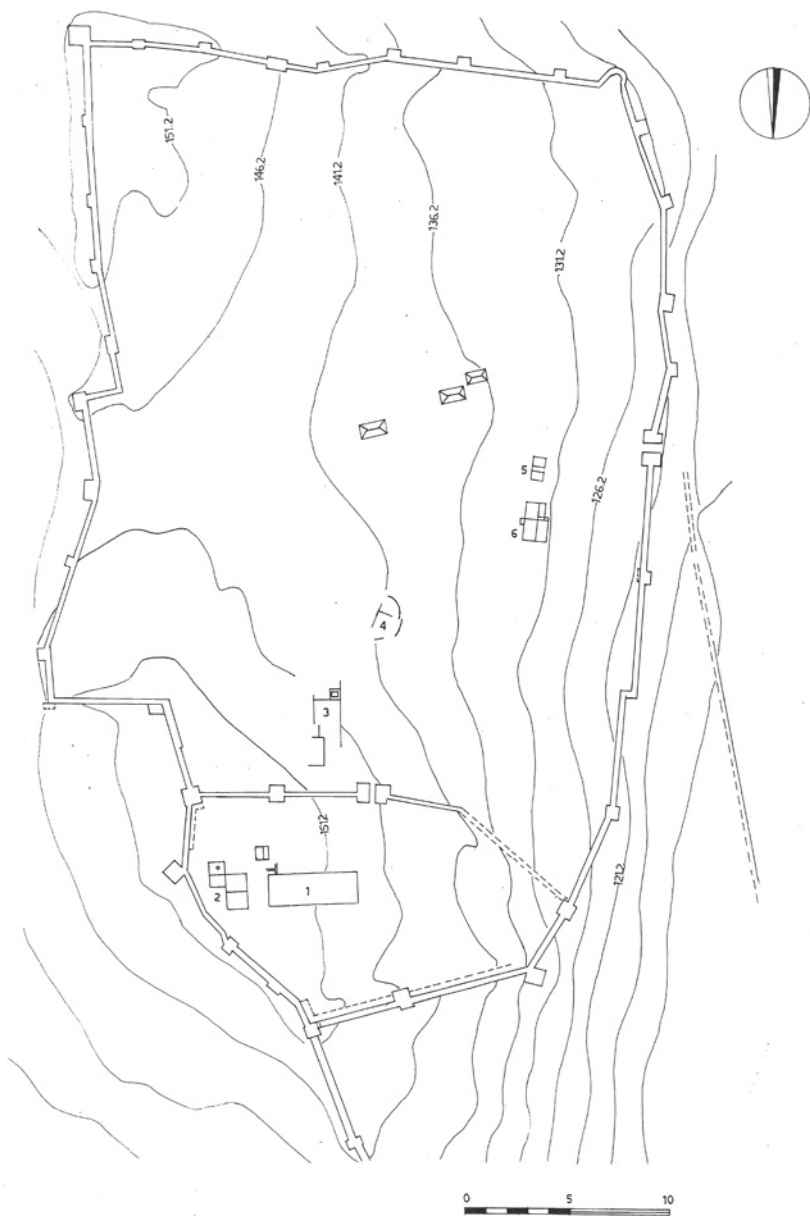


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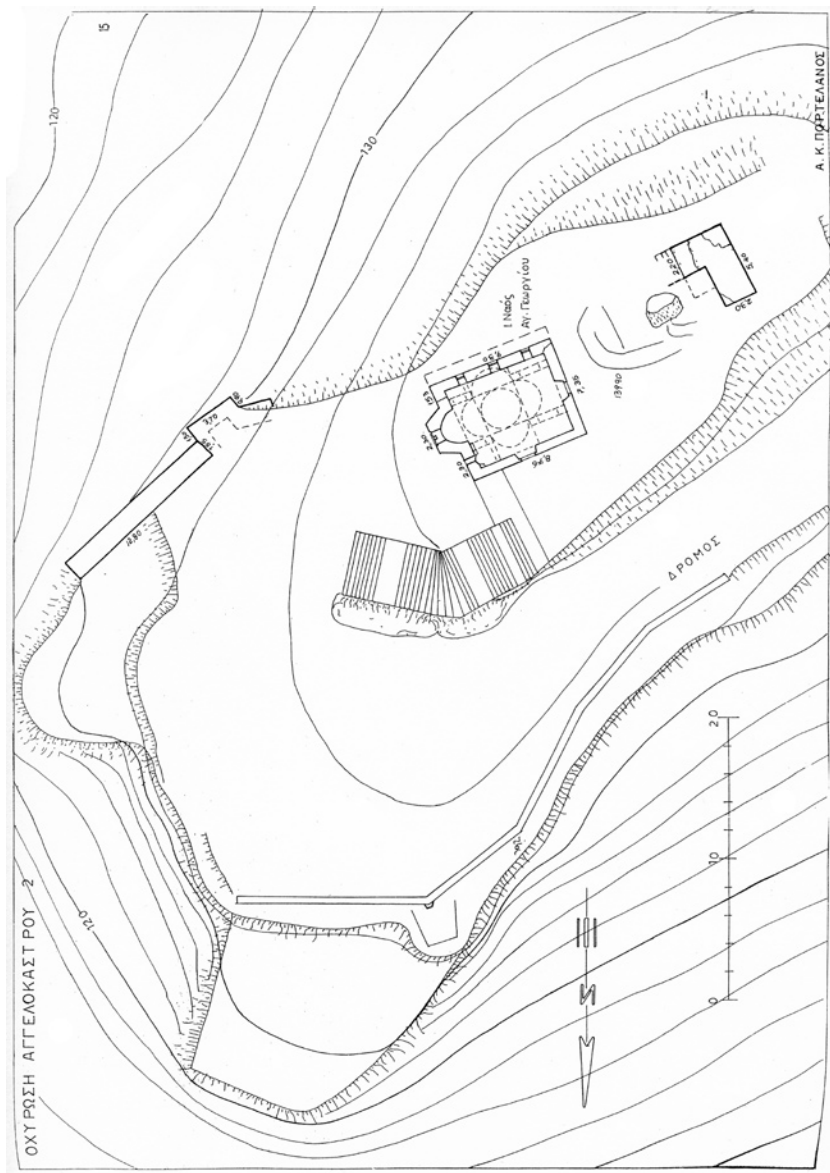


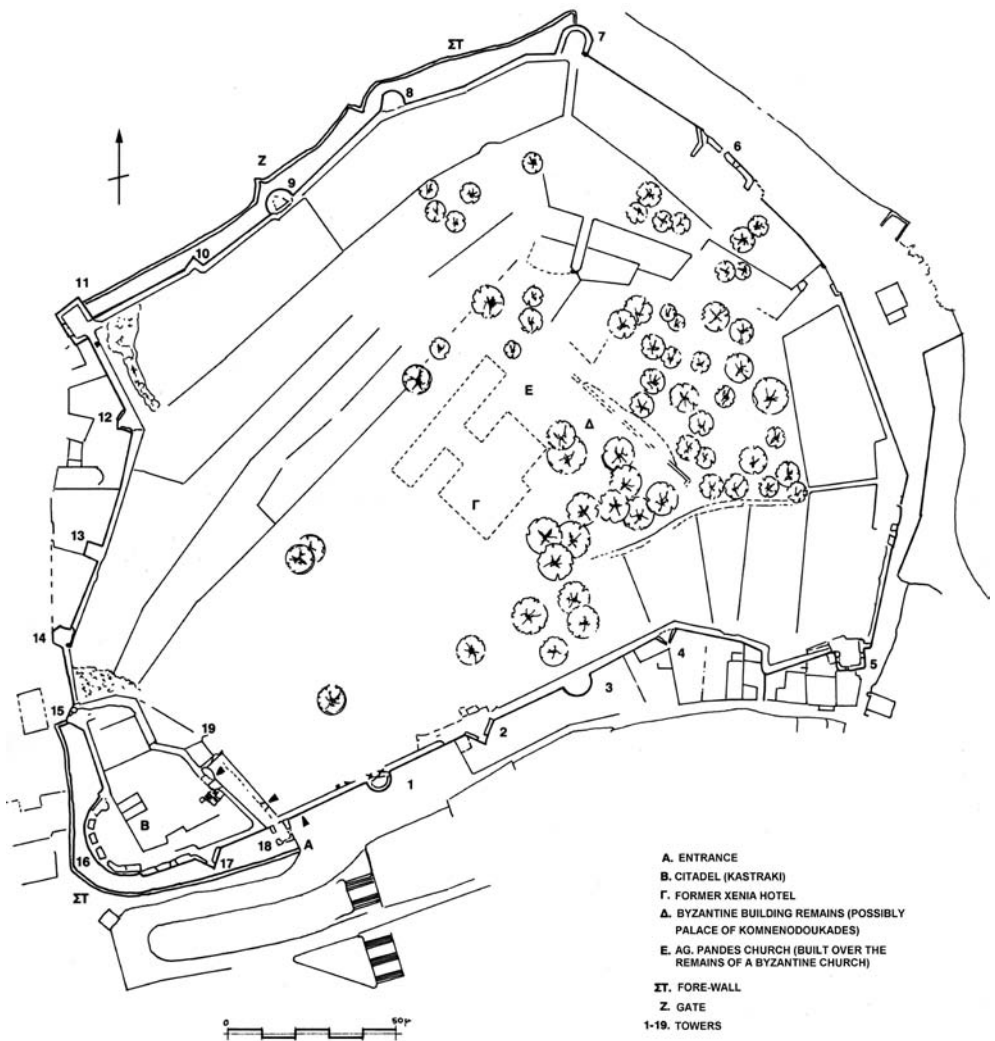
(b)

Plan 1. (a) Section-plan of the church of Ag. Vassileios stin Gefyra (courtesy of E. Fouache and the École Française d'Athènes). (b) Simplified plan of the area around Pandanassa Monastery (courtesy of E. Fouache and the École Française d'Athènes).

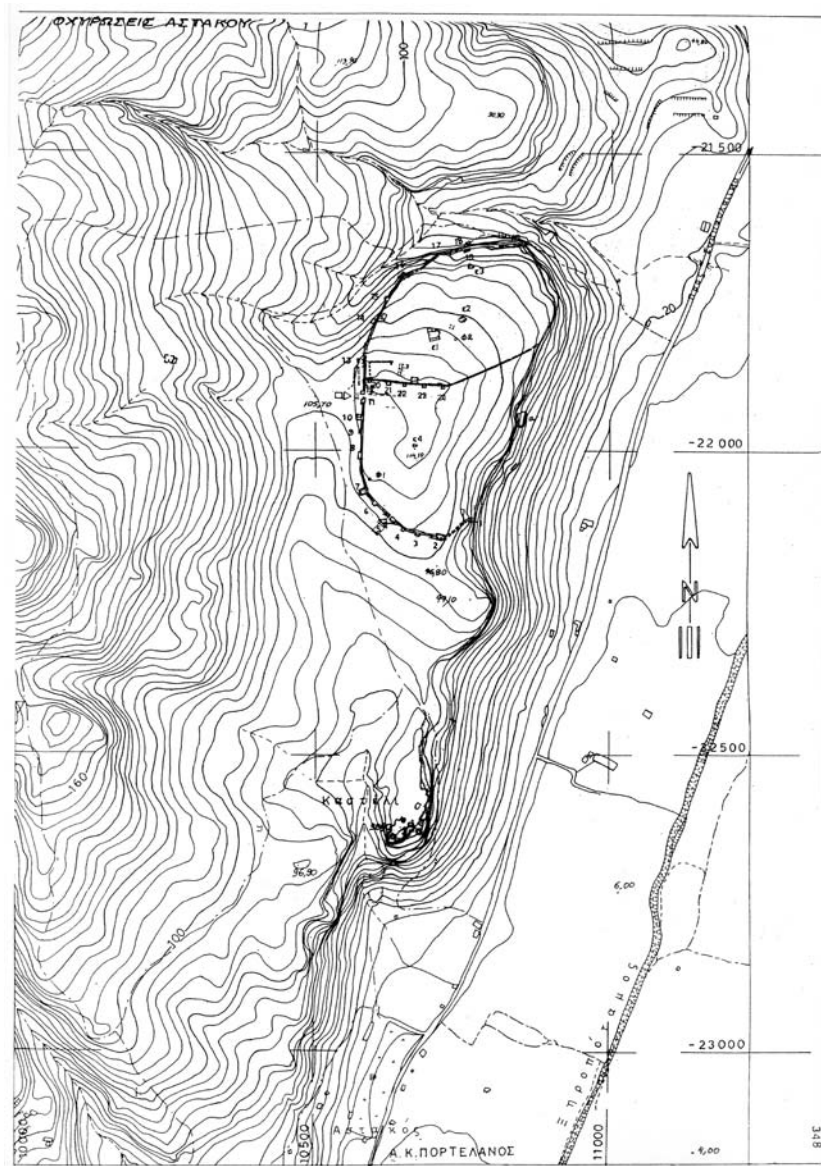


Plan 2. Topographic plan of the Castle of Amfilochia by N. Saraga (courtesy of the 26th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture). 1–6: Ancient and medieval buildings.

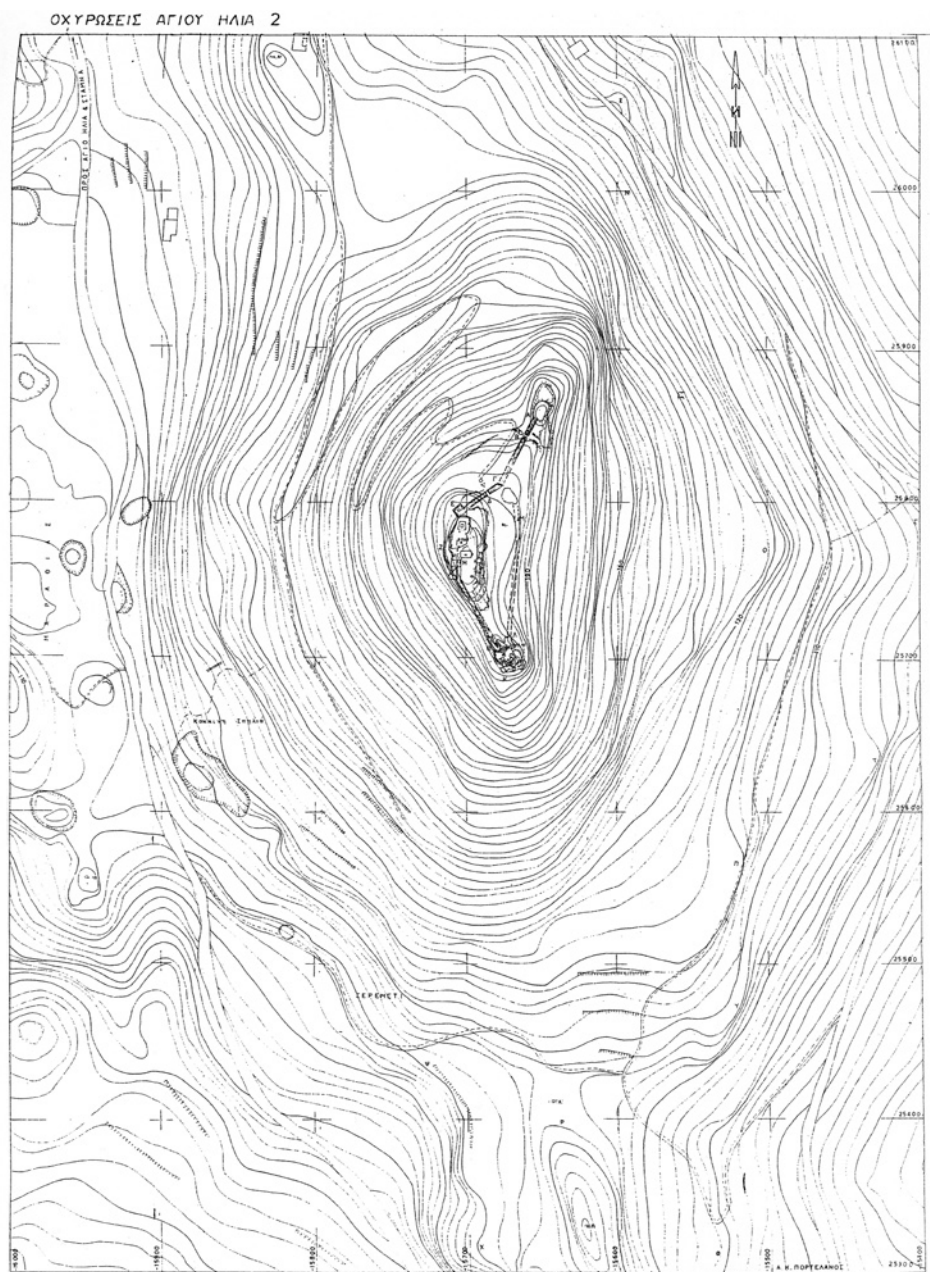




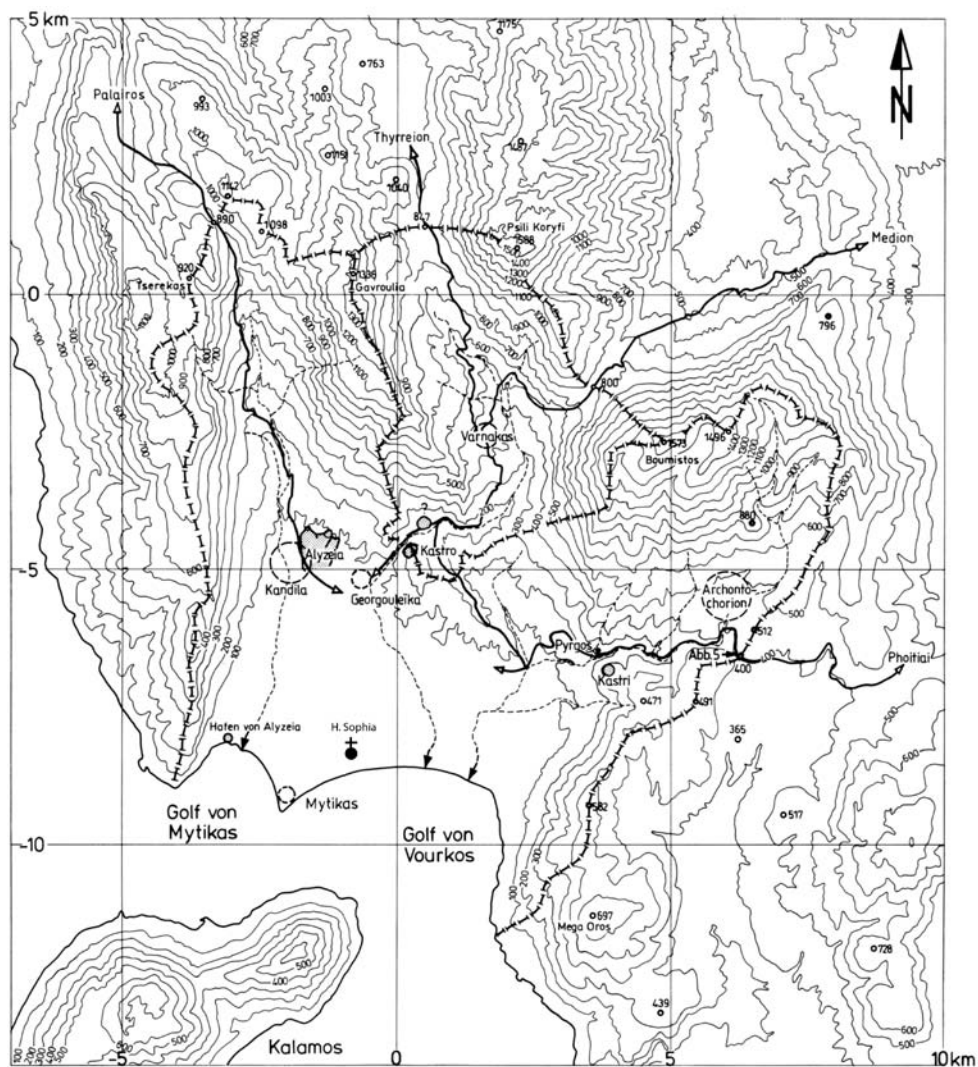
Plan 4. Plan of the Castle of Arta by V. Papadopoulos: A: Entrance, B. Keep or Kastraki or IçKale, Γ. Former Xenia Hotel, Δ. Remains of Byzantine building (possibly the Komenodoukes Palace), E. Church of Ag. Pandes (built on the remains of a Byzantine church), ΣΤ. Fore-wall, Z. Small gate, 1-19. Towers. Courtesy of the 18th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture.



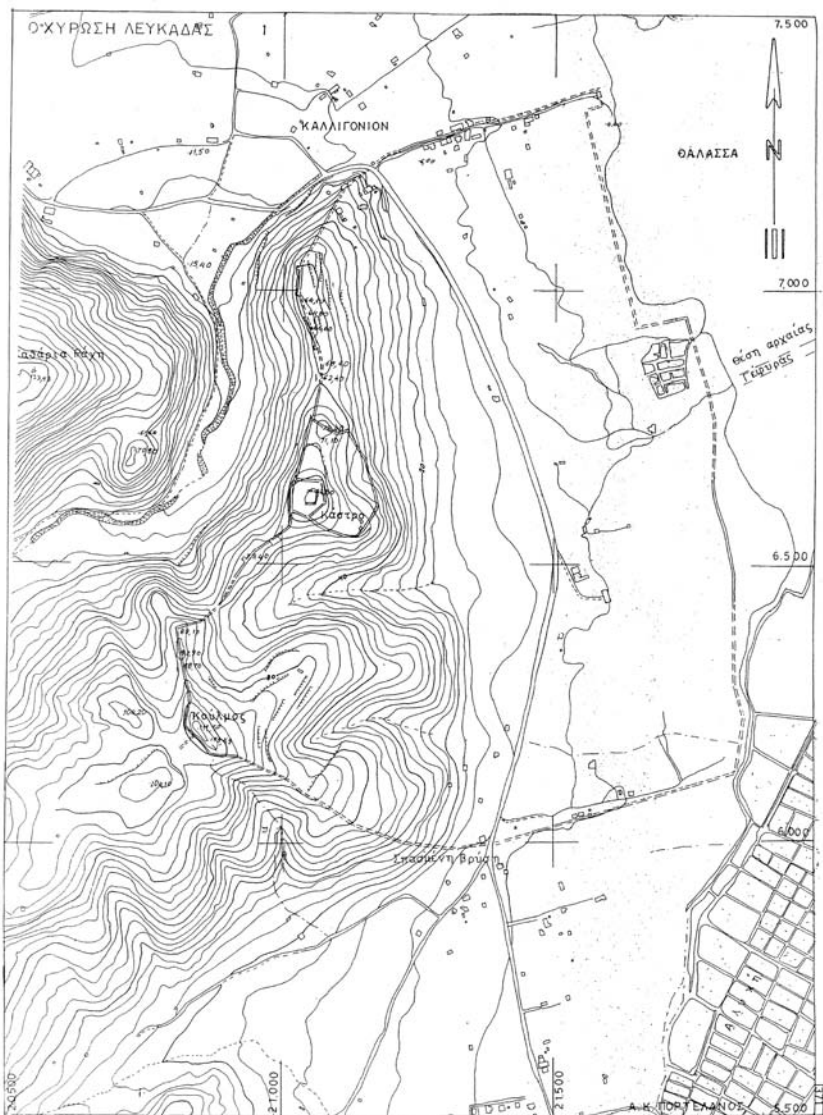
Plan 5. Topographic plan of the Castle of Astakos (courtesy of A. Portelanos).



Plan 6. Topographic plan of the fortifications in Ag. Ilias (courtesy of A. Portelanos).



Plan 7. Topographic map of the Kandila Plain (courtesy of J. Knauss).



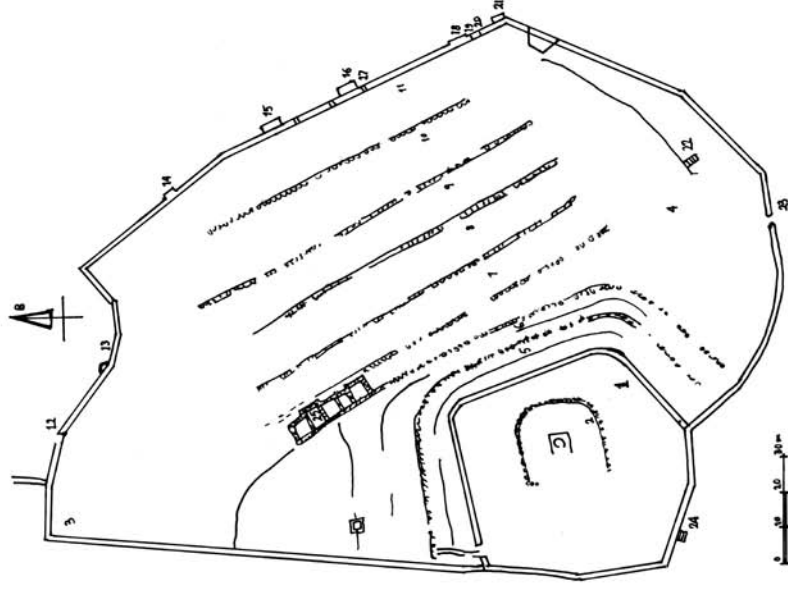
Plan 8. Topographic plan of the Castle of Koulmos (courtesy of A. Portelanos).

P. Rondoyannis

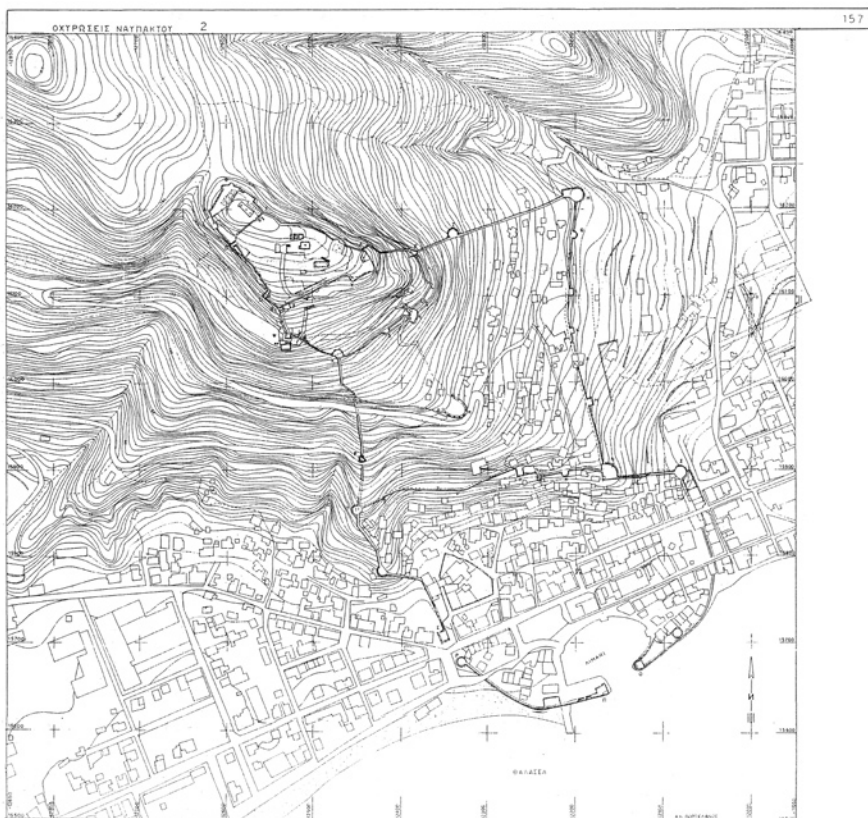
Plan of the medieval capital of Leucas and its surrounding fortification walls

LEGEND

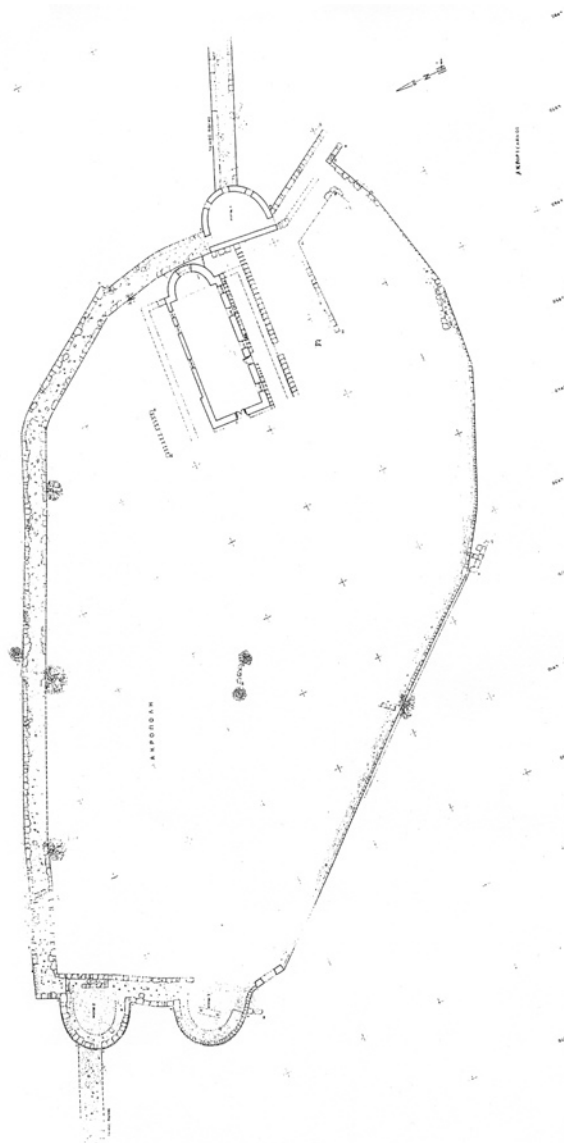
1. Citadel levels
2. Higher levels
3. Northwestern plateau
4. Southern plateau
- 5-6. Convex levels of township
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12. Outer stairway in stonework
13. Base of small round tower
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17. Drainage outfall
- 19, 20. Square wickets
22. Inner rock-cut stairway
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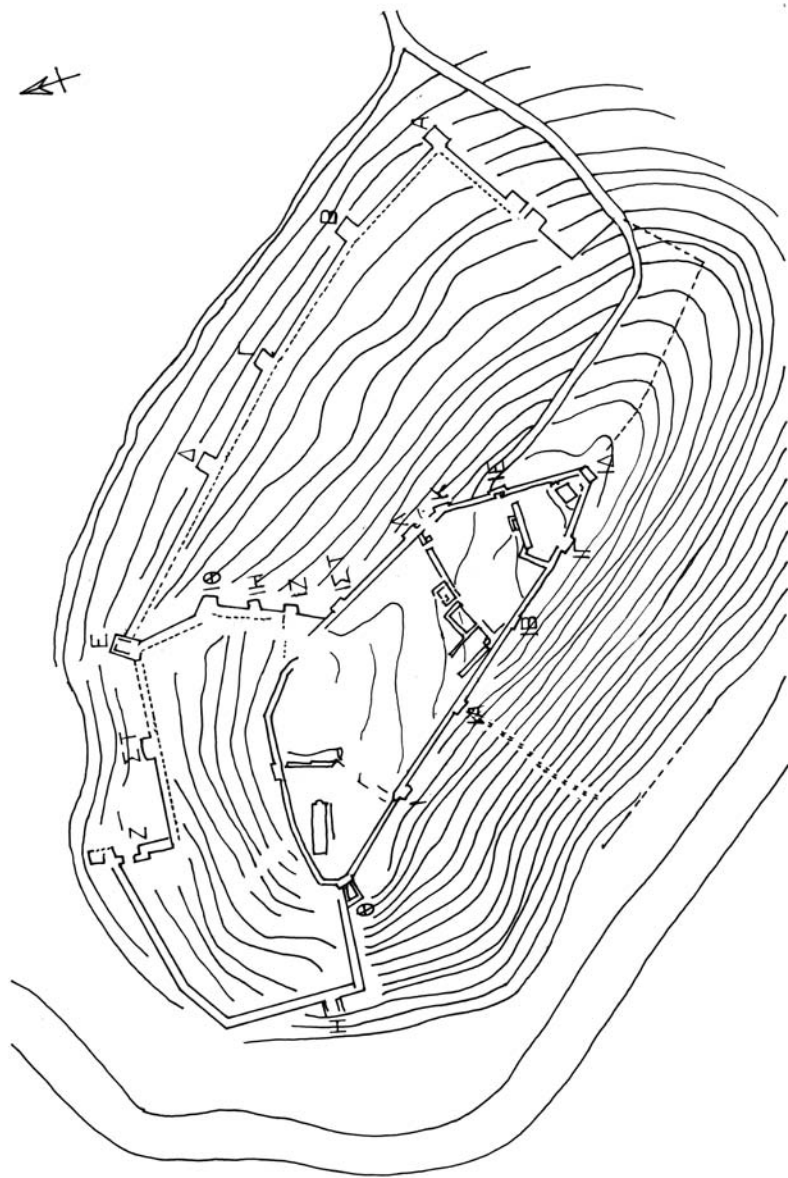
Plan 9. Sketch of the Castle of Koulmos, identified as the medieval capital of Leucas, by P. Rondoyannis (courtesy of the Etaireia Lefkadiikon Meleton).



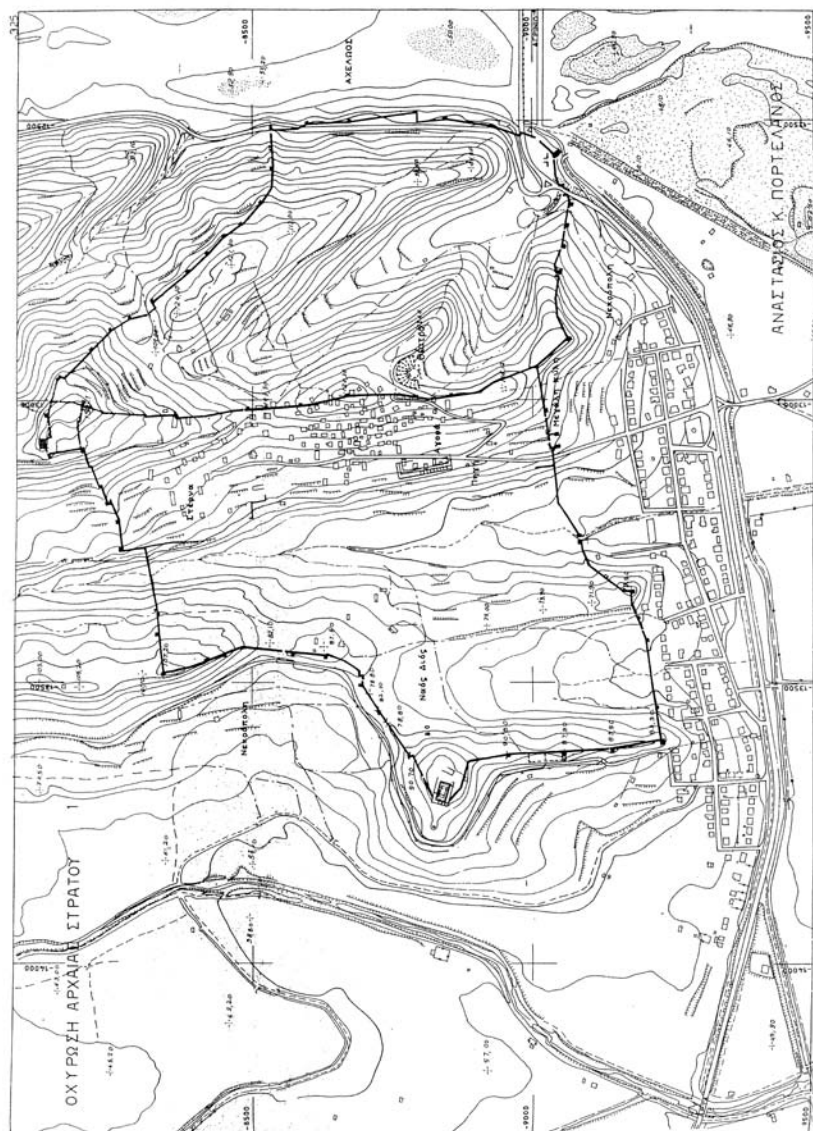
Plan 10. Topographic plan of the Castle of Nafaktos (courtesy of A. Portelanos).



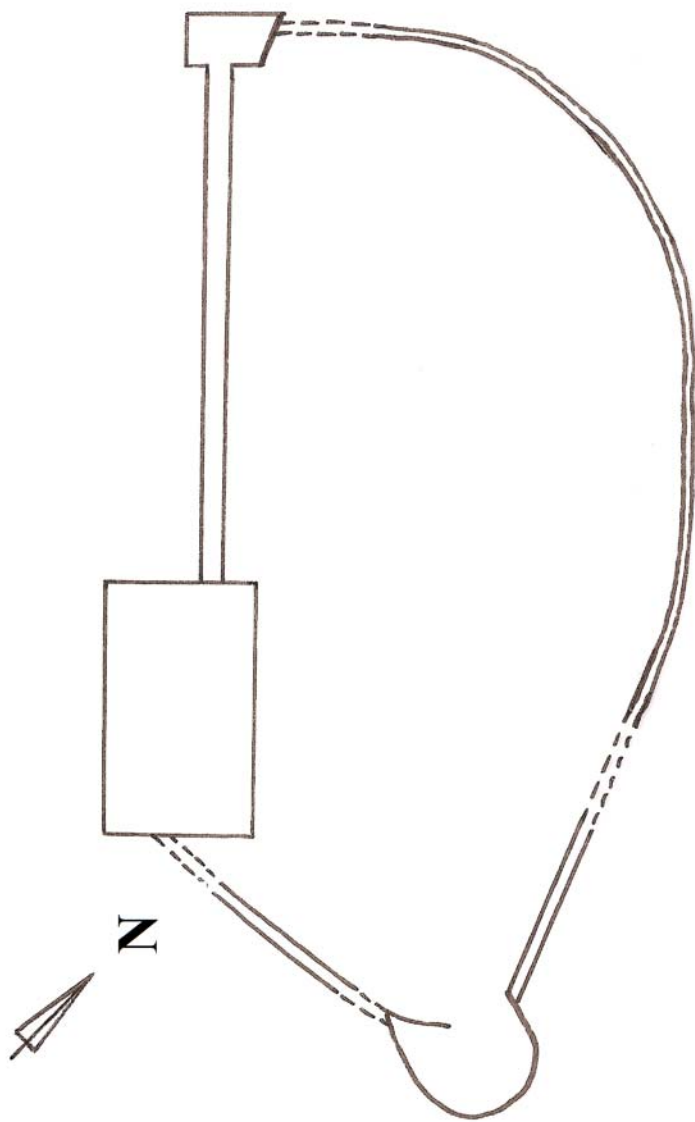
Plan 11. Topographic plan of the Castle of Paravola (courtesy of A. Portelanos).



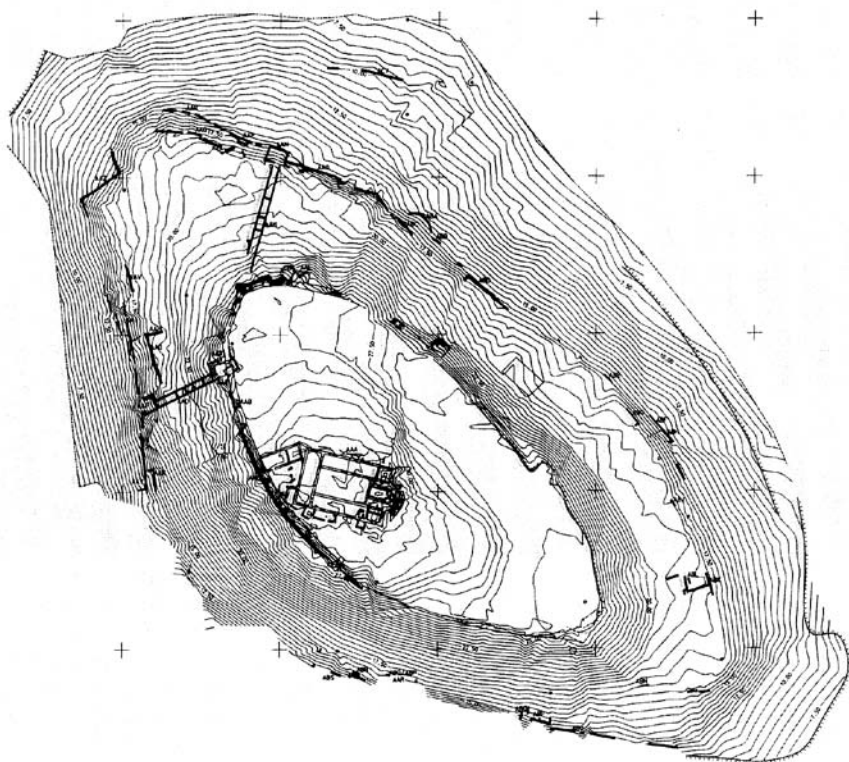
Plan 12. Topographic plan of the Kastro ton Rogon based on the plan by S. Dakaris (courtesy of the University of Ioannina). A-Q: Towers.



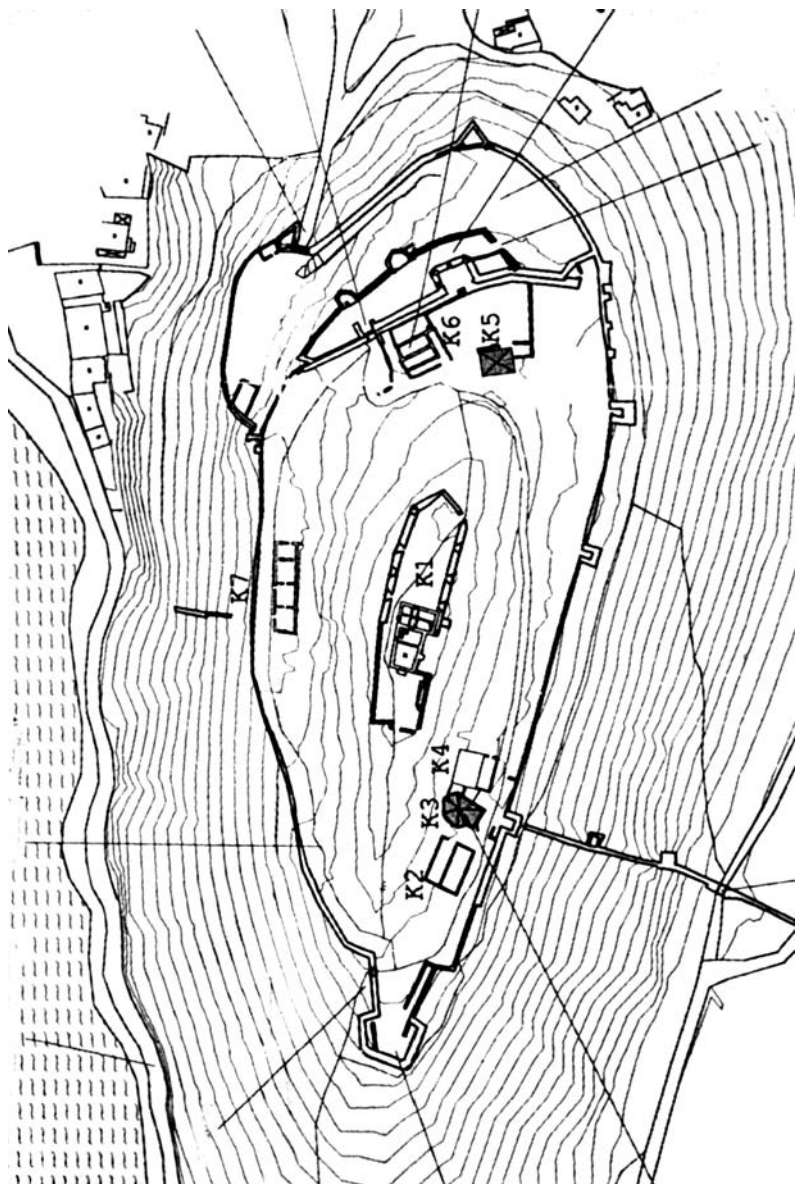
Plan 13. Topographic plan of the fortifications of Stratos (courtesy of A. Portelanos).



Plan 14. Plan of the Castle of Embessos.



Plan 15. Kato Vassiliki, plan of the buildings on and around the Ag. Triada Hill
(courtesy of the Danish Institute at Athens).



Plan 16. Topographic plan of the Castle of Vonitsa by G. Smyris (courtesy of the 22nd Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture). K1-K6: Buildings in the enceinte.

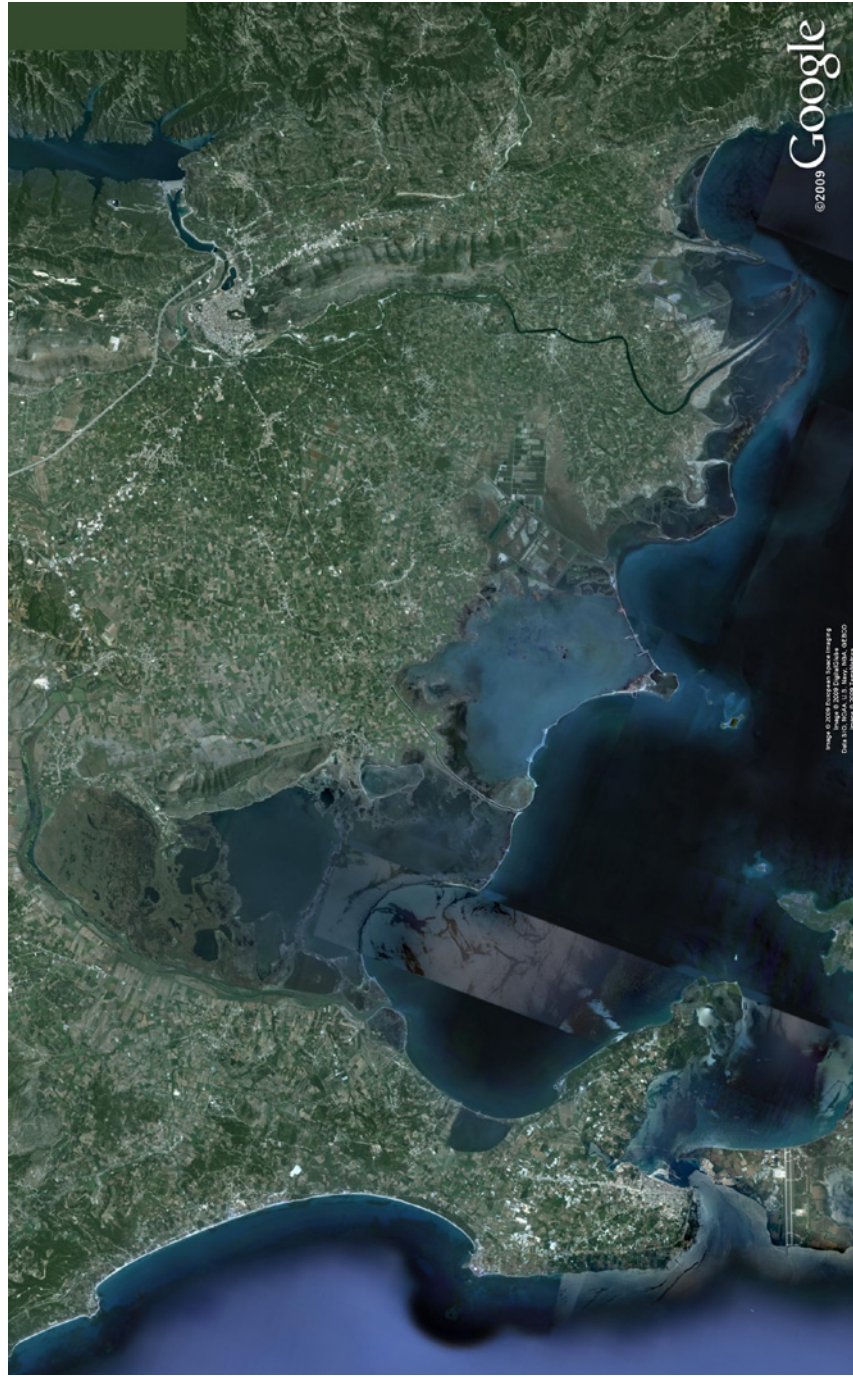


Fig. 1. Expressions of alluvial deposition phenomena in the deltaic areas of Louros and Arachthos Rivers (courtesy of Google Earth).



Fig. 2. Expressions of alluvial deposition phenomena in the deltaic area of Acheloos River (courtesy of Google Earth).

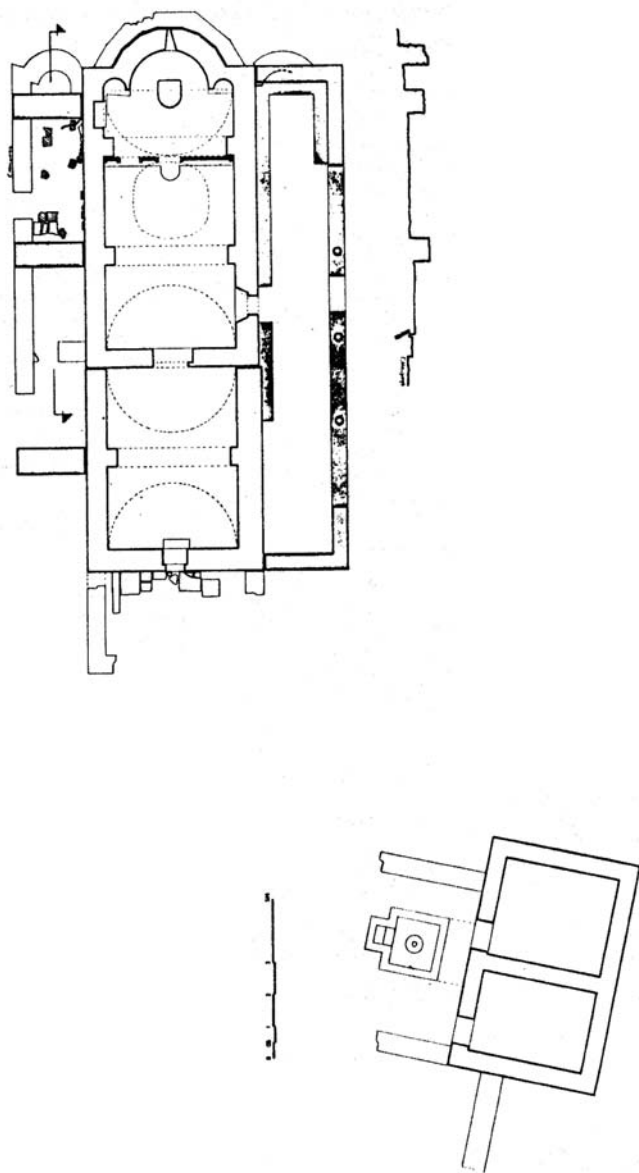


Fig. 3. Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili. Plan of the buildings by E. Chalkia (courtesy of the 18th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Arta and Preveza – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).

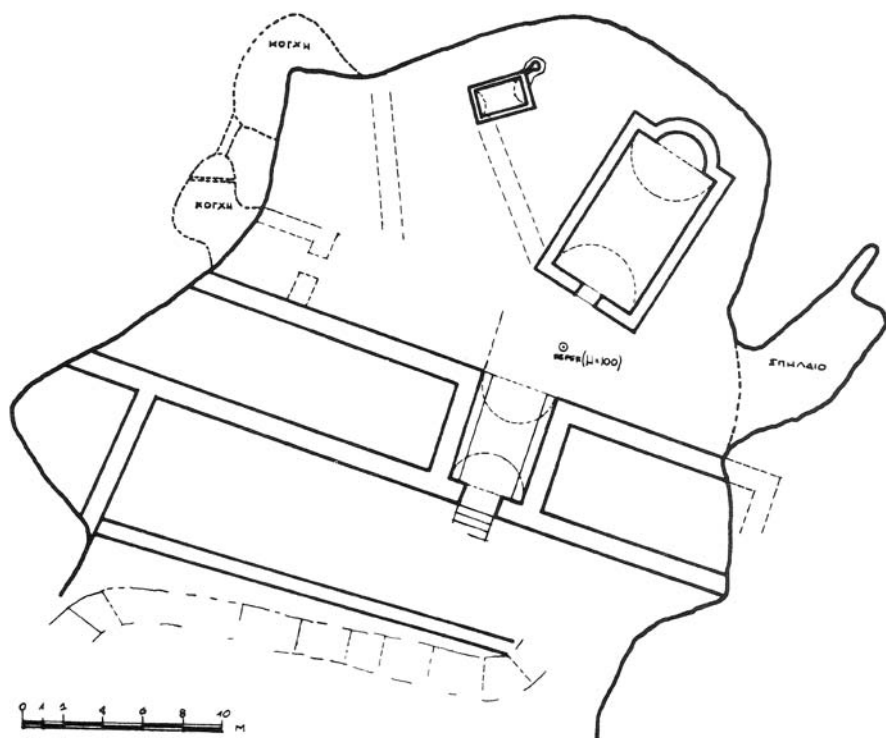


Fig. 4. S Varassova, Ag. Nikolaos. Plan of the buildings by A. Paliouras – Ch. Katsibinis (courtesy of the Agathoerga Katastimata of the Metropolis of Ioannina).

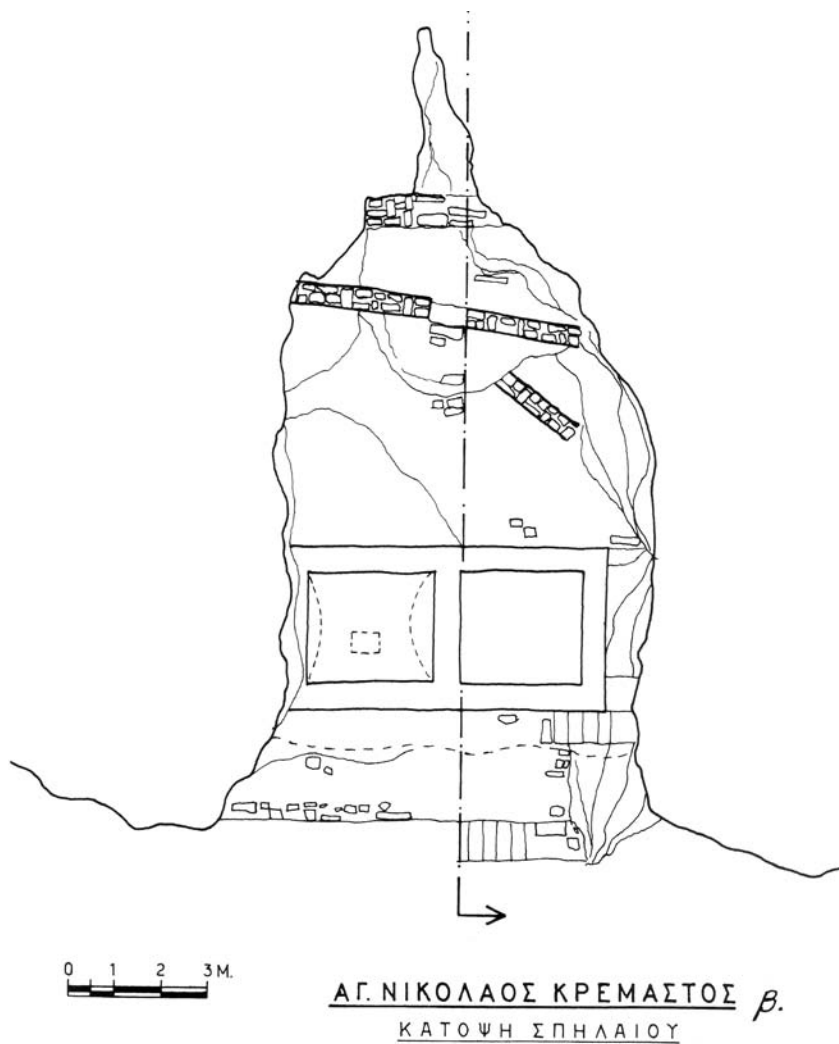


Fig. 5. Mt. Arakynthos, Ag. Nikolaos Kremastos. Plan of the buildings in the two caves (courtesy of A. Paliouras).

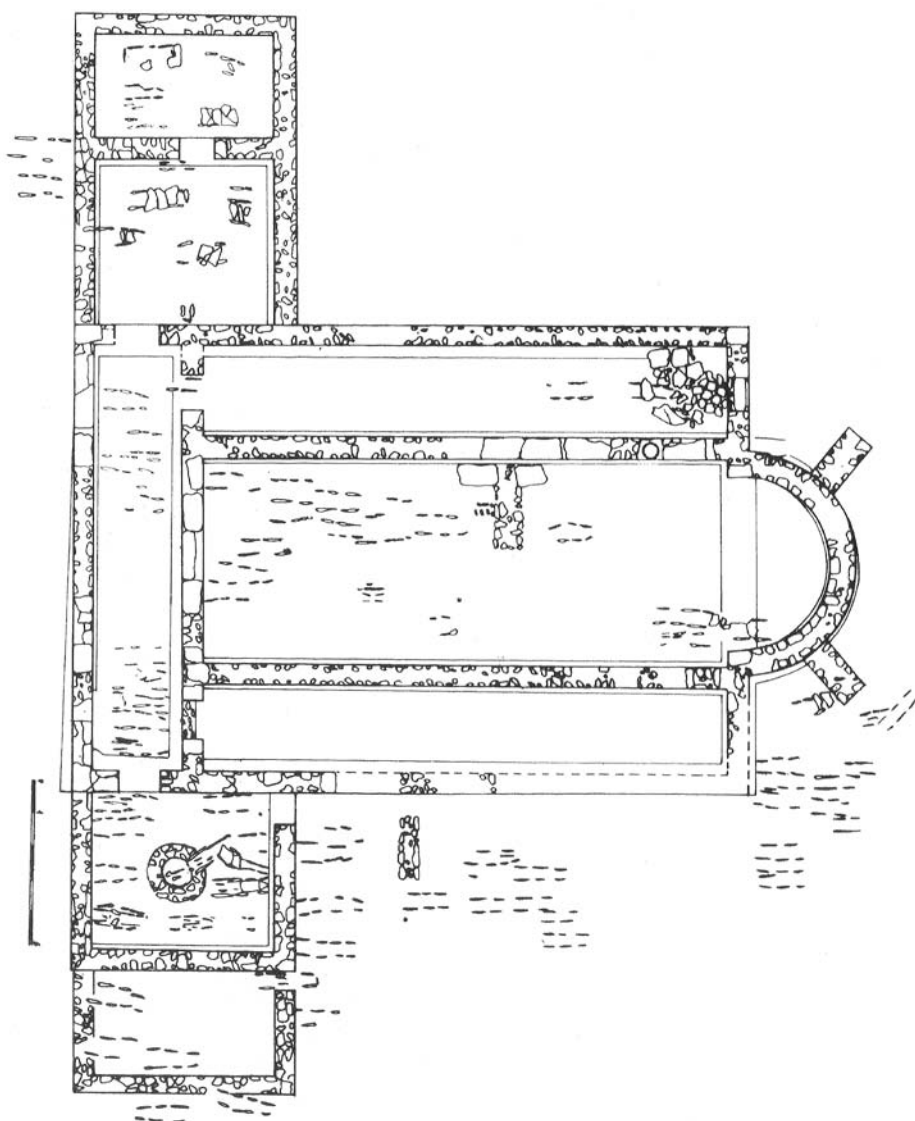


Fig. 6. Aetoliko, Finikia. Plan of the basilica by F. Zafeiropoulou (courtesy of the 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine antiquities of Aetoloacarnania and the 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).

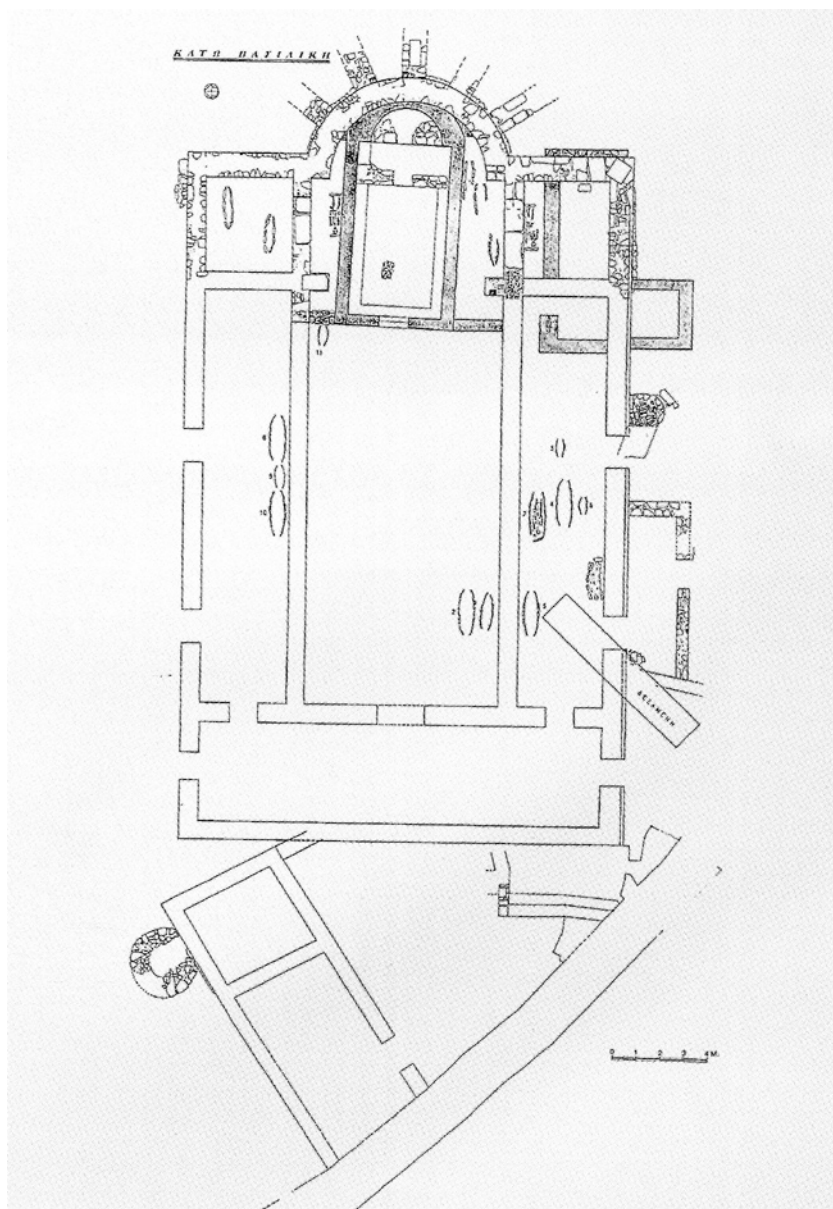


Fig. 7. Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Plan of the Middle Byzantine church and adjacent buildings (courtesy of A. Paliouras).

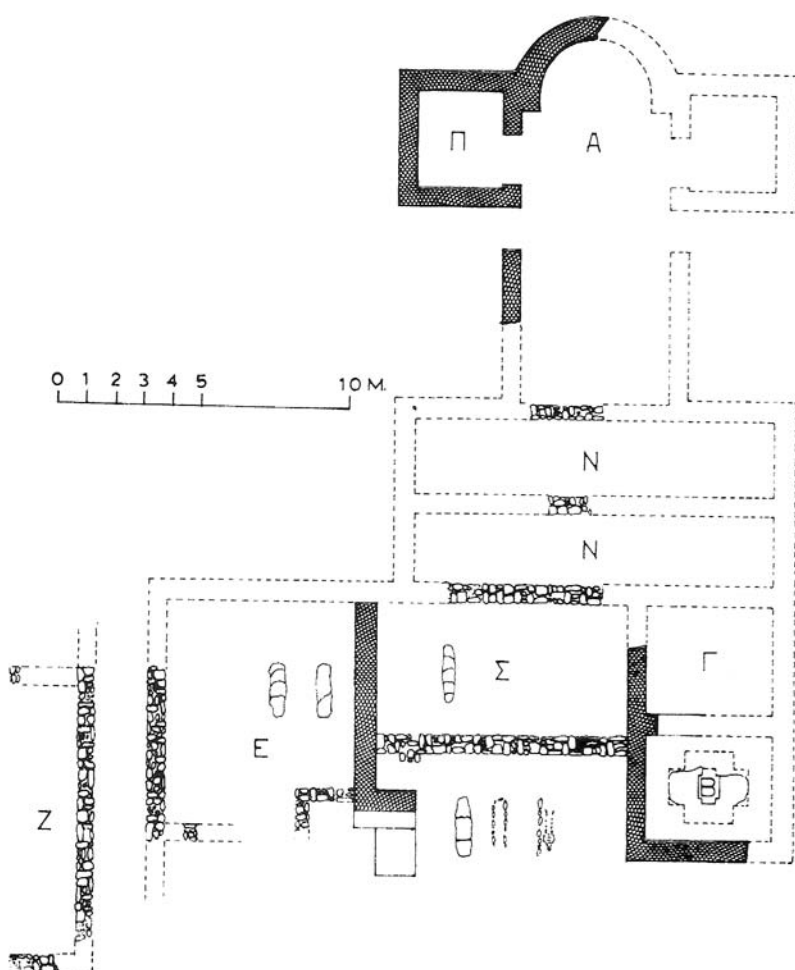


Fig. 8. Kefalos. Plan of the Basilica 'B' and adjacent buildings (by Ch. Barla, courtesy of A. Paliouras).

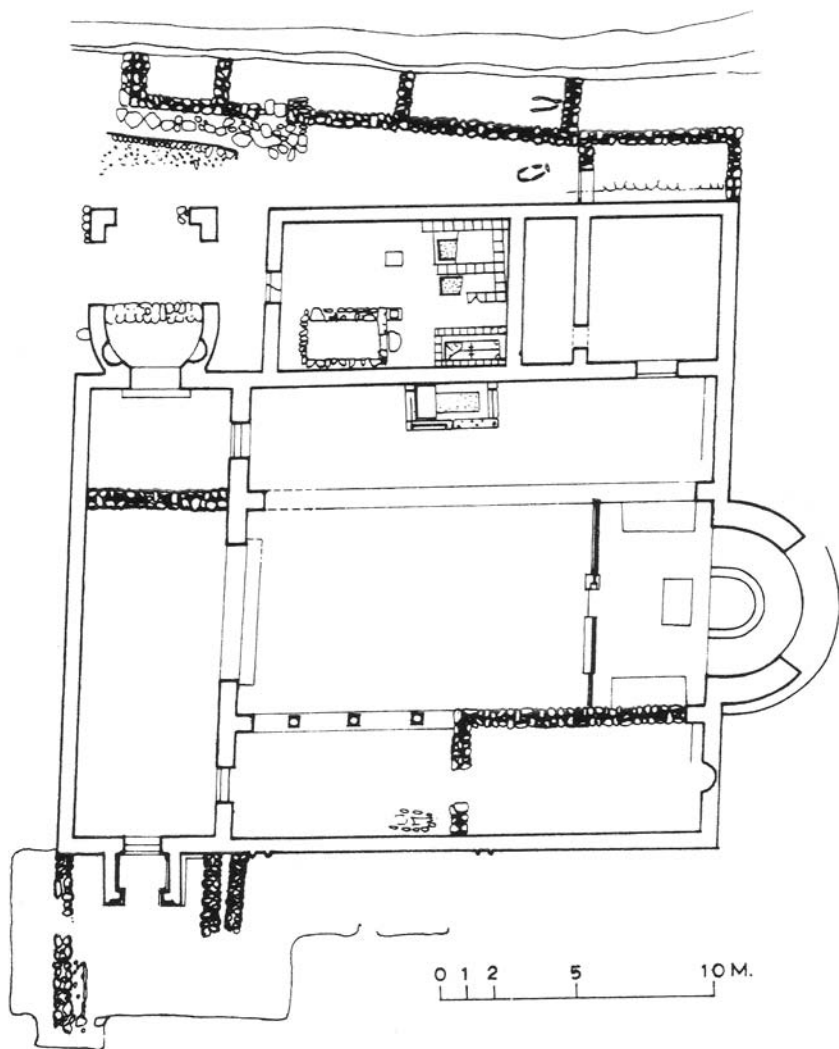


Fig. 9. Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia. Plan of the church and adjacent buildings by P. Vocotopoulos (courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



Fig. 10. Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery. Grave beside the S wall.



Fig. 11. Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery. Grave on the NE corner.



Fig. 12. Castle of Aetos, keep. W wall.



Fig. 13. Castle of Aetos, keep. SW corner.

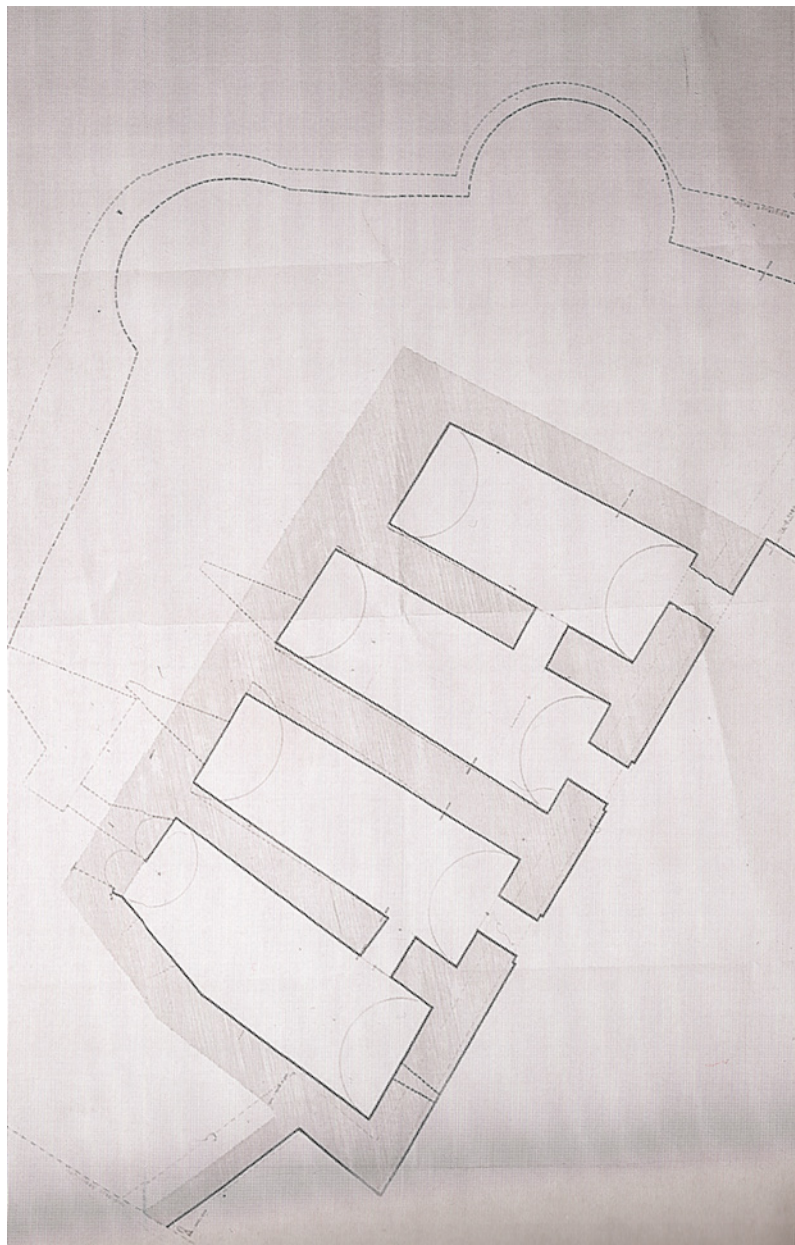
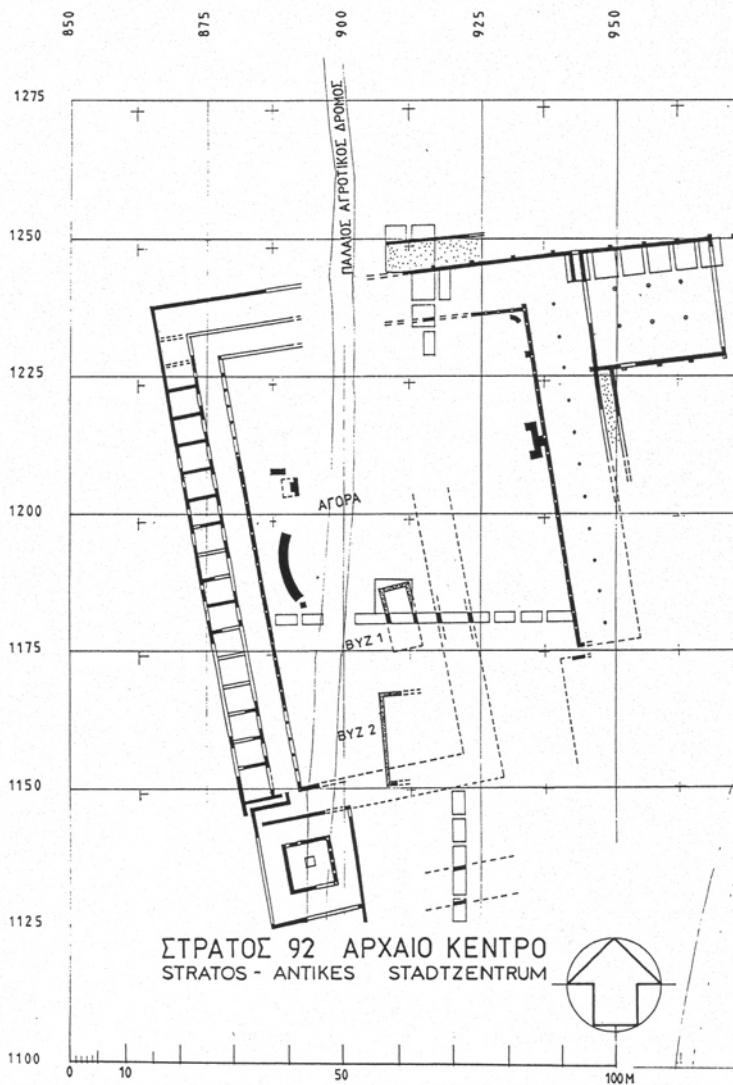


Fig. 14. Castle of Nafpaktos, Kastraki/IcKale. Plan of barrel-vaulted rooms in the N part by I. Kosti (courtesy of the Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio).

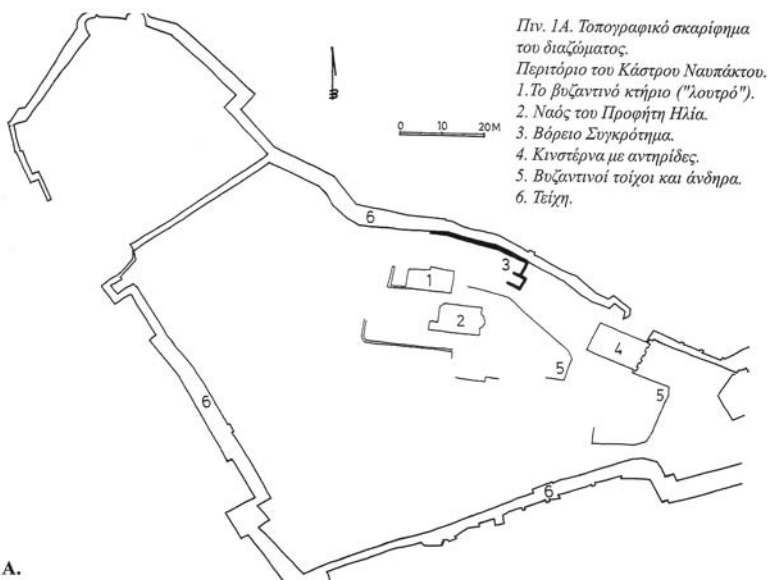


Fig. 15. Castle of Nafpaktos, Kastraki/IcKale. Part of the internal façade of the E part of the walls.



1. Stratos, Agora mit byzantinischen Gebäuden BYZ 1 und BYZ 2.

Fig. 17. Stratos. Plan of the buildings in the Agora by E.L. Schwandner (courtesy of the University of Ioannina).



Πιν. 1Α.

Πιν. 1Β. Τοπογραφικό σκαρίφημα της θέσης του βυζαντινού κτηρίου στο κάστρο:
 1. Το βυζαντινό κτήριο ("λουτρό").
 2. Ο ναός του Προφήτη Ηλία.
 3-4-5. Το βόρειο συγκρότημα.

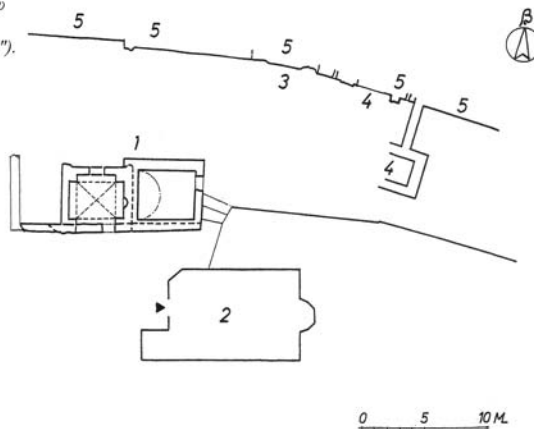


Fig. 18. Castle of Nafpaktos. Plan of buildings in the citadel/Peritorio (by D. Athanasoulis and P. Androudis (courtesy of the Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio). Plan A. Topographic plan of the citadel: 1. 'Bath House', 2. Church of Pr. Ilias, 3. 'N Complex', 4. Cistern with buttresses, 5. Byzantine walls and terraces, 6. Fortification walls. Plan B: Topographic plan of the area of the Byzantine Building in the citadel: 1. 'Bath House', 2. Church of Pr. Ilias, 3-4-5. 'N Complex'.

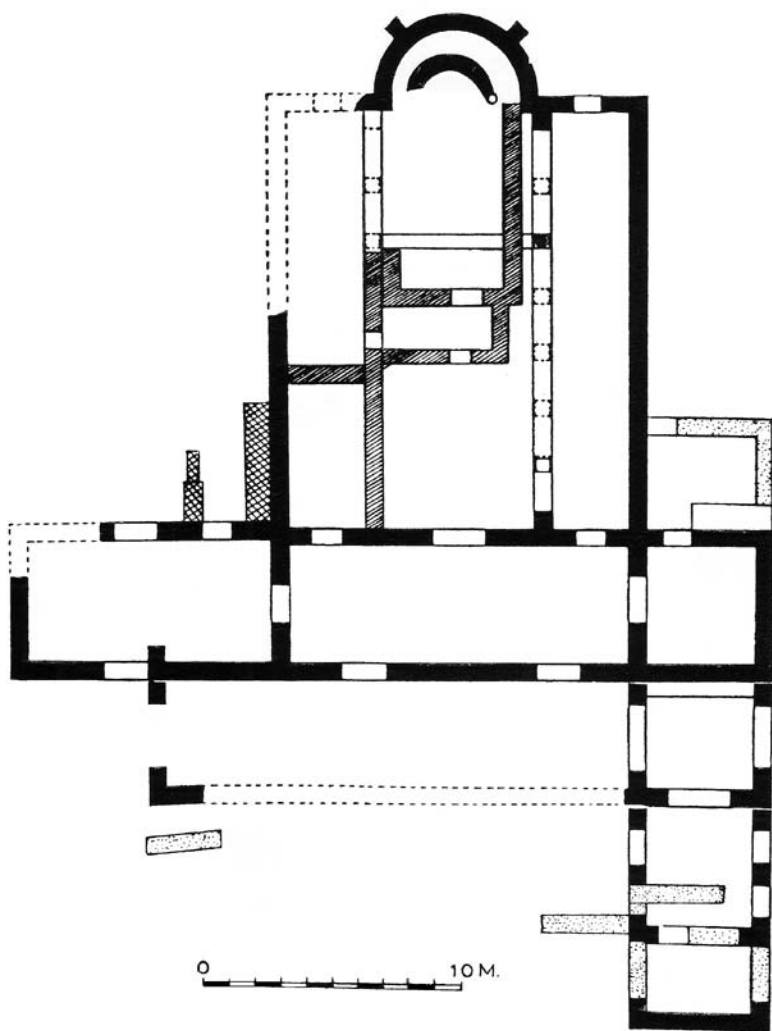


Fig. 19. Kefalos. Plan of the Basilica 'A' and adjacent buildings by Ch. Barla (courtesy of A. Paliouras).



Fig. 20. Kefalos. Buildings at the S part of the island.

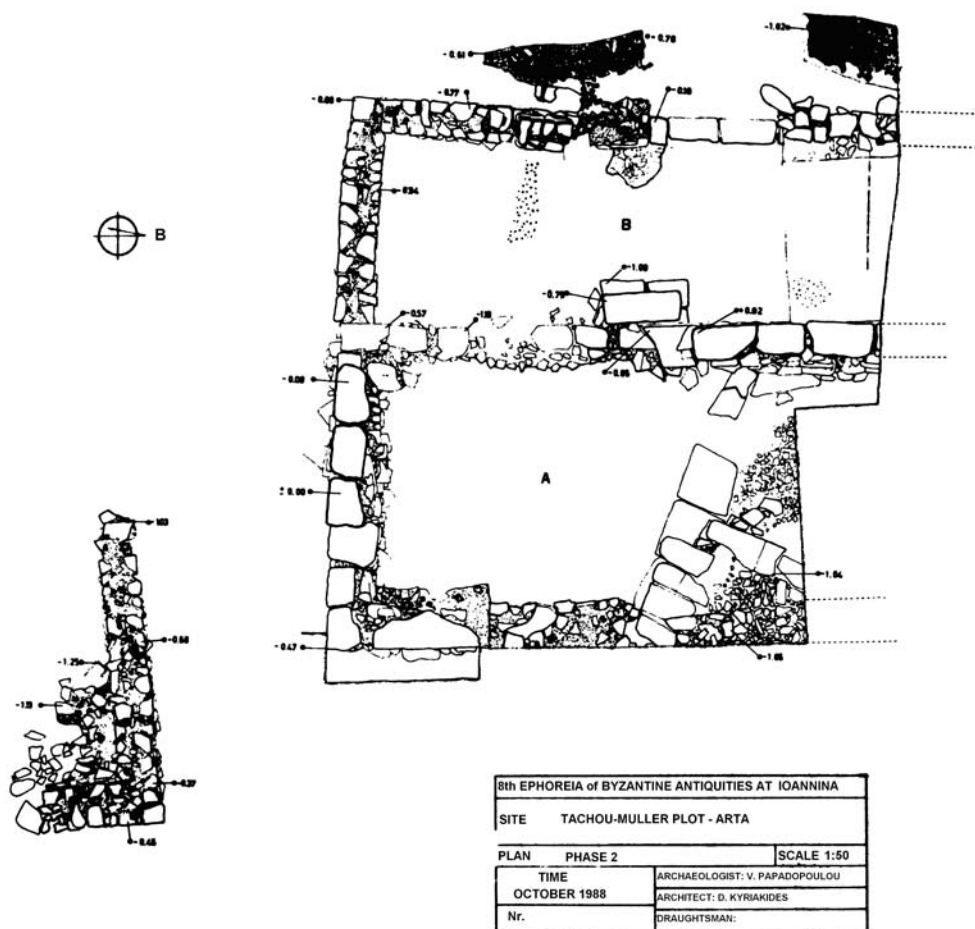
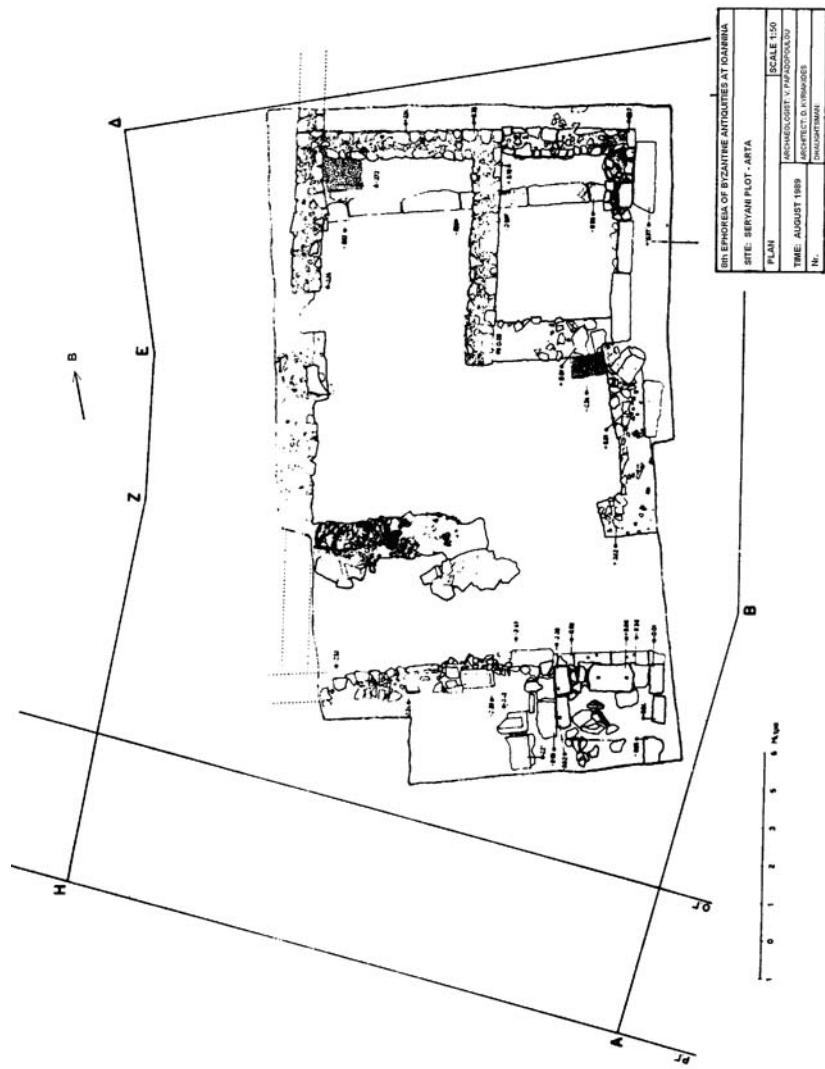


Fig. 21. Arta, Komenou Ave. Plan of the buildings found in Tachou-Muller Plot by V. Papadopoulou (courtesy of the Skoufas Association in Arta).



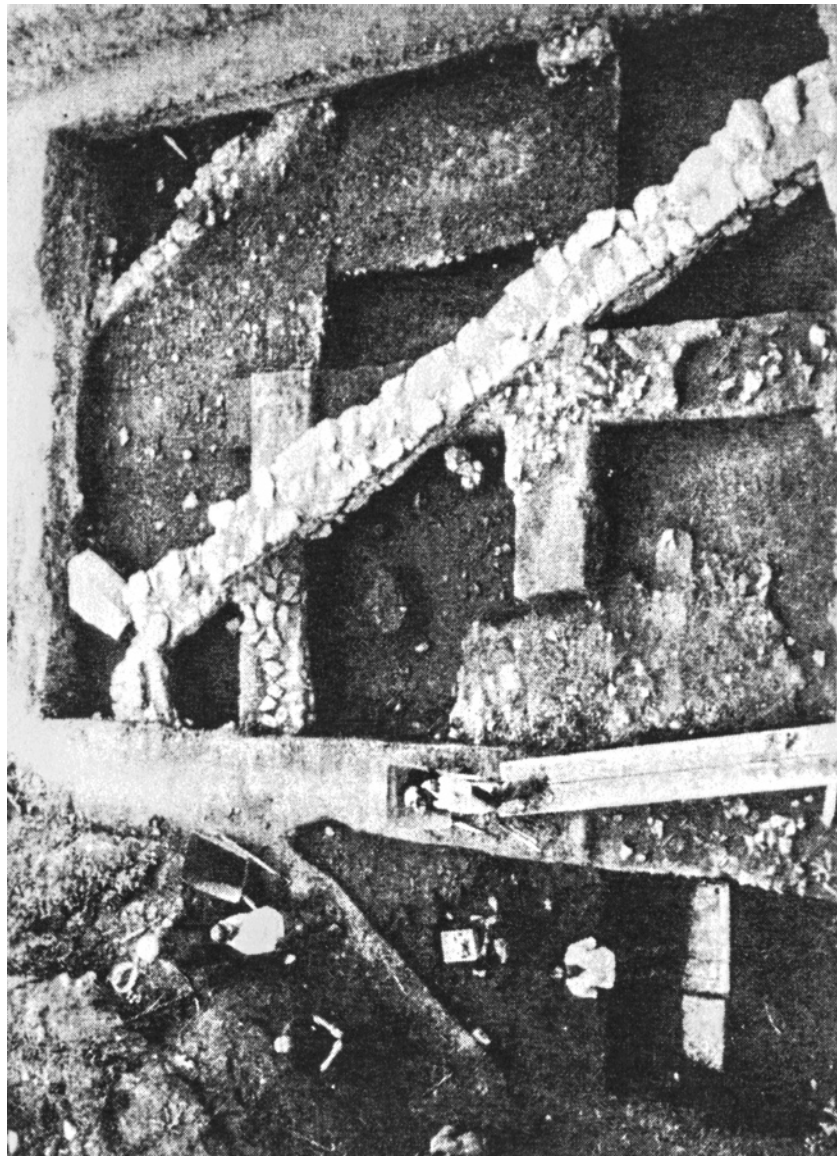


Fig. 23. Arta, Komenou Ave. Plan of the buildings found in Kostadima Plot by V. Papadopoulou (courtesy of the Skoufas Association in Arta).



1. Άρτα: Ανασκαφή στο οικοπέδο Σπαή-Γιαννάκη (οδός Μουργκάνας και Καμμένου), Ιούνιος 1981.

Fig. 24. Arta, Komenou Ave. – Mourganas St. Plan of the buildings found in Spai-Yanaki Plot by V. Papadopoulou (courtesy of the Skoufas Association in Arta).



Fig. 25. Kandila, Glosses. 'Byzantine Nerotrivio' (courtesy of J. Knauss).

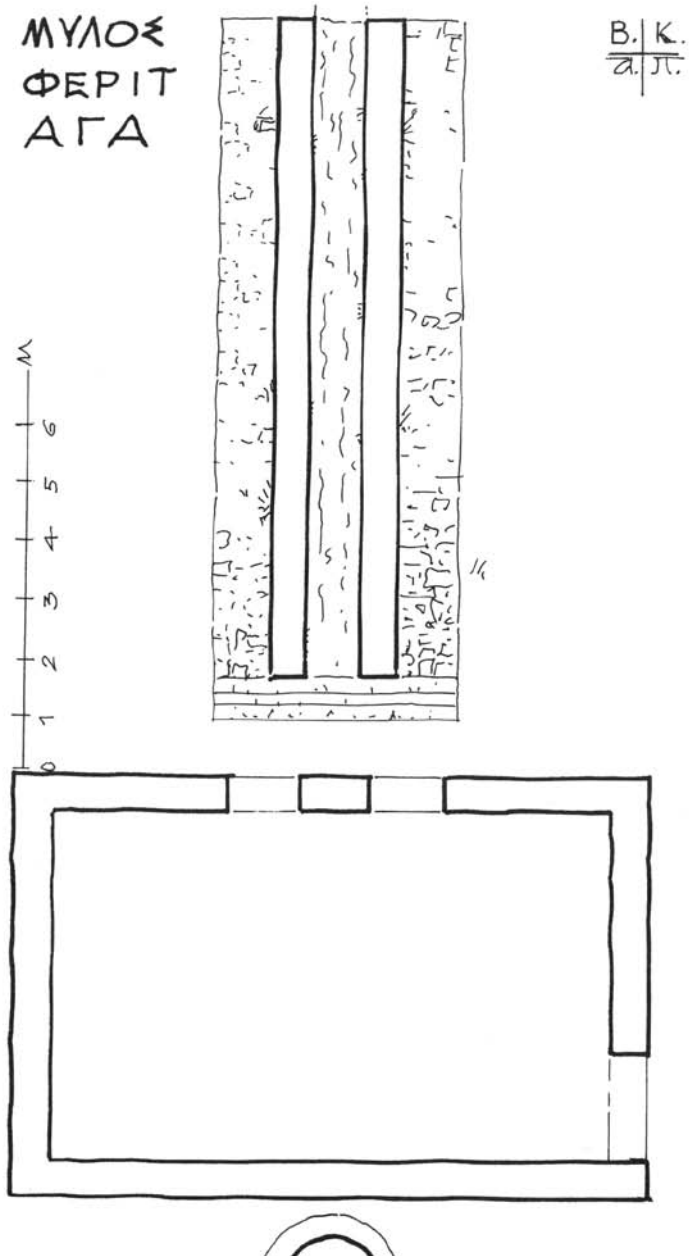


Fig. 26. Efpalio, Managouli. Plan of the mill of Ferit Aga by V. Katsaros (courtesy of the Etaireia Nafpaktiakon Meleton).



Fig. 27. Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Kiln (courtesy of A. Paliouras).



Fig. 28. Lyssimachia, Ypsili Panagia. Cistern.



Fig. 29. Castle of Aetos. Cistern.



Fig. 30. Kandila, Glosses. The ancient dam (courtesy of J. Knauss).



Fig. 31. Trigardo, anc. Oiniades. Photograph of the shipsheds by V. Tsandila (courtesy of the Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio).



Fig. 32. Phidokastro. Satellite image by Google Earth.

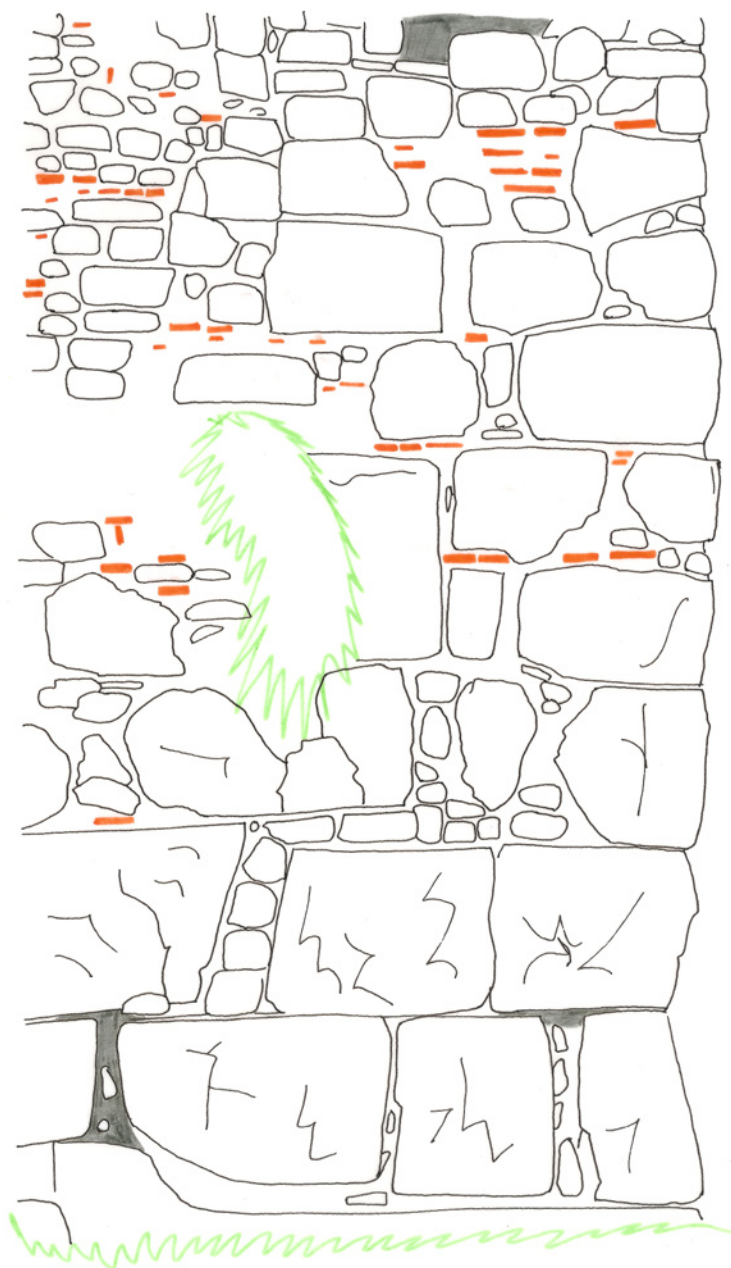


Fig. 33. Nikopolis. W part of the fortifications, tower. Type 1 masonry.



a)

Fig. 34. Castle of Nafpaktos. View and drawing of the SW tower of the citadel. Type 2 masonry.



b)

Fig. 34. Castle of Nafpaktos. View and drawing of the SW tower of the citadel.
Type 2 masonry.



Fig. 35. Castle of Aetos, citadel. View of the W façade. Type 3 masonry.



a)



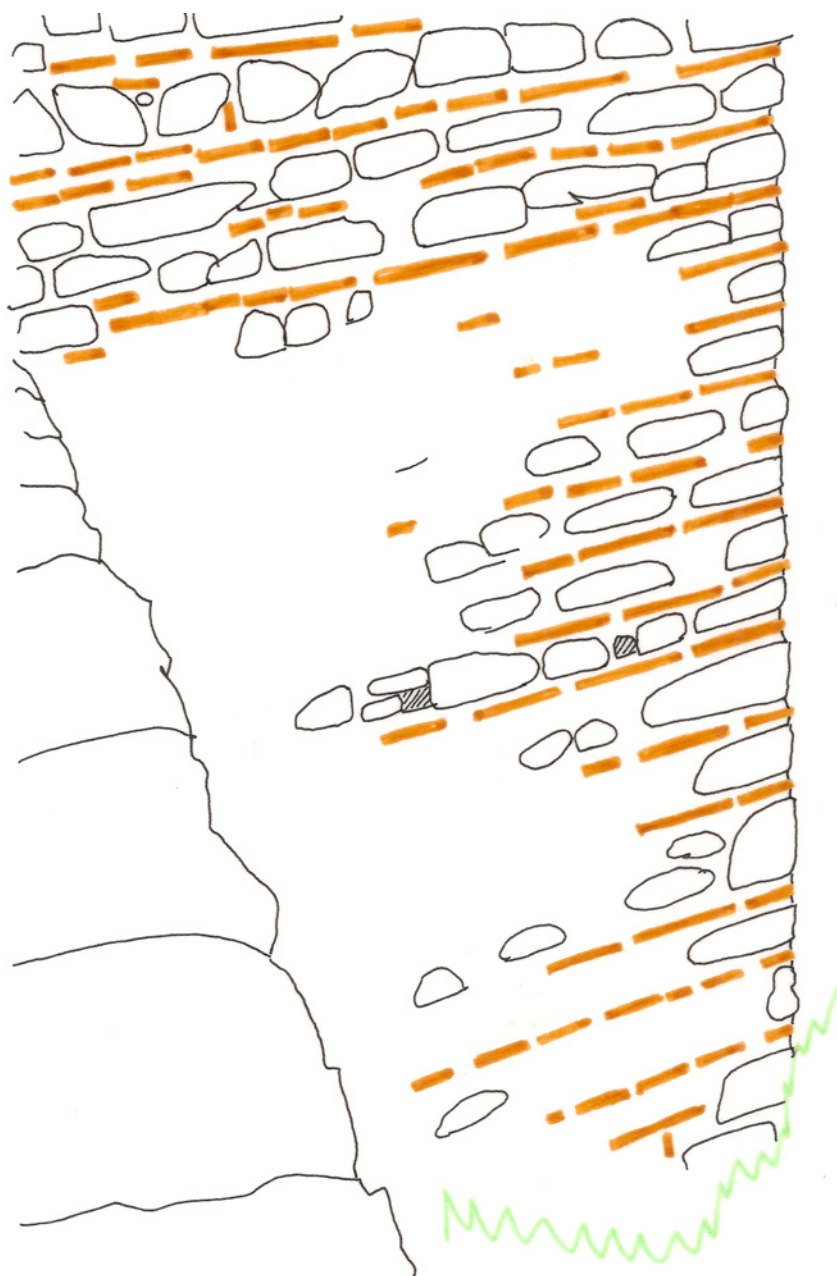
b)

Fig. 36. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, S cross-wall. View and drawing of a section of masonry. Type 4 masonry.



a)

Fig. 37. Castle of Nafpaktos, citadel/Peritorio, outer N façade. View and drawing of a section of masonry. Type 5 masonry.



b)

Fig. 37. Castle of Nafpaktos, citadel/Peritorio, outer N façade. View and drawing of a section of masonry. Type 5 masonry.



Fig. 38. Koronissia, Panagia church, SW corner. View of a section of masonry.
Type 6 masonry.

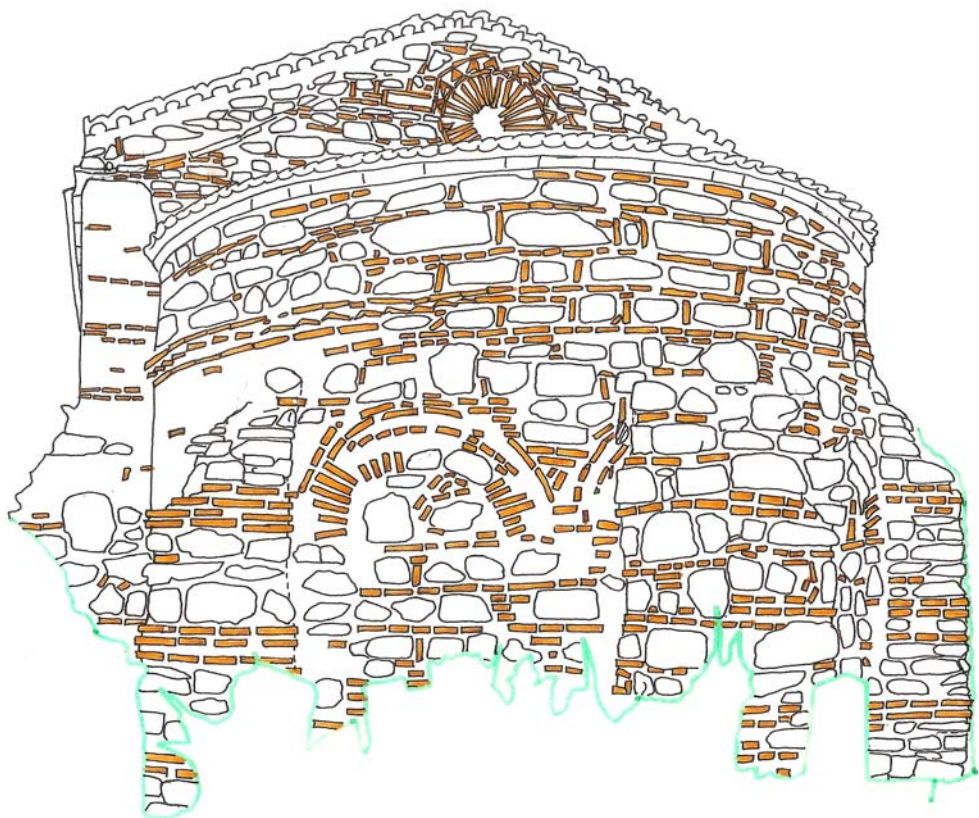


Fig. 39. Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios. Drawing of the E façade viewed from SE. Type 7 masonry.

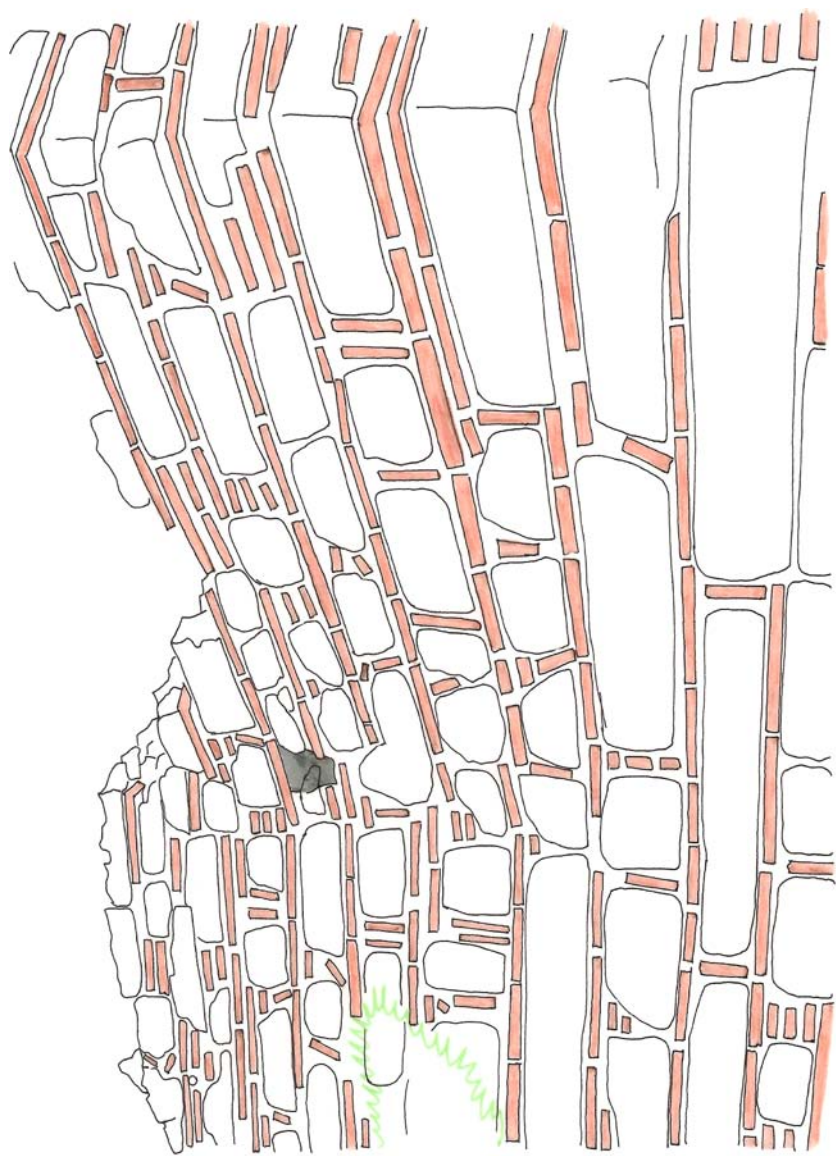
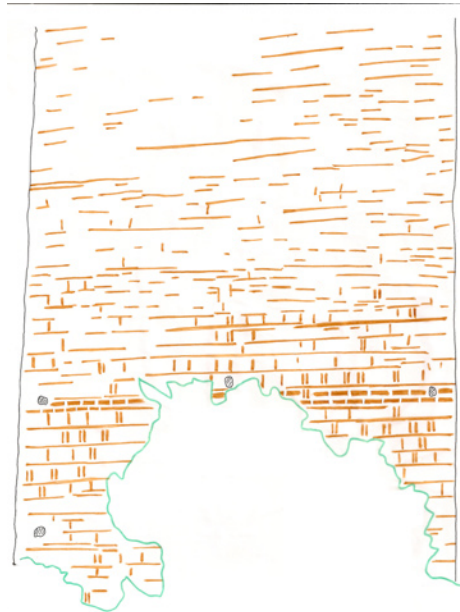


Fig. 40. E Varassova, Ag. Dimitrios, N façade. Drawing of a section of masonry.



a)



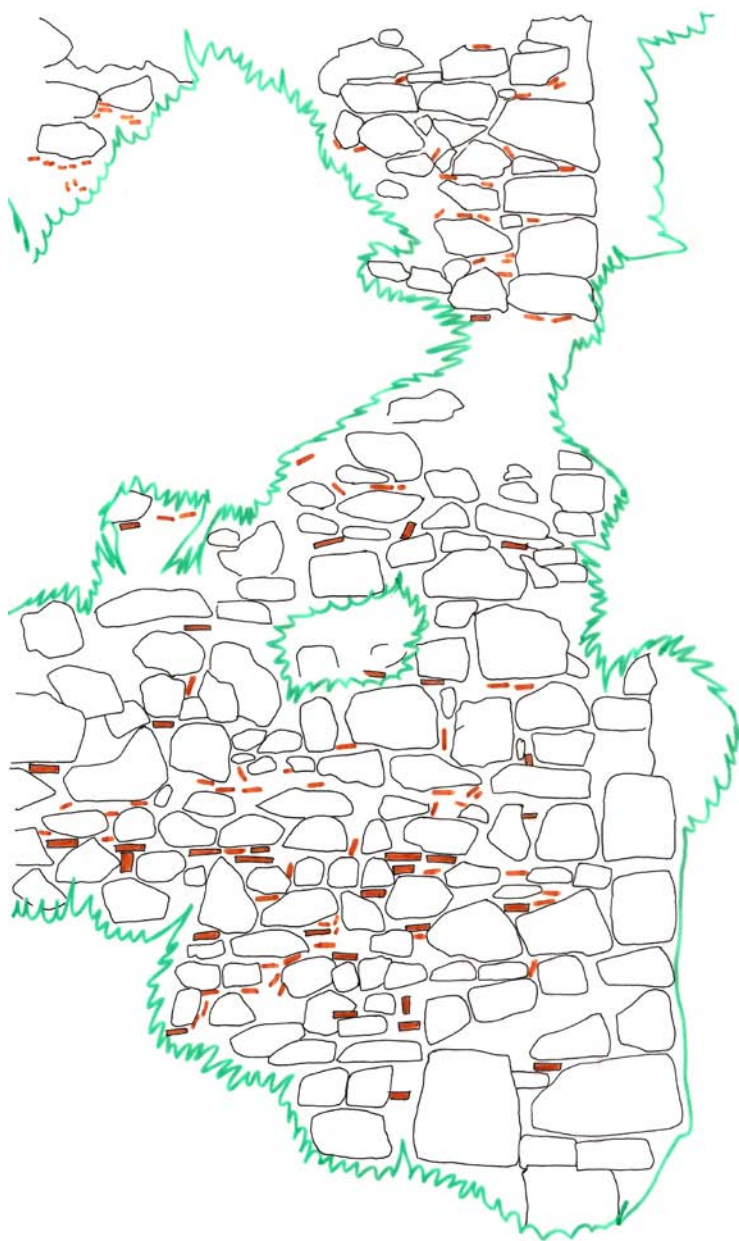
b)

Fig. 41. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, tower 'H'. View and drawing of the W façade.



a)

Fig. 42. Castle of Aetos, building in the citadel. View and drawing of a section of masonry.



b)

Fig. 42. Castle of Aetos, building in the citadel. View and drawing of a section of masonry.



Fig. 43. Angelokastro, outer enceinte. View from E.



Fig. 44. Zalongo, Taxiarches, E façade. View from E.



Fig. 45. Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris. Detail of the S façade.



Fig. 46. Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies. Detail of the E façade.

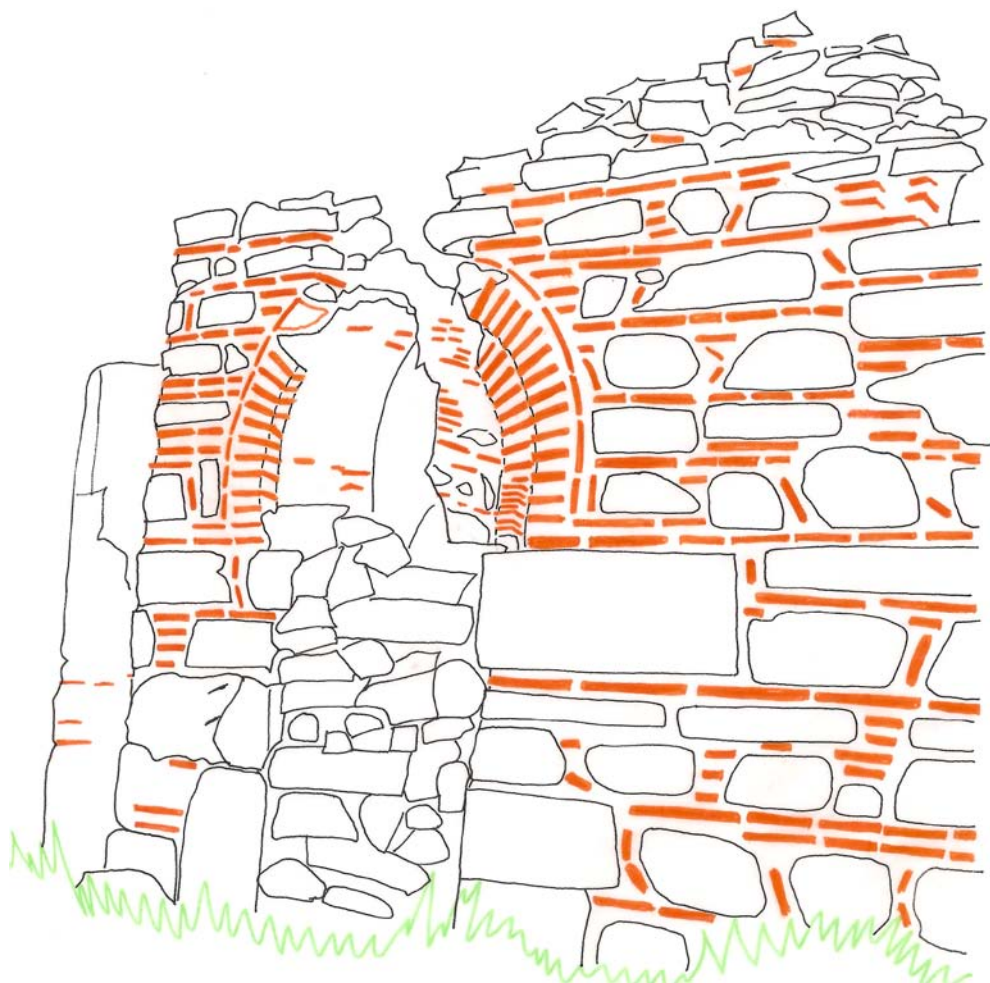


Fig. 47. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trinitou, SW building. Detail of the E façade.



a)

Fig. 48. A) Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas/Episkopi. Detail of the W façade. B) E Varassova, Ag. Dimitrios, N façade. Drawing of a section of masonry.



b)

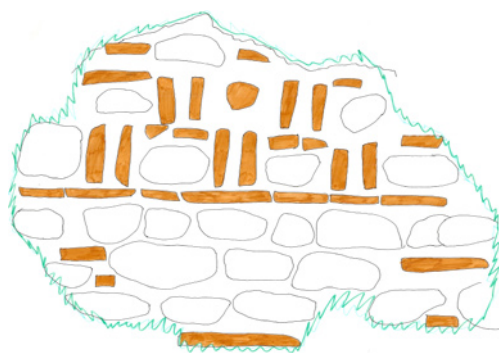
Fig. 48. A) Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas/Episkopi. Detail of the W façade. B) E Varassova, Ag. Dimitrios, N façade. Drawing of a section of masonry.



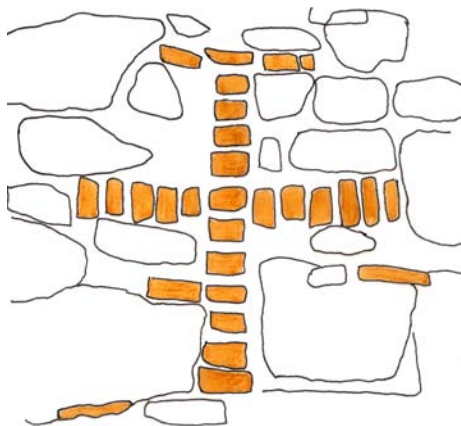
Fig. 49. Castle of Vonitsa, inner enceinte. Detail of masonry.



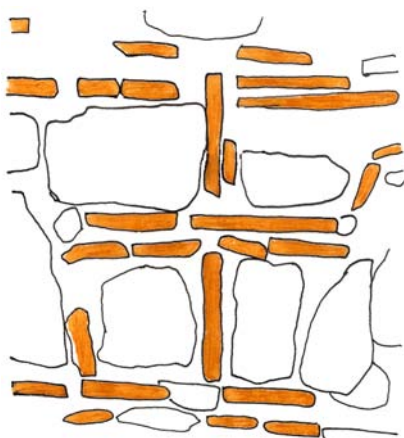
Fig. 50. Arta, Ag. Theodora. Detail of masonry in the S façade.



a)



b)

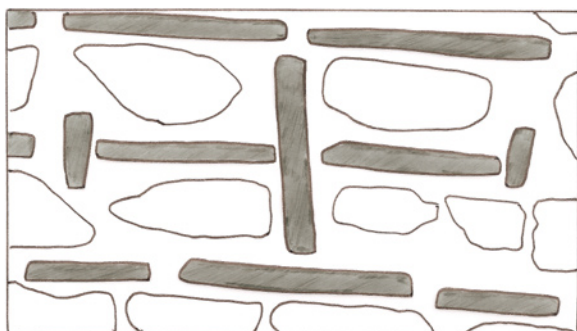


c)

Fig. 51. Drawings of cross patterns in the masonry. A) Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Sotira. B-C) Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies. D) Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi. E) Castle of Arta, 'Alichniotissa'.



d)



e)

Fig. 51. Drawings of cross patterns in the masonry. A) Efpalio, Nea Koukoura, Sotira. B-C) Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies. D) Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi. E) Castle of Arta, 'Alichniotissa'.



Fig. 52: Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi. Detail of the W façade.



a)



b)

Fig. 53. Sections of masonry. A) Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili, S façade. B) Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili, N façade. C) Castle of Nafpaktos, citadel/Peritorio, 'N Complex'. D) Paravola, Panagia church, E façade.



c)



d)

Fig. 53: Sections of masonry. A) Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili, S façade. B) Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili, N façade. C) Castle of Nafpaktos, citadel/Peritorio, 'N Complex'. D) Paravola, Panagia church, E façade.



Fig. 54. Arta, Ag. Vassilios stin Gefyra, E façade.



Fig. 55. Paravola, Panagia church. Drawing of a section of masonry in the apse viewed from SE.

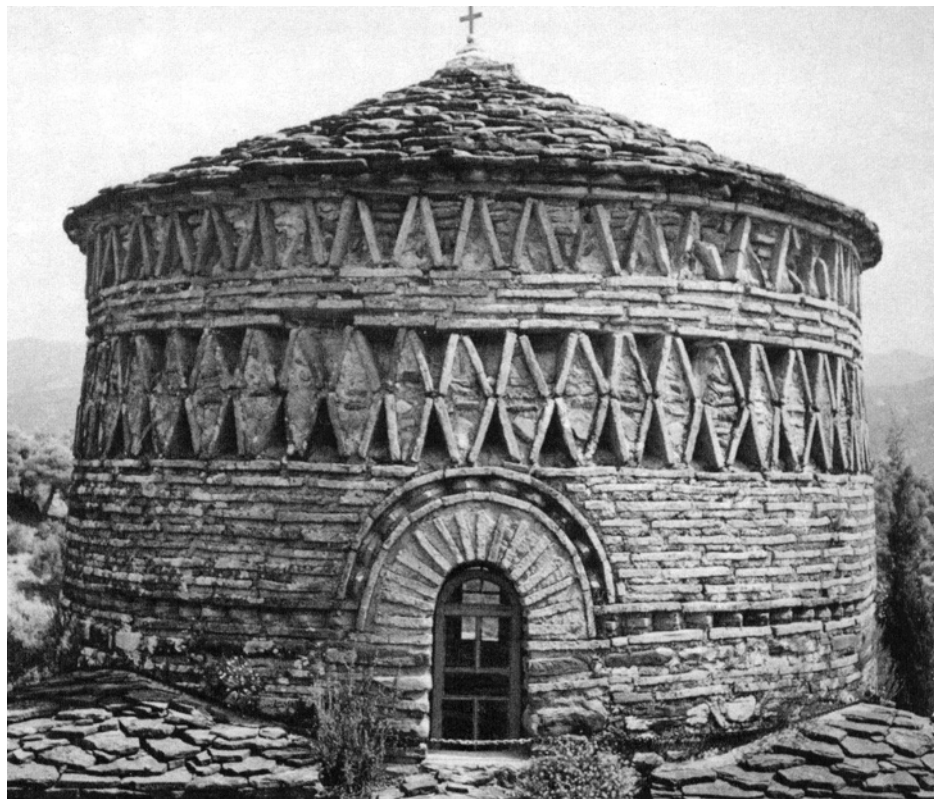


Fig. 56. Gavrolimni, Panaxiotissa, dome. View from W.



a)

Fig. 57. Castle of Artta. Sections of masonry in 'Alichiotissa' and drawing of detail.



b)

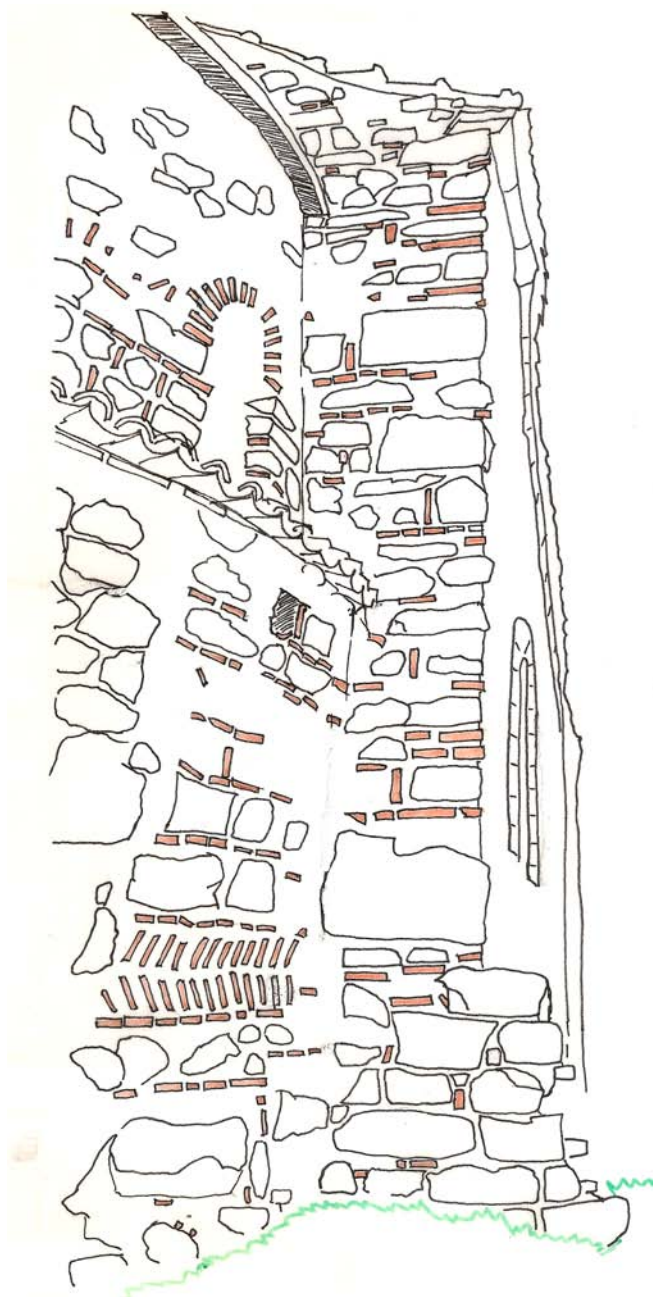


c)



d)

Fig. 57. Castle of Arta. Sections of masonry in 'Alichnotissa' and drawing of detail.



a)

Fig. 58. Paravola, Panagia church. A) Drawing of the NE corner. B) Detail of masonry.



b)

Fig. 58. Paravola, Panagia church. A) Drawing of the NE corner. B) Detail of masonry.



a)



b)

Fig. 59. Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili, N façade. Detail and drawing of masonry.



Fig. 60. Myrtia, Myrtia Monastery, katholikon, E façade. Detail of masonry.



Fig. 61. Angelokastro, SW building, W façade, tree of life in the masonry.



a)

Fig. 62. Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios. Sections of masonry in the: A) S façade,
B) N façade.



b)

Fig. 62. Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios. Sections of masonry in the: A) S façade,
B) N façade.



a)

Fig. 63. Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi. Drawings of sections of masonry in the: A) W façade of S aisle, B) W façade of the nave.



b)

Fig. 63. Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi. Drawings of sections of masonry in the: A) W façade of S aisle, B) W façade of the nave.



a)

Fig. 64. Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada. A) View from SW. B) Drawing of the E cross arm and NE corner.

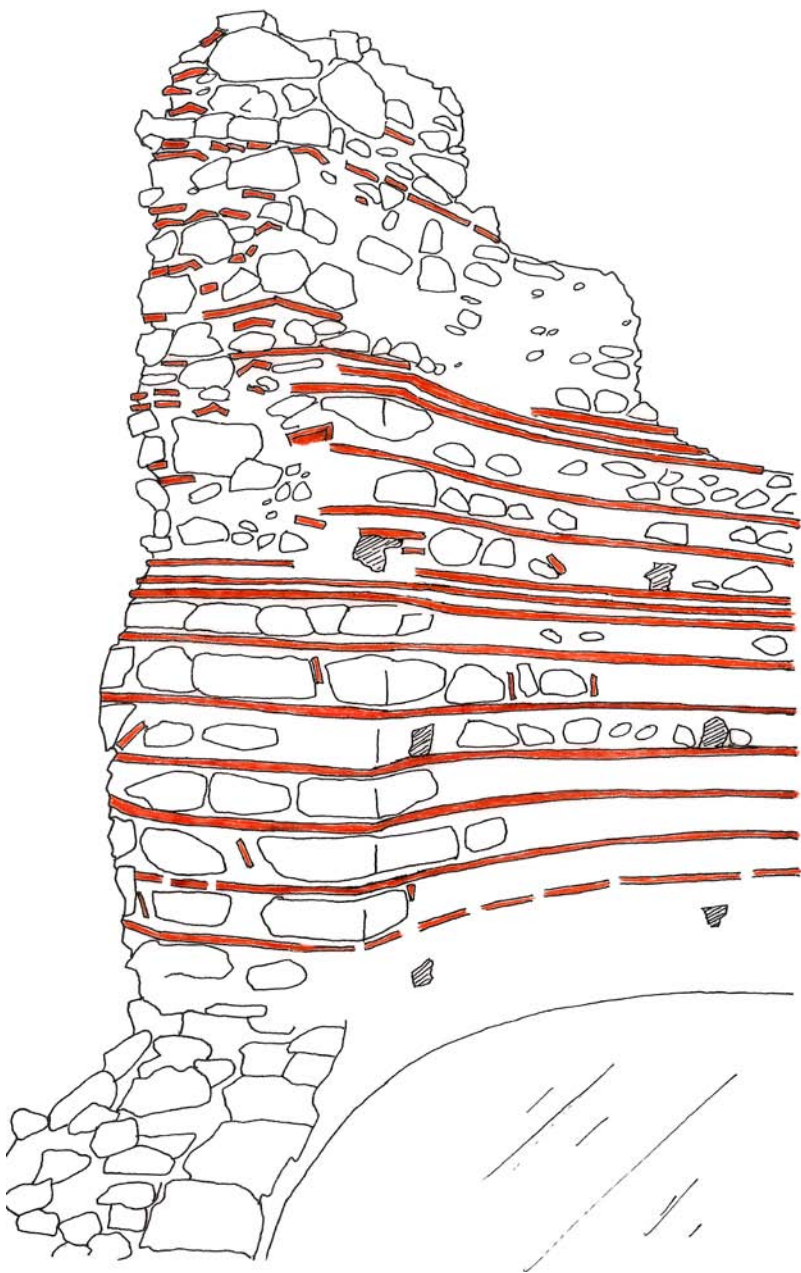


Fig. 64. Agrinio, Lefka Mavrika, Ag. Triada. A) View from SW. B) Drawing of the E cross arm and NE corner.



a)

Fig. 65. Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia, N part of the inner façade of the apse.
View and drawing of a section of masonry.



b)

Fig. 65. Kandila, Mytikas, Ag. Sophia, N part of the inner façade of the apse. View and drawing of a section of masonry.



a)

Fig. 66. Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies. A) Section of masonry on the E façade. B) E façade and NE corner, drawing of a section of masonry.

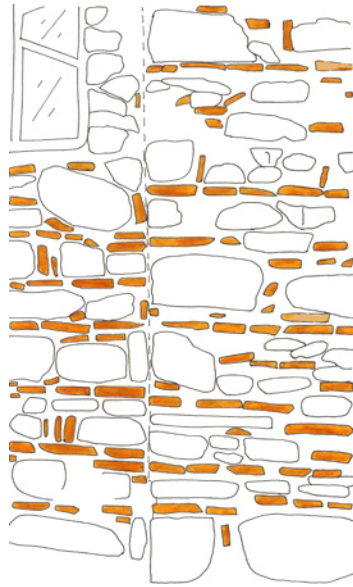


b)

Fig. 66. Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies. A) Section of masonry on the E façade. B) E façade and NE corner, drawing of a section of masonry.



Fig. 67. Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas / Episkopi, W façade. View of the upper part of the wall.



a)



b)

Fig. 68. Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios. A) Drawing of a section of masonry on the N façade. B) Section of masonry on the N façade.

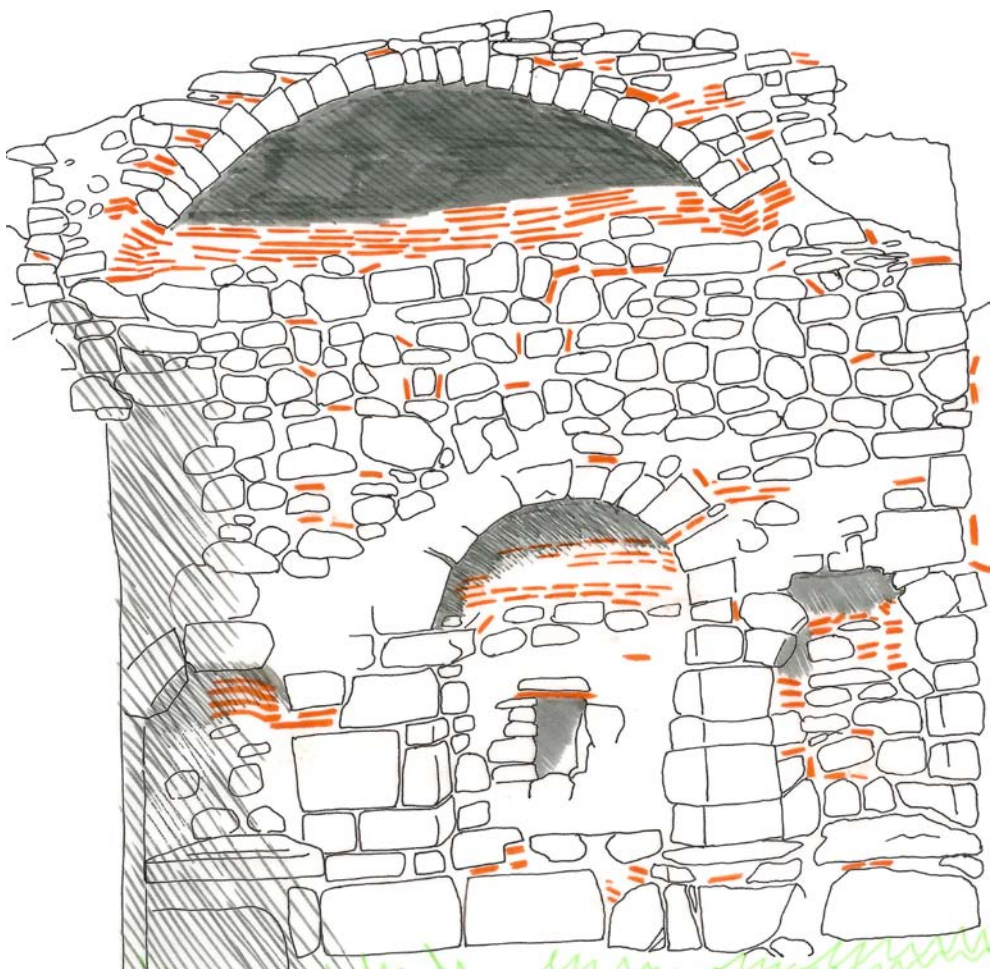


Fig. 69. Castle of Astakos. Drawing of the E wall of Church 'A' viewed from the W.

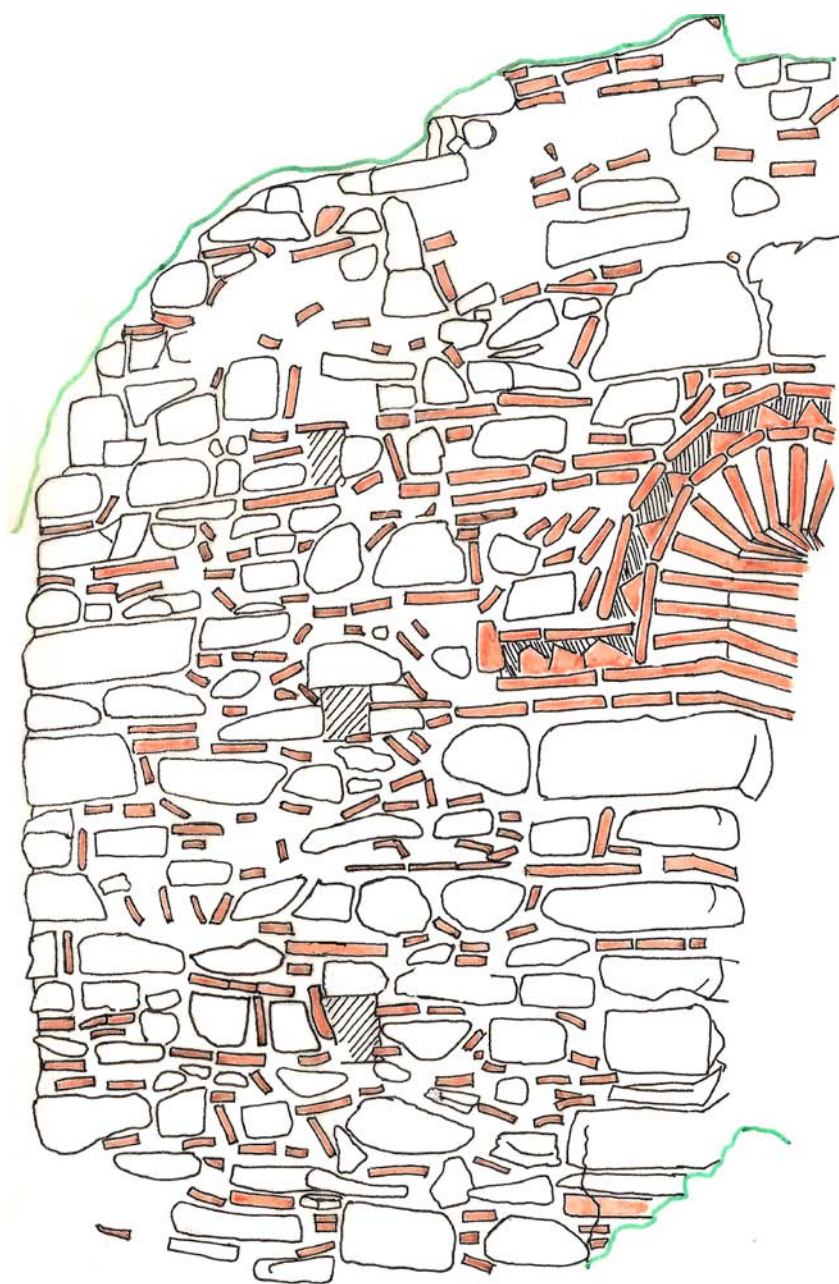


Fig. 70. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou, SW building. Drawing of a section of masonry on the E façade.



Fig. 71. Vlacherna, Vlacherna Monastery, Katholikon. View of the SE corner (courtesy of Pr. P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



a)

Fig. 72. Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa, Panagia Monastery, katholikon. A) The original masonry in the NE corner and the N half of the apse. B) Drawing of a section of masonry in the E part of the N façade.



b)

Fig. 72. Panagia Peninsula near Vonitsa, Panagia Monastery, katholikon. A) The original masonry in the NE corner and the N half of the apse. B) Drawing of a section of masonry in the E part of the N façade.

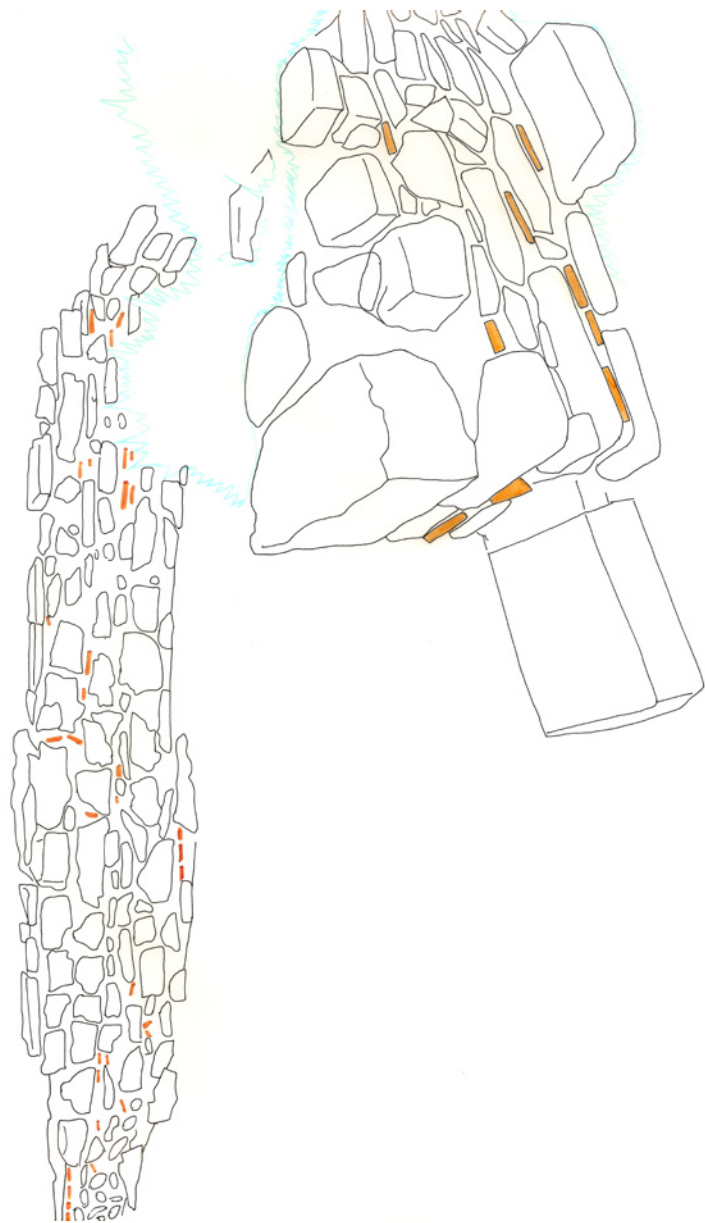


Fig. 73. Kefalos, Middle Byzantine chapel, W part. Drawing of the masonry.



Fig. 74. Gavrolimni, Panaxiotissa. View from the E.



Fig. 75. Koronissia, Panagia Monastery, katholikon. View of the S façade from S.

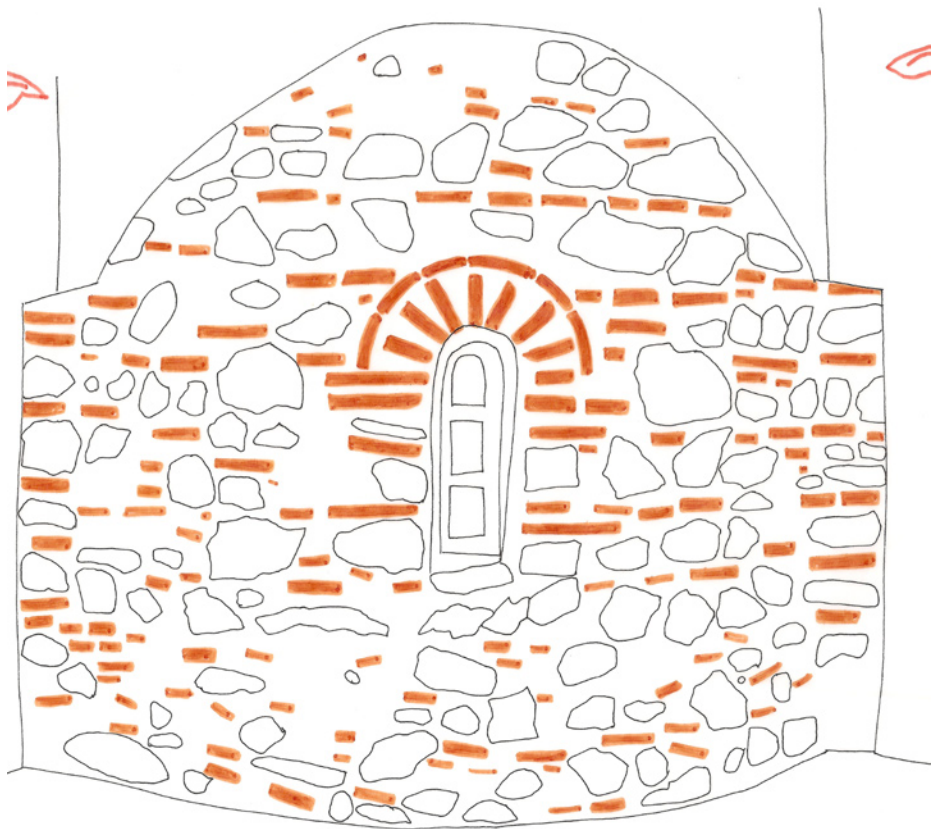


Fig. 76. Stefani, Ag. Varvara, E façade. Drawing of the masonry in the apse.

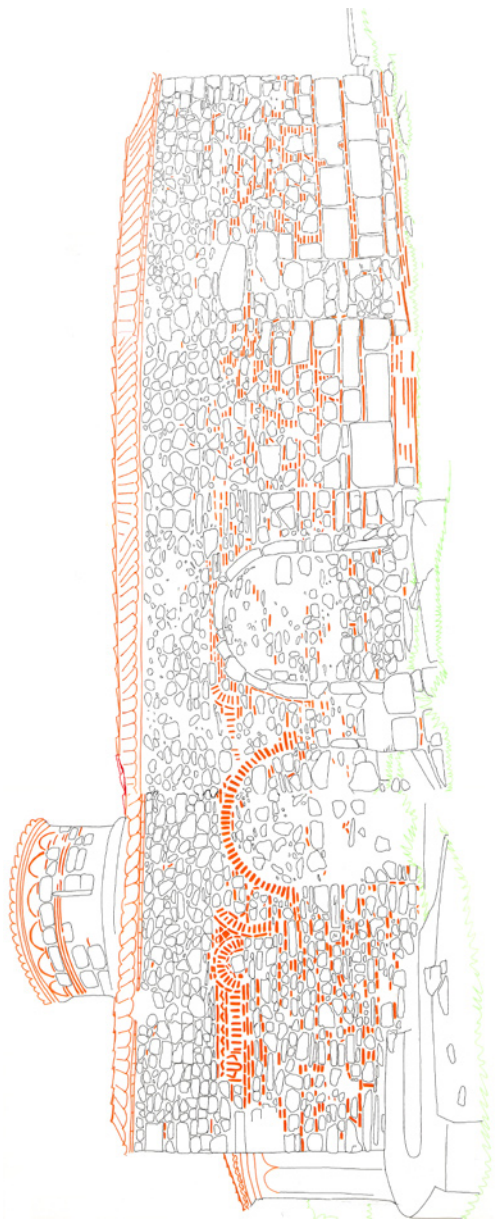


Fig. 77. Nea Sampsonda, Panagia sto Kozili, N façade. Drawing of the masonry.



Fig. 78. Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili, S façade. Section of masonry in the SE corner.



Fig. 79. Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery, old church. View from W.



Fig. 80. Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias. View from W.



a)

Fig. 81. Lyssimachia, Ypsili Panagia Monastery, katholikon. A) View of the internal facade of the N side apse. B) Drawing of a section of masonry on the E facade.



b)

Fig. 81. Lyssimachia, Ypsili Panagia Monastery, katholikon. A) View of the internal façade of the N side apse. B) Drawing of a section of masonry on the E façade.



Fig. 82. Castle of Nafpaktos, citadel/Peritorio, 'N Complex'. Section of masonry.



Fig. 83. Vonitsa, Panagia Alichniotissa. View of the apse from SE.

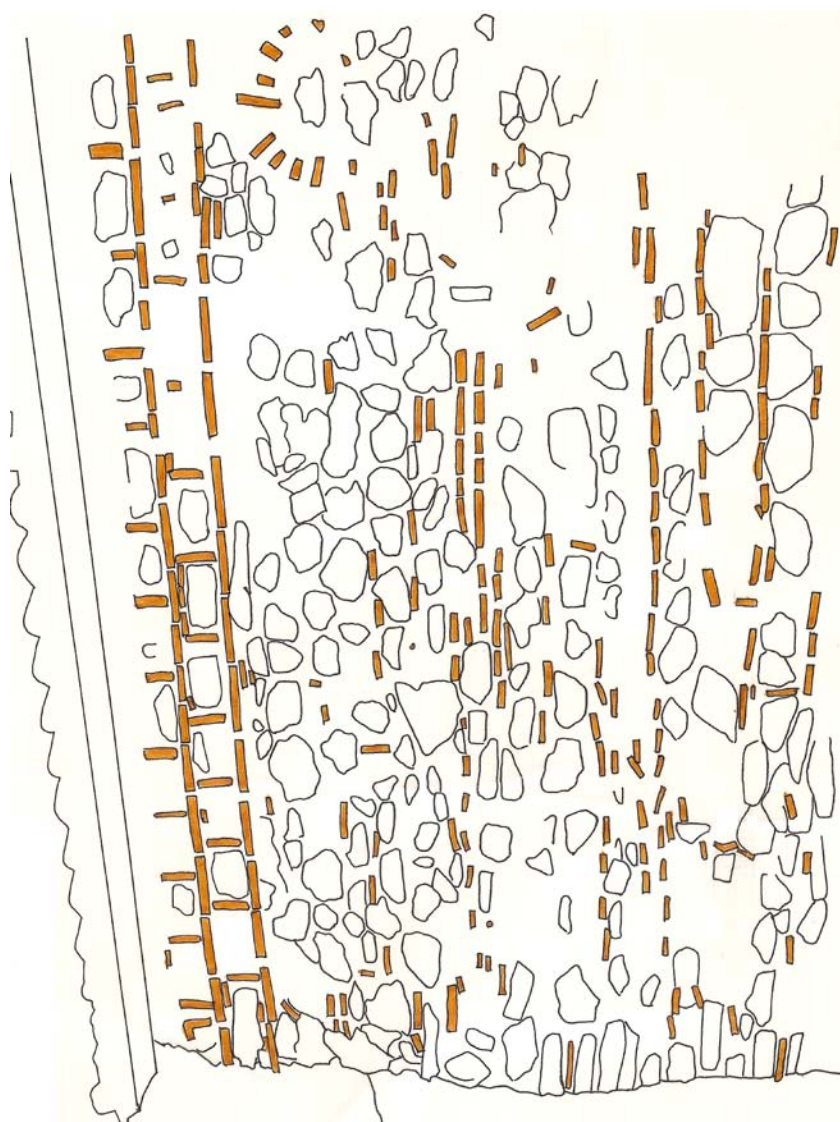
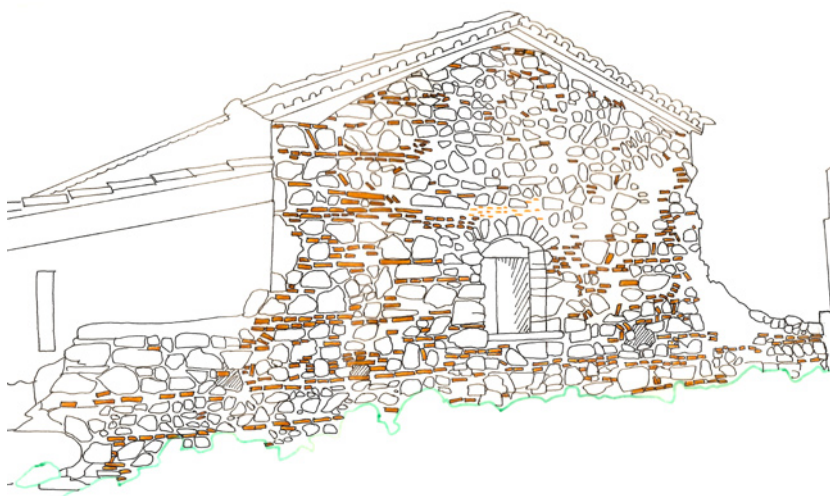


Fig. 84. Vonitsa, Panagia Alichniotissa. Drawing of a section of masonry in the E part of the N façade.

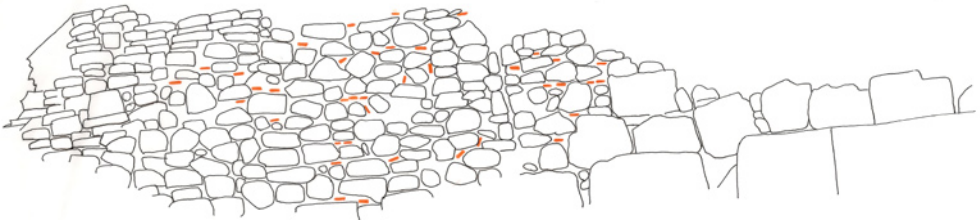


a)



b)

Fig. 85. Vonitsa, Ag. Ioannis in the cemetery, W façade. A) View from the W.
B) Drawing of the masonry.



a)

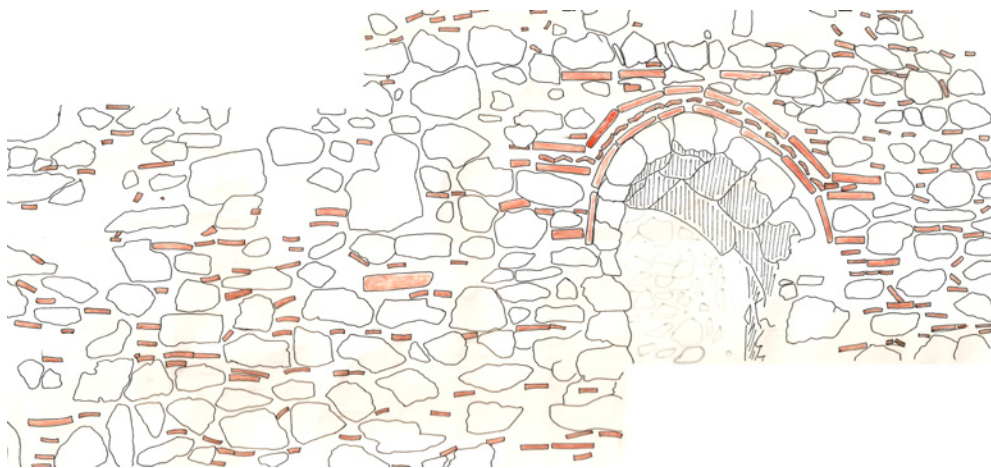


b)

Fig. 86. Castle of Astakos. A) Drawing of a section of masonry in the cross wall. B) Section of masonry on the N façade of the enceinte.



a)



b)

Fig. 87. Castle of Vonitsa, inner enceinte. Drawings of sections of masonry.



a)



b)

Fig. 88. Castle of Nafpaktos. View and drawing of the SW tower of the citadel/
Peritorio.



Fig. 89. Castle of Nafpaktos. Section of masonry on the E façade of the enceinte at the citadel/Peritorio.



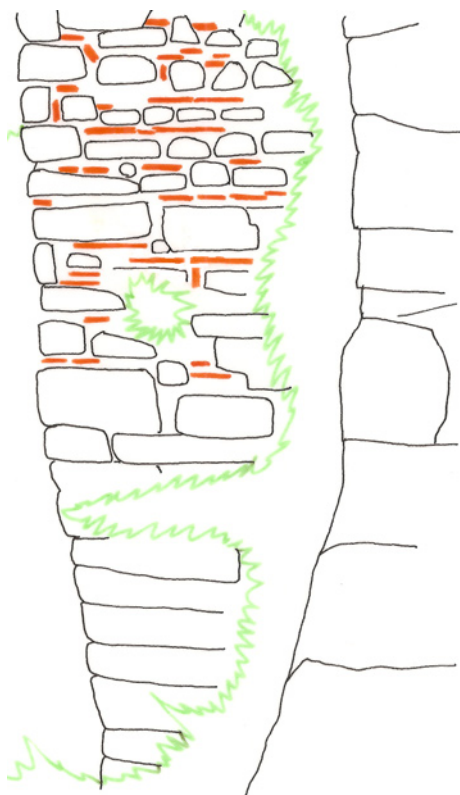
Fig. 90. Castle of Arta. Section of masonry at the W part of the enceinte.



Fig. 91. Castle of Arta. Section of masonry at the E part of the enceinte.



a)



b)

Fig. 92. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, tower 'T'. Drawing of a section of masonry.



a)

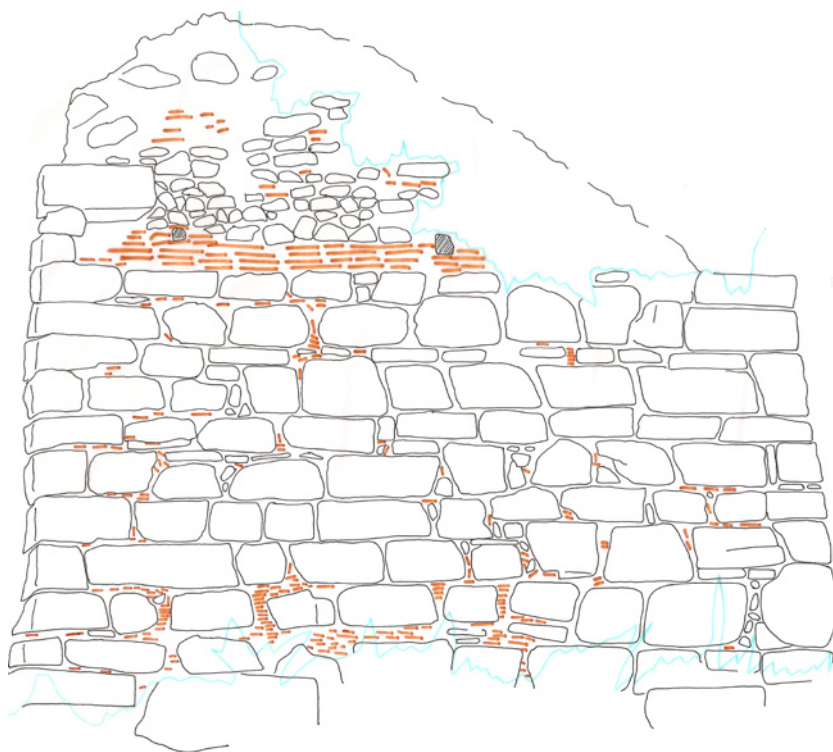


b)

Fig. 93. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, tower 'IE'. View and drawing of a section of masonry.



a)



b)

Fig. 94. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, tower 'E'. View and drawing of the NE façade.



a)

Fig. 95. Nikopolis. Sections of masonry in the enceinte: A) at the gate 'Arapoportu' and B) in the N part of the W façade.

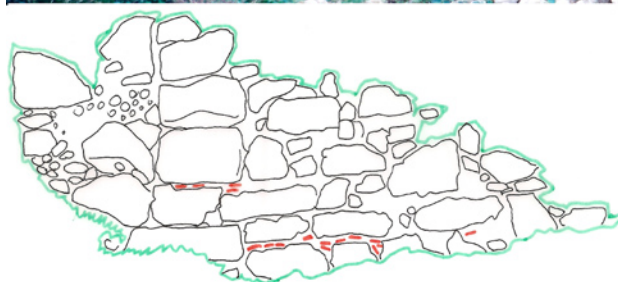


b)

Fig. 95. Nikopolis. Sections of masonry in the enceinte: A) at the gate 'Arapoportá' and B) in the N part of the W façade.



a)

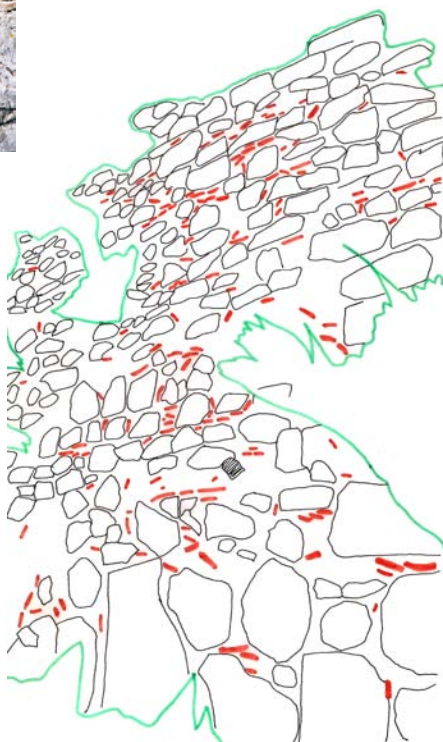


b)

Fig. 96. Lefkada, Castle of Koulmos. Views and drawings of sections of masonry in the enceinte: A) on the E part and B) on the NE part.



a)



b)

Fig. 97. Lefkada, Castle of Koulmos. View and drawing of a section of masonry on the S façade of the citadel.



Fig. 98. Angelokastro, SW building. Drawing of a section of masonry on the W façade.



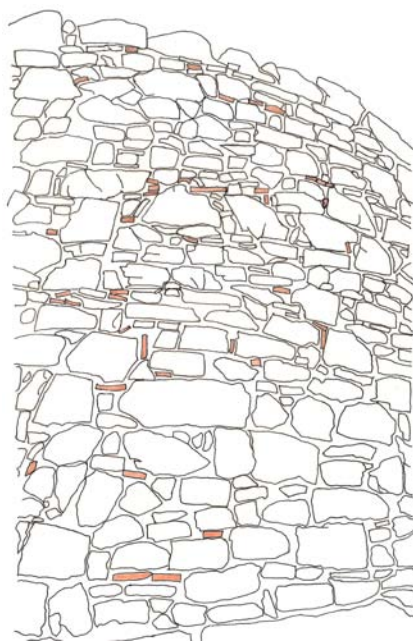
Fig. 99. Angelokastro. Section of masonry at the gate of the enceinte.



Fig. 100. Ag. Ilias, tower. View of the interior from the S.



a)



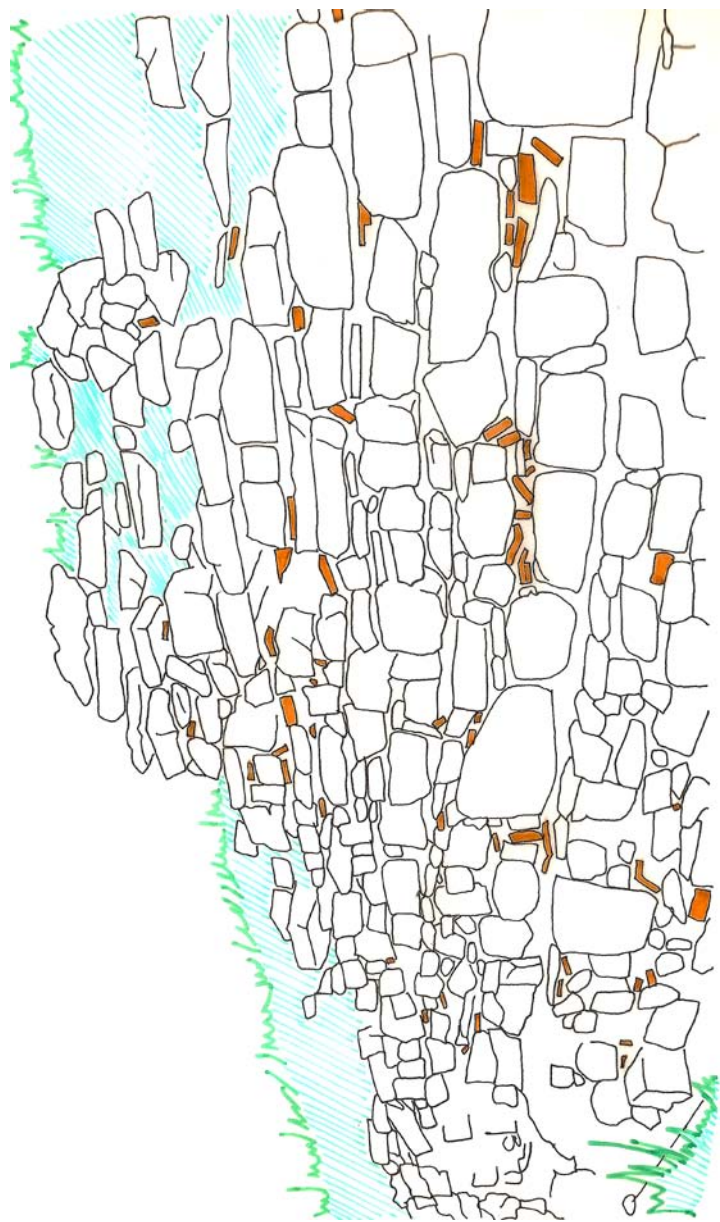
b)

Fig. 101. Castle of Paravola, SW tower. View from NW and drawing of the masonry.



a)

Fig. 102. Kato Vassiliki, enceinte. View from W and drawing of a section of masonry.



b)

Fig. 102. Kato Vassiliki, enceinte. View from W and drawing of a section of masonry.



Fig. 103. Stratos, 'Byzantine building 1', view of the E inner façade.



Fig. 104. Castle of Arta, SE building. View from SW.



a)



b)

Fig. 105. Castle of Nafpaktos, Byzantine building ('Bath House') in the citadel/ Peritorio. A) E façade. B) S façade.



Fig. 106. Castle of Nafpaktos, Byzantine building in the citadel/Peritorio.



Fig. 107. Nea Sampsounda, Panagia sto Kozili, SW building. View of the E part of the S façade.

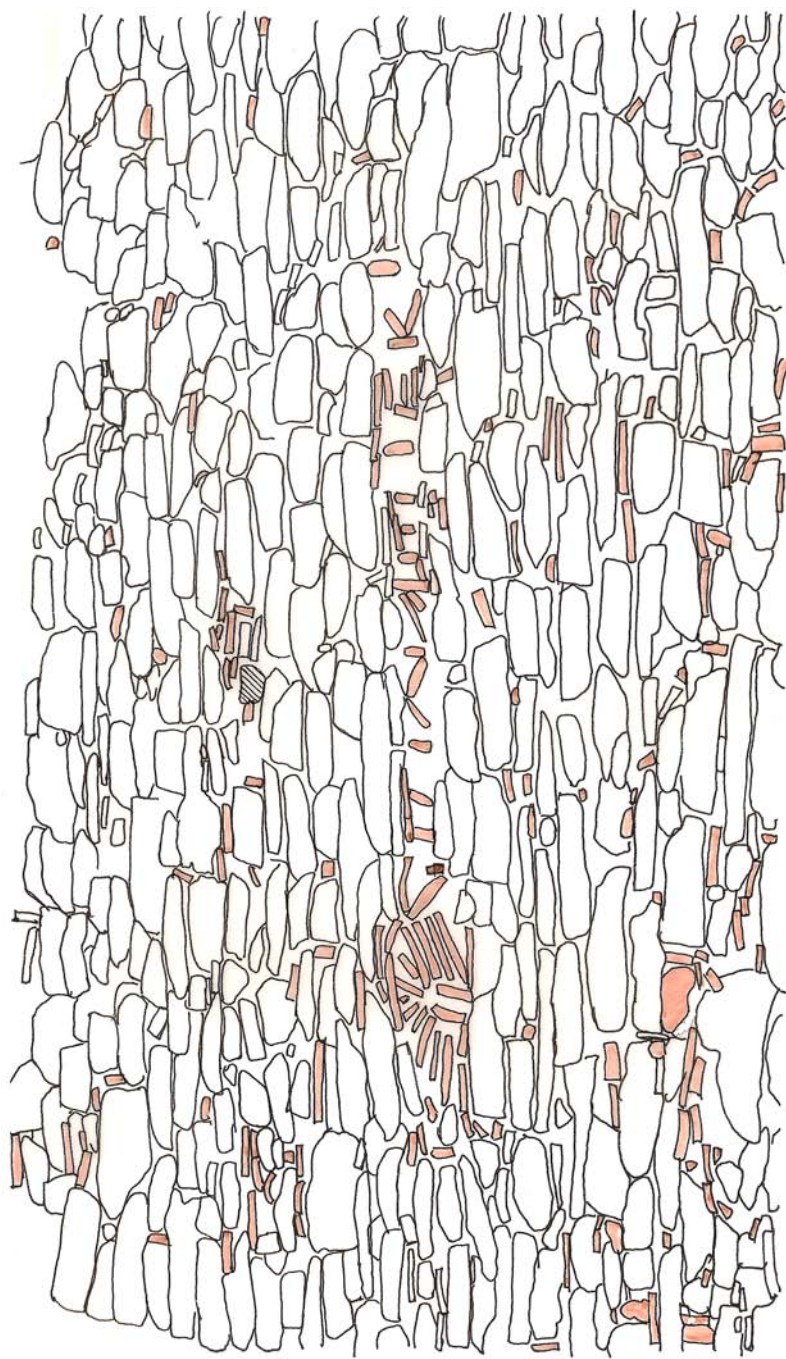
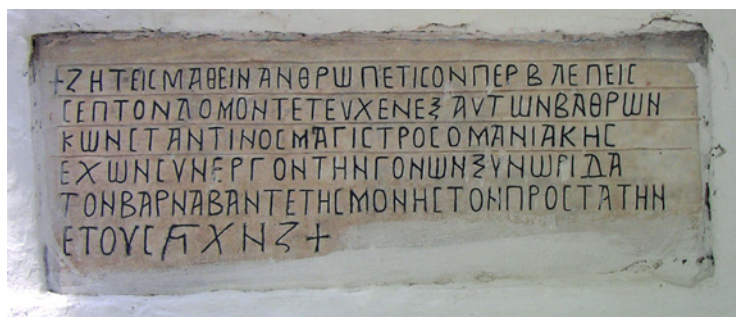


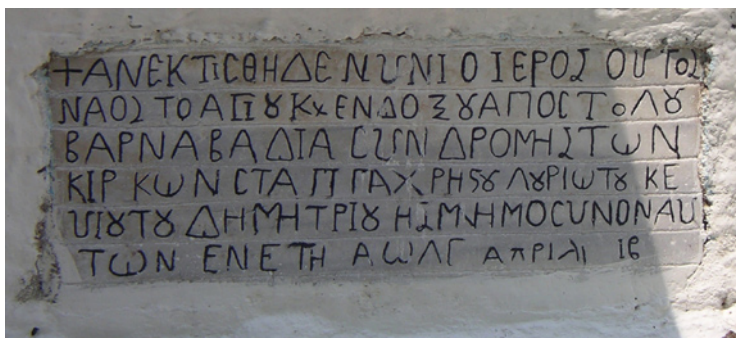
Fig. 108. Angelokastro, SW building. Drawing of a section of masonry on the W façade.



a)



b)



c)

Fig. 111. Louros, Ag. Varnavas. A) View of the S façade. B) Inscription to the left of the entrance. C) Inscription to the right of the entrance.



a)

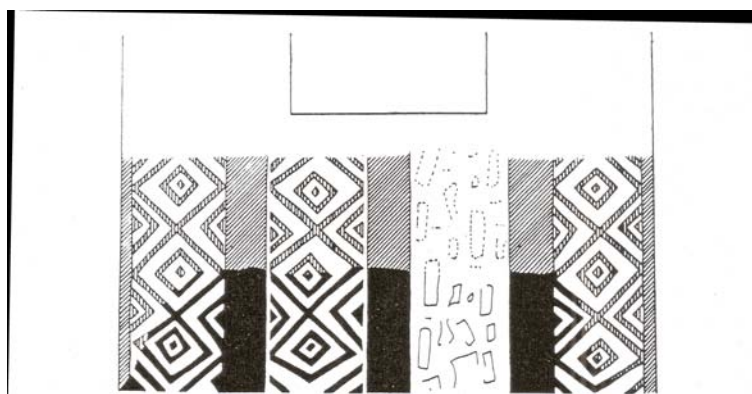
MA XW

b)

Fig. 112. Lefkada, Vournikas, Ag. Ioannis sto Rodaki. Inscriptions on architectural members embedded in the masonry.



a)



b)

Fig. 113. Stamna, Ag. Theodoroi. Fresco decorations: A) in the apse of the *prothesis*, b) in the main apse (photograph and drawing by V. Katsaros, courtesy of the Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon).



a)



b)

Fig. 114. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou. A) Sculptures arranged in the courtyard. B) One of the mullions (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



Fig. 115. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou. Sculptures arranged in the courtyard.

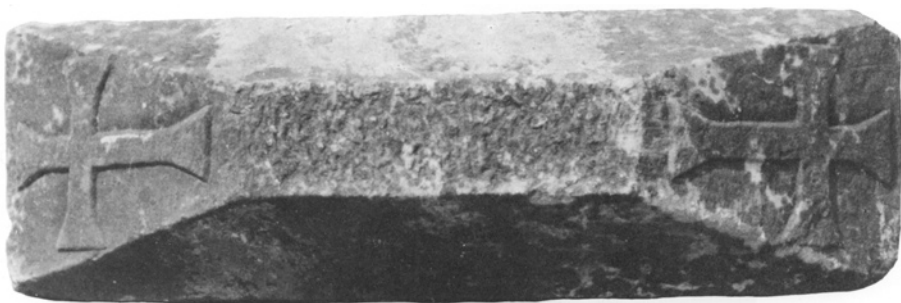


Fig. 116. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou. Sculpture (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



Fig. 117. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou. Sculpture (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



Fig. 118. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou. Sculpture (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



Fig. 119. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou. Sculpture arranged in the courtyard.



a)



b)

Fig. 120. Mt. Arakynthos, Panagia Trimitou. Sculptures arranged in the courtyard.



Fig. 121. Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris. Sculptures embedded in the church (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



Fig. 122. Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris. Sculpture embedded in the church (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



Fig. 123. Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris. Sculpture embedded in the church (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).

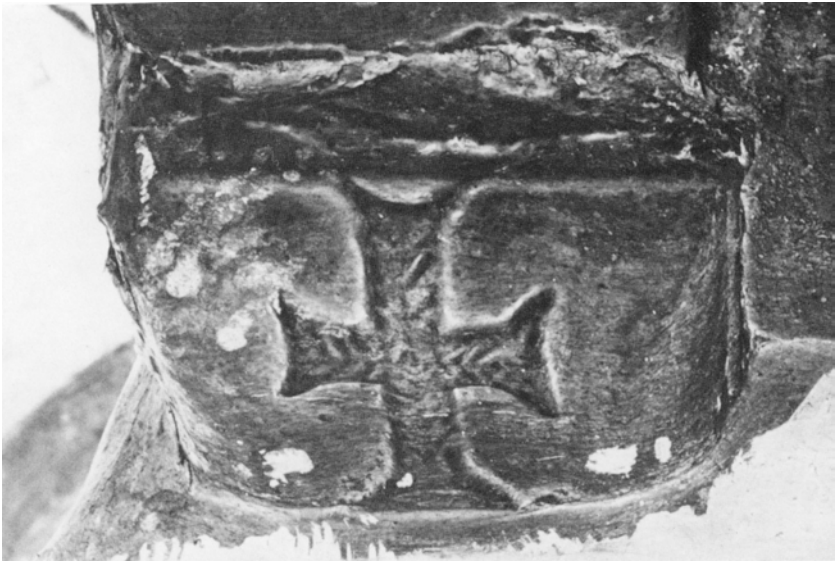


Fig. 124. Plissioi, Ag. Dimitrios Katsouris. Sculptures embedded in the church (courtesy of P. Vocotopoulos and the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).



a)



b)

Fig. 125. Aetoliko, Panagia Finikia. Sculpture.

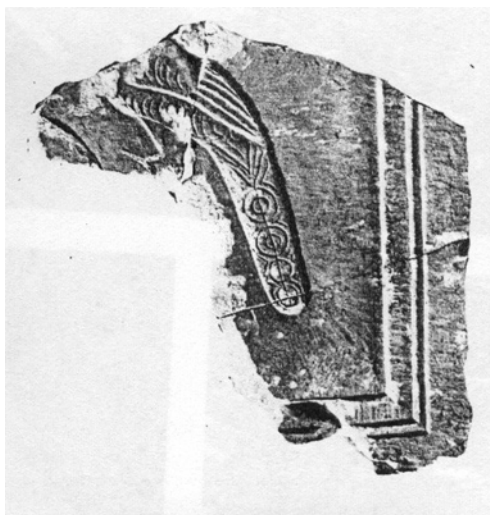


Fig. 126. Aetoliko, Finikia, basilica. Sculpture (photograph by F. Zafeiropoulou, courtesy of the 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania and the 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).



a)



b)

Fig. 127. Castle of Arta. Sculpture embedded in the citadel. A) Front side.
B) Under side.



Fig. 128. Castle of Arta. Sculpture embedded in the citadel (courtesy of
N. Moutsopoulos).



Fig. 129. Castle of Arta. Sculpture embedded in the citadel.



Fig. 130. Vomvokou, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos Monastery, katholikon. Sculpture embedded in the W façade.



Fig. 131. Arta, Ag. Vassilios. Sculpture embedded in the E façade.



Fig. 132. Arta, Panagia Kassopitra. Sculpture embedded to the wall in the right of the entrance.

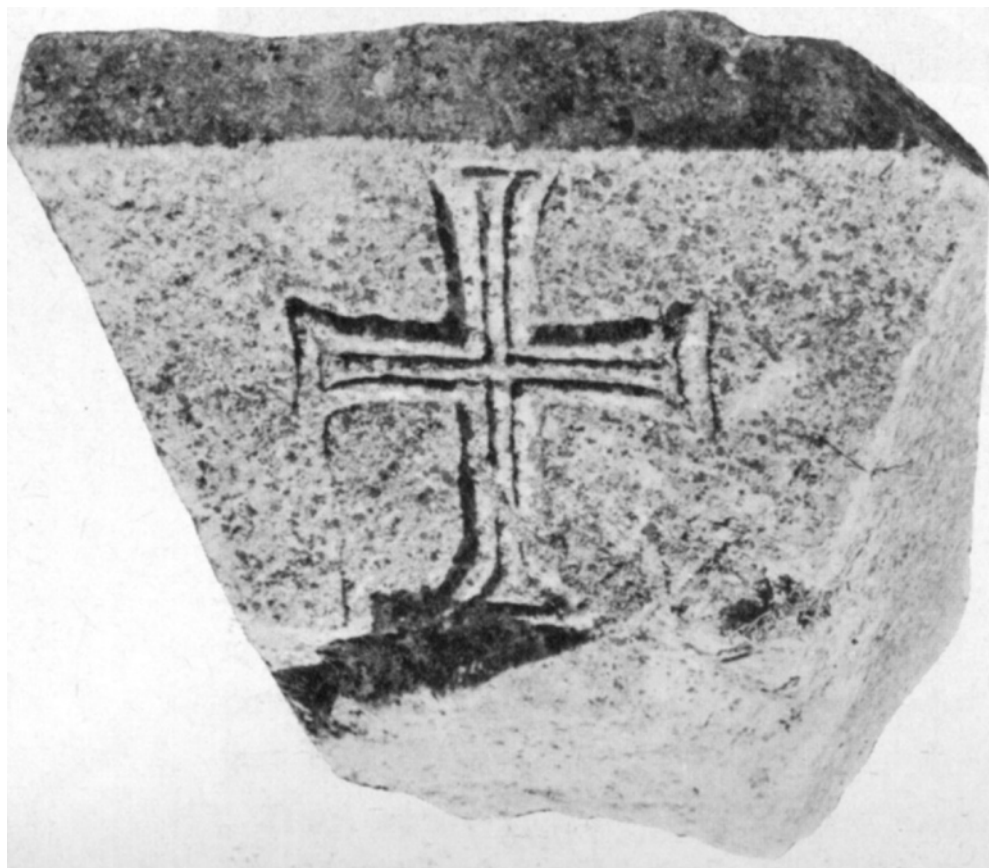


Fig. 133. Drymos. Sculpture (photograph by E. Mastrokostas, courtesy by the 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine antiquities of Aetoloacarnania and the 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).



Fig. 134. Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery. Sculpture embedded in the S façade.



Fig. 135. Efpalio, Varnakova Monastery. Sculpture embedded in the S façade.



Fig. 136. Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios. Sculpture arranged in the courtyard.

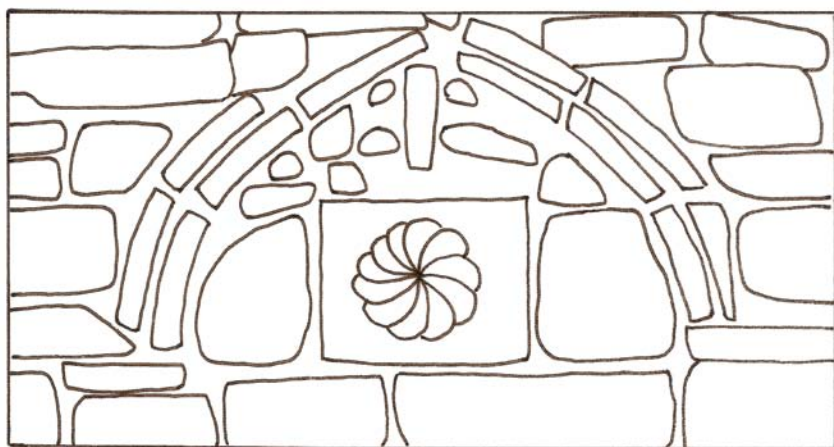


Fig. 137. Ag. Georgios, Ag. Georgios. Drawing of sculpture embedded in the W façade.



Fig. 138. Kandila, Ag. Sophia. Sculpture (photograph by P. Vocotopoulos, courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



Fig. 139. Kandila, Ag. Sophia. Restored sculpture.



Fig. 140. Kandila, Ag. Sophia. Sculpture.



Fig. 141. Kefalos. Sculpture (photograph by Ch. Barla, courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



a)

Fig. 142. Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias. Sculptures.



b)

Fig. 142. Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias. Sculptures.



c)

Fig. 142. Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias. Sculptures.



d)

Fig. 142. Kirkizates, Ag. Nikolaos tis Rodias. Sculptures.



a)



b)

Fig. 143. Louros, Ag. Varnavas. Sculptures embedded in the S façade.



Fig. 144. Louros, Ag. Varnavas. Sculpture embedded in the S façade.



Fig. 145. Castle of Nafpaktos. Sculpture embedded in the keep.



Fig. 146. Nafpaktos. Sculpture found in the town (photograph by I. Kosti, courtesy of the Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio).



Fig. 147. Nafpaktos. Sculpture found in the town (courtesy of C. Vanderheyde and the École Française d'Athènes).



Fig. 148. Castle of Nafpaktos. Sculpture embedded in the SW tower of the Kastraki (IcKale).



Fig. 149. Nafpaktos. Sculpture once embedded in the Kastraki (IcKale) of the castle (courtesy of C. Vanderheyde and the École Française d'Athènes).



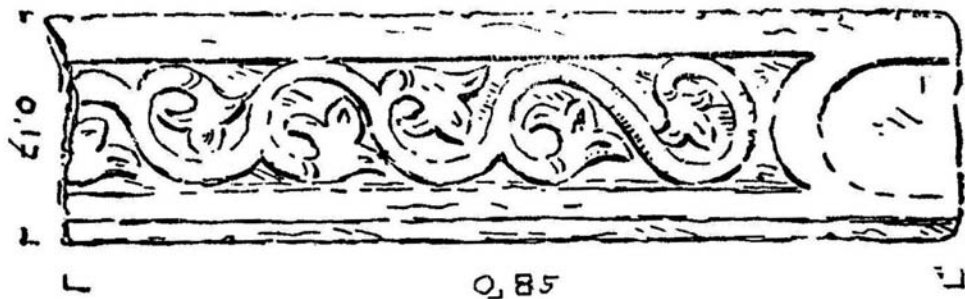
Fig. 150. Nafpaktos, Ag. Stefanos. Sculpture embedded in the E façade.



Fig. 151. Nea Sampsounda, Agiolitharo, Ag. Apostoloi. Sculpture embedded in the S façade (courtesy of C. Vanderheyde and the École Française d'Athènes).



a)



b)

Fig. 152. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, church. Sculptures embedded: A) in the threshold, B) in the S façade (drawing by G. Soteriou, courtesy of the Agathoerga Katastimata of the Metropolis of Ioannina).



Fig. 153. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, church. Sculpture embedded in the E façade.



Fig. 154. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi, church. Sculptures embedded in the S façade.



Fig. 155. Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery, old church. Sculpture arranged in the courtyard.



Fig. 156. Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery, old church. Sculpture arranged in the courtyard.



Fig. 157. Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery, old church. Sculpture arranged in the courtyard.



Fig. 158. Vlacherna, Vlacherna Monastery. Sculptures embedded in the E façade of the S apse.



Fig. 159. Castle of Vonitsa, quayside, Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani. Sculpture embedded in the modern church.

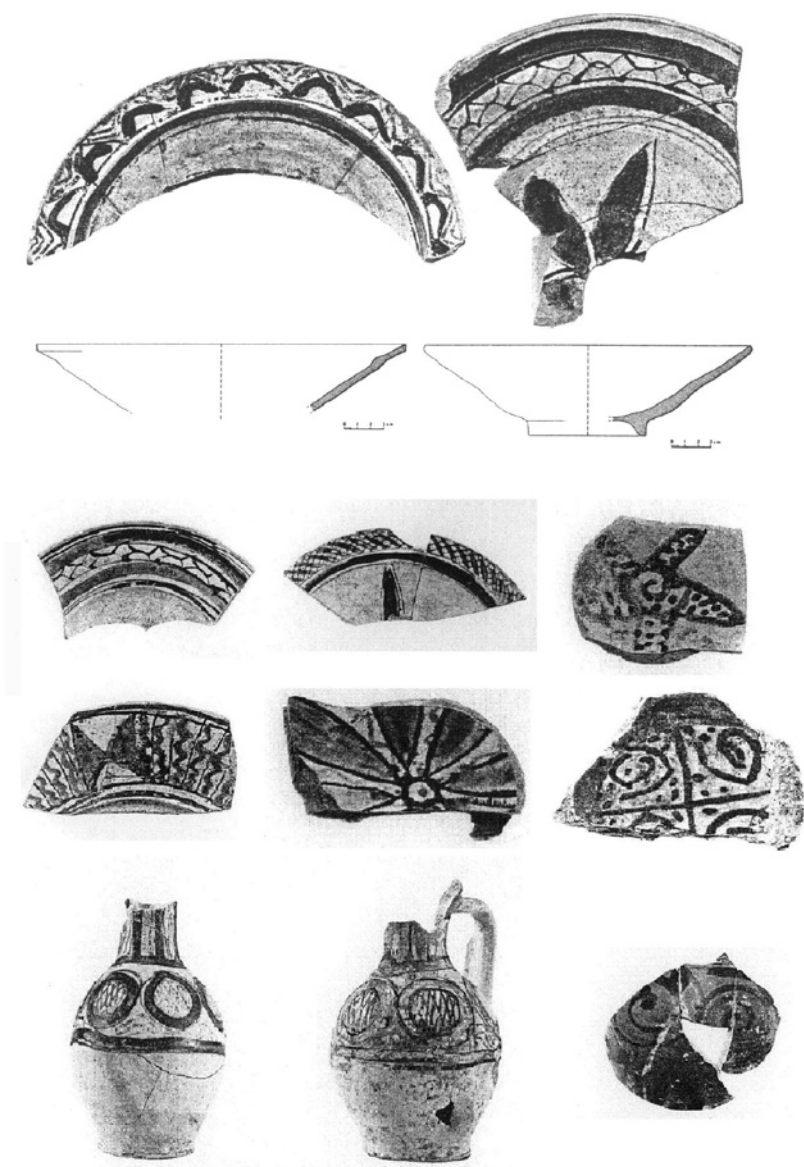


Fig. 16o. Arta. Pottery found during salvage excavations (photograph by A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, courtesy of the Christian Archaeological Society).

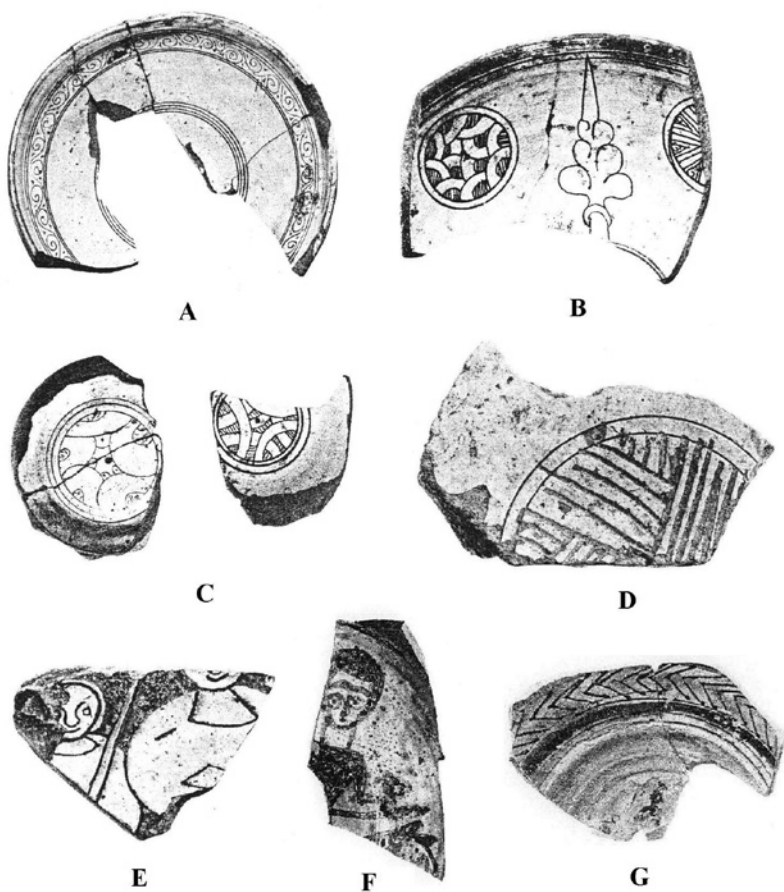


Fig. 161. Arta. Pottery found during salvage excavations (photograph by A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, courtesy of the Christian Archaeological Society).



Fig. 162. Drymos. Pottery found during excavation (photograph by E. Mastrokostas, courtesy of the 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine antiquities of Aetoloacarnania and the 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).

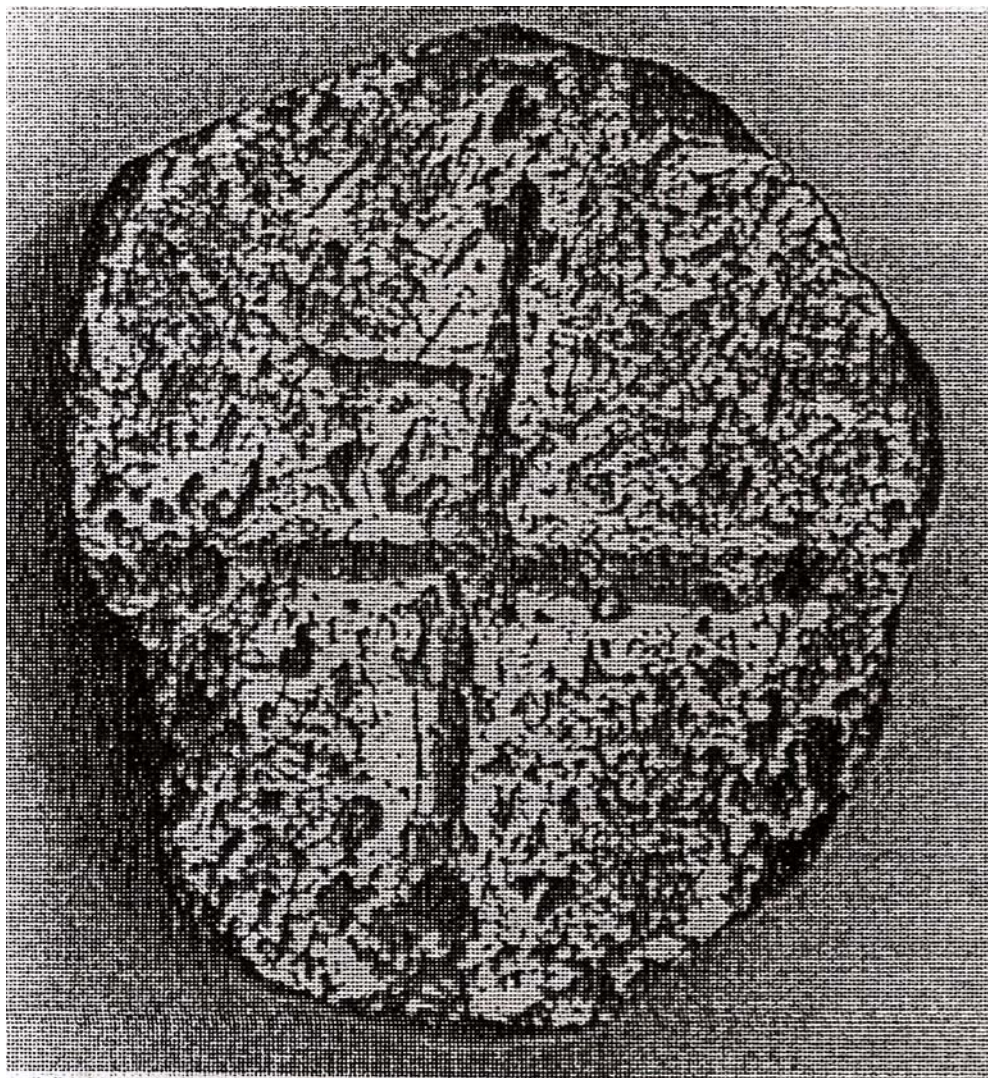


Fig. 163. Glosses. Ceramic artefact found in the Castle (courtesy of J. Knauss).

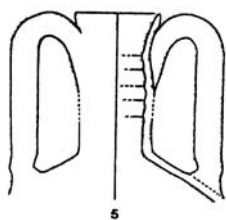


Fig. 164. Kato Vasiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Pottery found during survey
(courtesy of the Danish Institute at Athens).

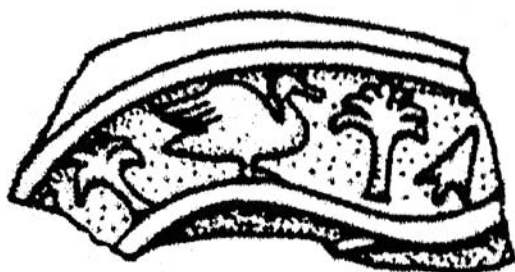
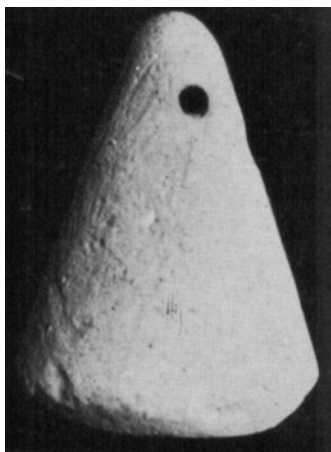


Fig. 165. Kato Vasiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Pottery found during survey
(courtesy of the Danish Institute at Athens).



a)



b)

Fig. 166. a) Kato Vasiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Ceramic loom weights found during excavation (courtesy of A. Paliouras). b) Kefalos. Ceramic loom weight found during excavation (photograph by Ch. Barla, courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

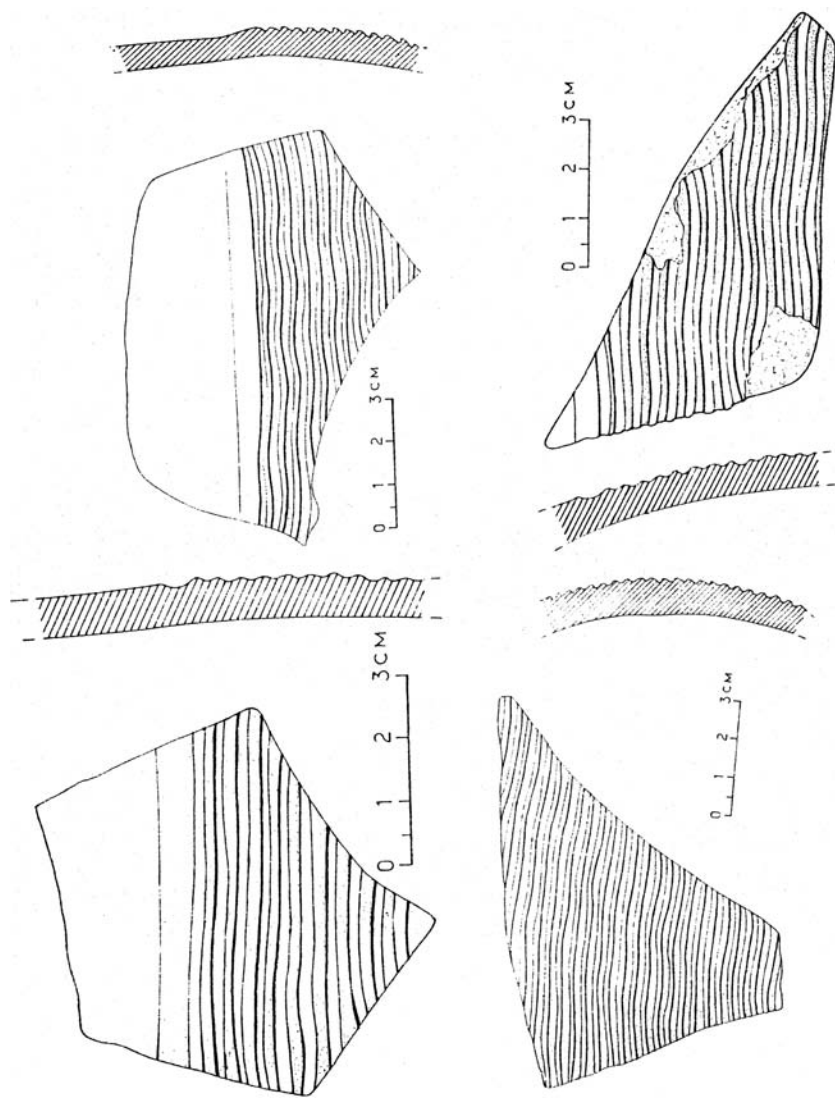


Fig. 167. Kato Vasiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Pottery found during excavation (courtesy of the University of Ioannina).

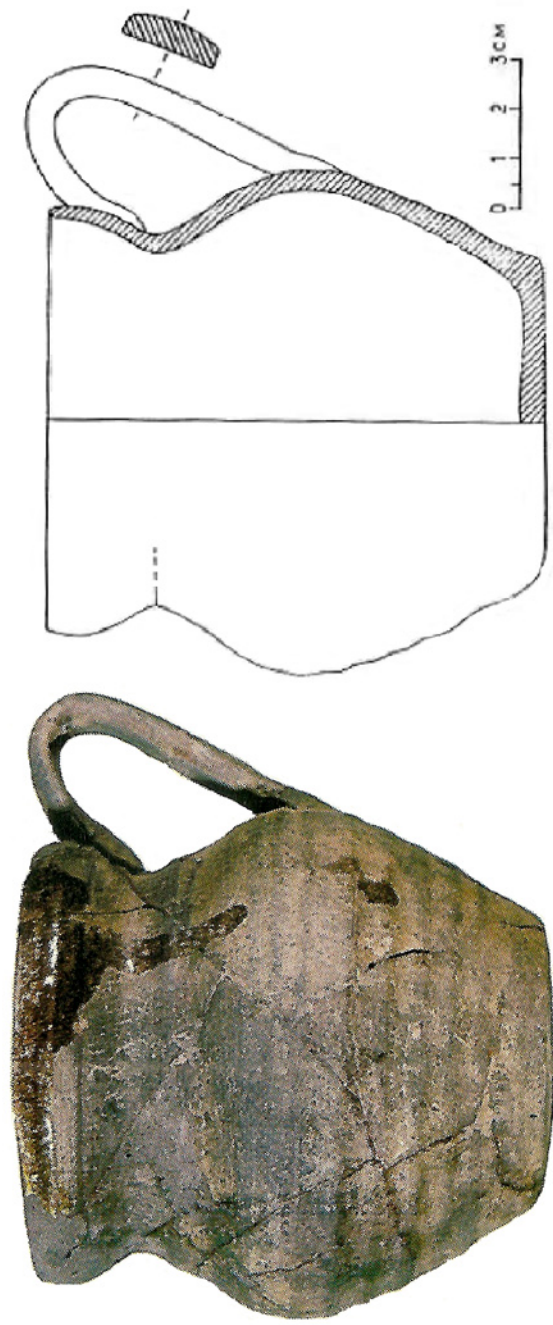
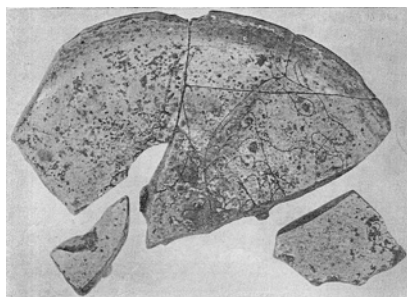
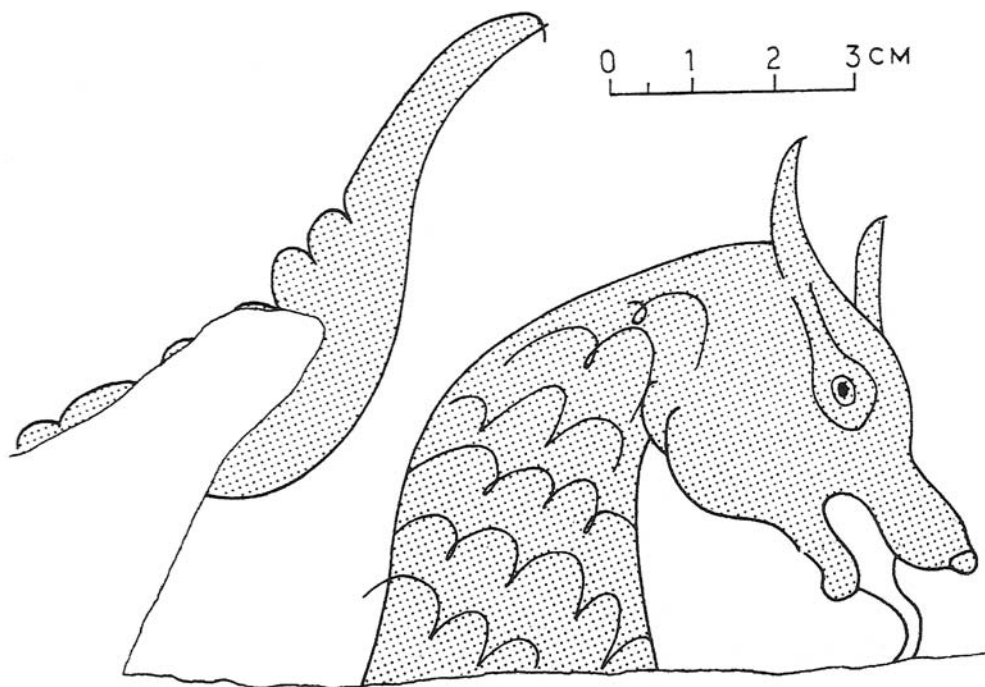


Fig. 168. Kato Vasiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Pottery found during excavation (photograph courtesy of A. Paliouras; drawing courtesy of the University of Ioannina).

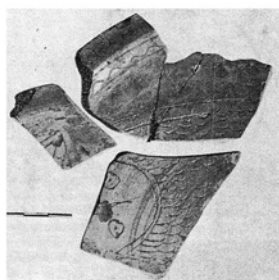


a)

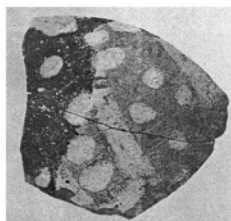


b)

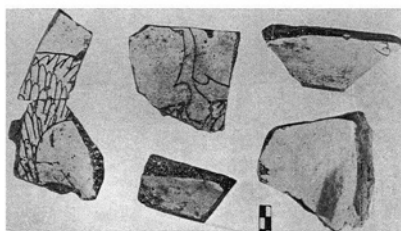
Fig. 169. Kato Vasiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Pottery found during excavation (courtesy of the University of Ioannina).



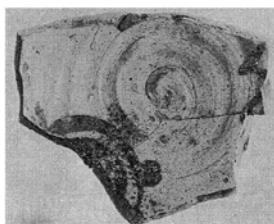
A



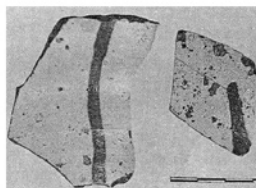
B



C



D



E

Fig. 170. Kato Vasiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Pottery found during excavation (courtesy of the University of Ioannina).



a)



b)

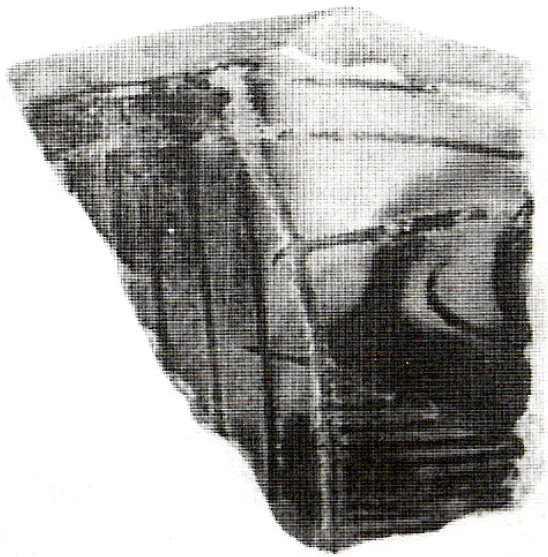
Fig. 171. a). Mastro, Ag. Ioannis Riganas/Episkopi. Tiles (photograph by P. Vocotopoulos, courtesy of the Center of Byzantine Research, Thessaloniki).
b). Nafpaktos, Ag. Dimitrios. Ceramic bread stamp (photograph by D. Triantaphyllopoulos, courtesy of the Municipality of Preveza).



Fig. 172. Kryoneri. Pottery found during excavation (photograph by F. Kefallonitou, courtesy of the Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio).



A



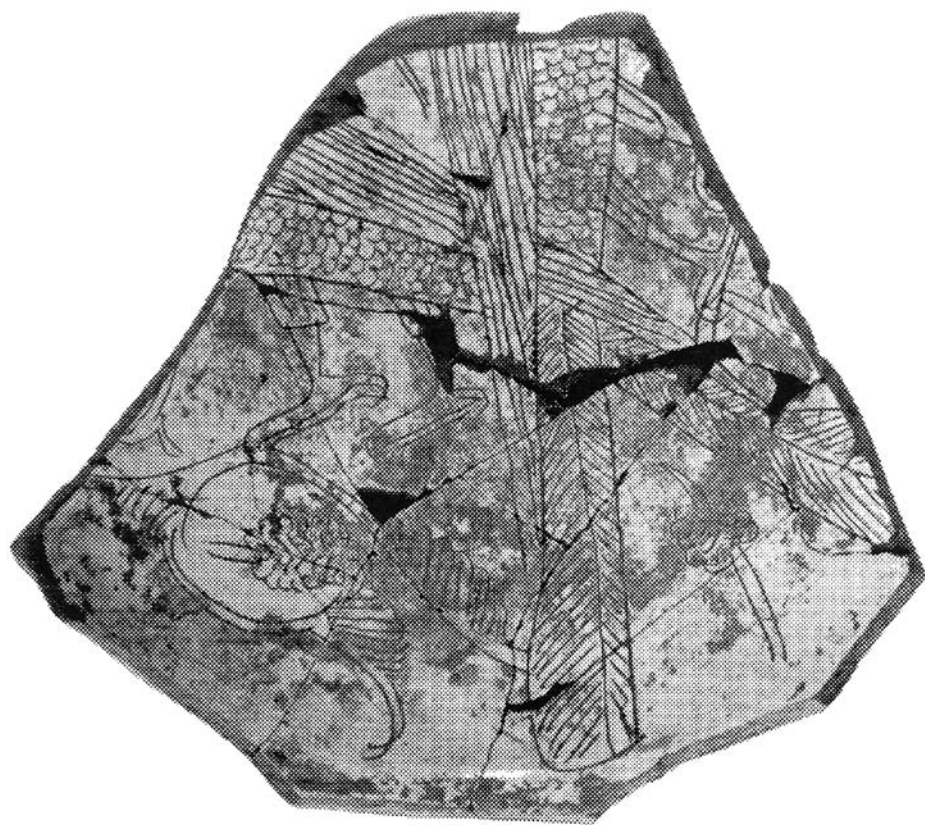
B

Fig. 173. Agrinio and Megali Chora. Random pottery finds (photographs by E. Mastrokostas, courtesy of the 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine antiquities of Aetoloacarnania and the 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).



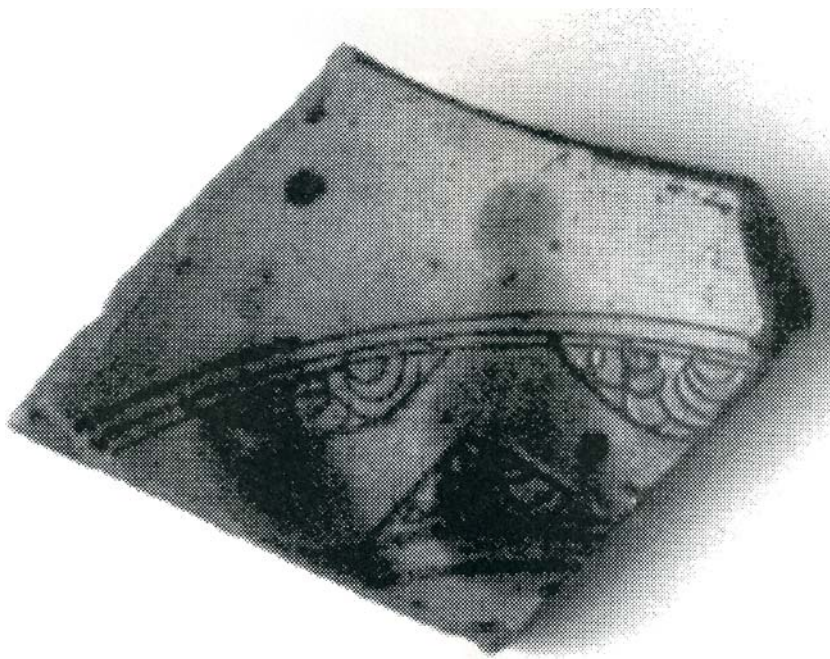
a)

Fig. 174. Nafpaktos. Pottery found in the town and vicinity (photographs by V. Papadopoulou, courtesy of the Etaireia Nafpaktiakon Meleton).

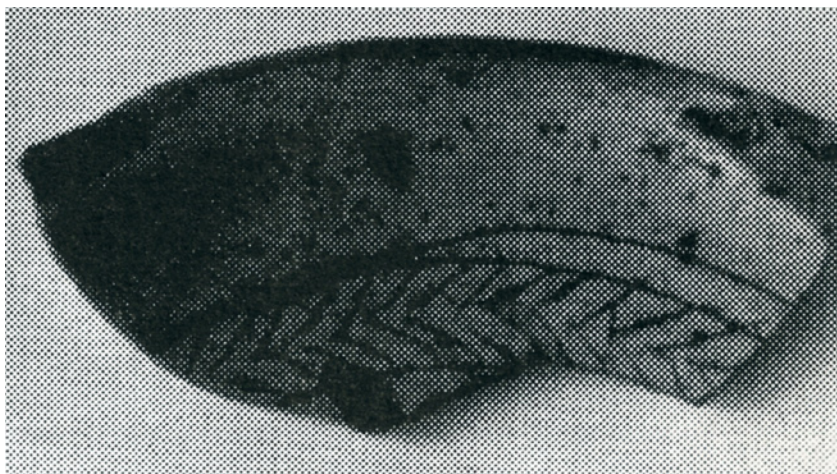


b)

Fig. 174. Nafaktos. Pottery found in the town and vicinity (photographs by V. Papadopoulou, courtesy of the Etaireia Nafaktiakon Meleton).

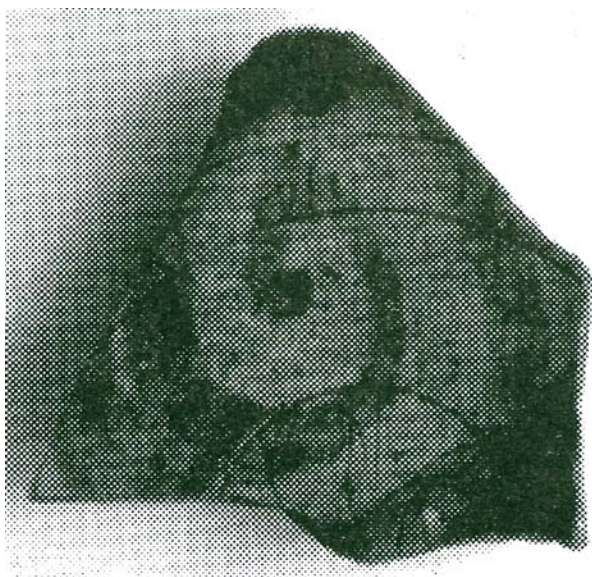


c)



d)

Fig. 174. Nafpaktos. Pottery found in the town and vicinity (photographs by V. Papadopoulou, courtesy of the Etaireia Nafpaktiakon Meleton).

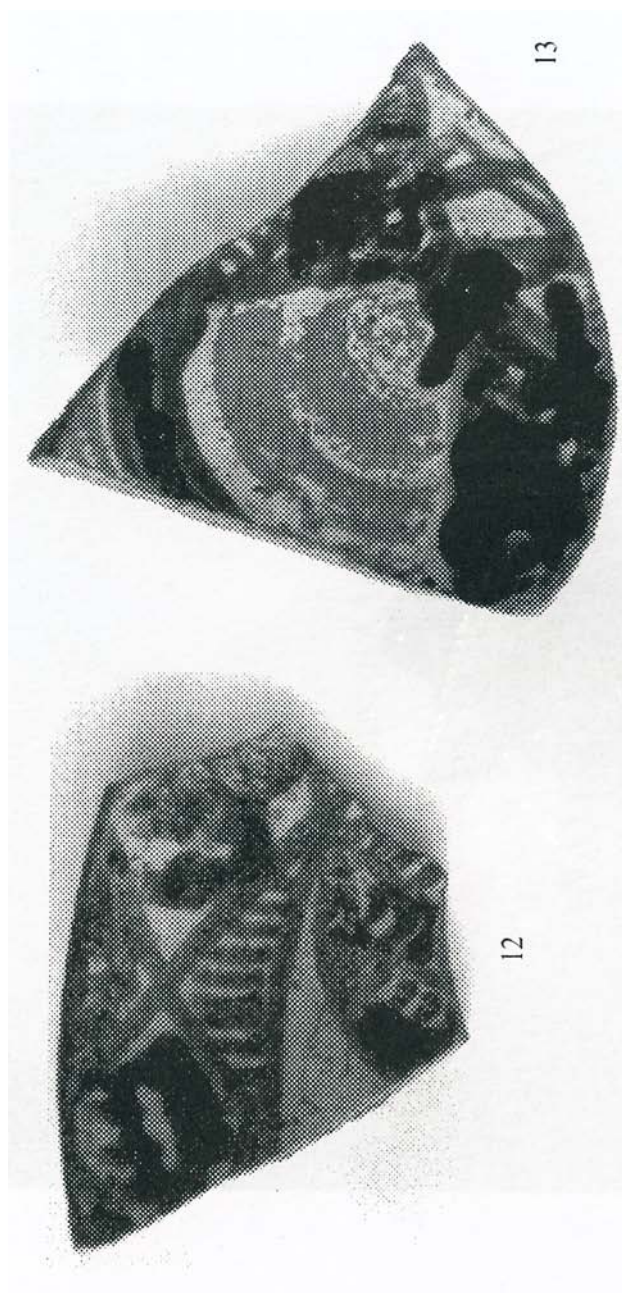


e)



f)

Fig. 174. Nafaktos. Pottery found in the town and vicinity (photographs by V. Papadopoulou, courtesy of the Etaireia Nafaktiakon Meleton).



g)

Fig. 174. Nafpaktos. Pottery found in the town and vicinity (photographs by V. Papadopoulou, courtesy of the Etaireia Nafpaktiakon Meleton).

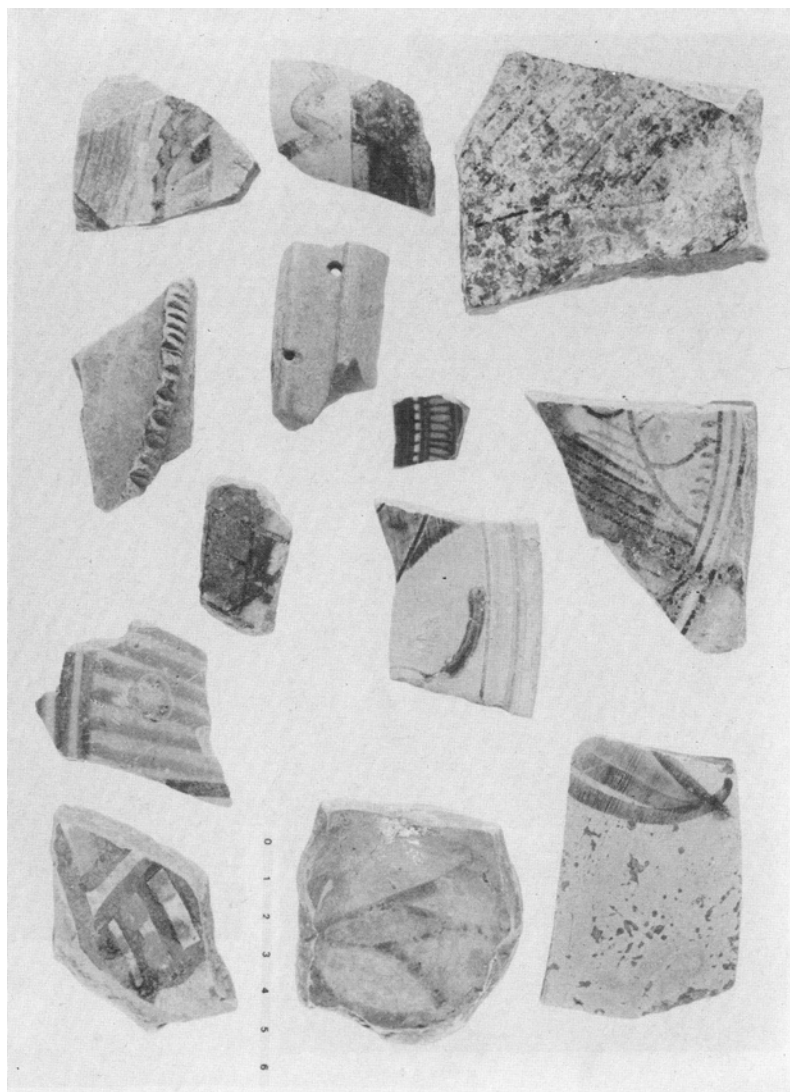


Fig. 175. Riza. Pottery found during excavation (photograph by P. Chrysostomou, courtesy of 18th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Arta and Preveza – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).



Fig. 176. S Varassova, Ag. Nikolaos. Pottery found during excavation (courtesy of A. Paliouras).



Fig. 177. Aetoliko, Finikia, Pleuron, Acropolis. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 178. Castle of Aetos. Pottery found during survey.



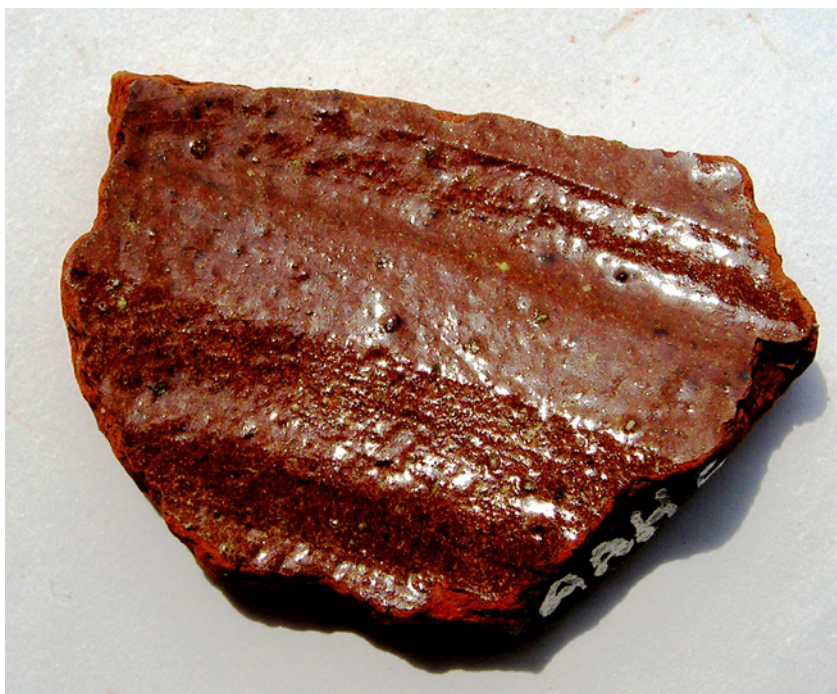
Fig. 179. Angelokastro. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 180. Angelokastro. Pottery found during survey.



a)



b)

Fig. 181. Ag. Ilias, tower. Pottery found during survey.



c)



d)

Fig. 182. Ag. Ilias, tower. Pottery found during survey.



a)



b)

Fig. 183. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



c)



d)

Fig. 183. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



e)



f)

Fig. 183. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 184. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 185. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 186. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 187. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 188. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 189. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 190. Kefalos. Pottery found during survey.



a)



b)

Fig. 191. Lefkada, Koulmos, Ag. Georgios. Pottery found during survey.



a)



b)

Fig. 192. Lefkada, Vournikas, Ag. Ioannis Prodromos ton Karaviadon. Pottery embedded in the E façade.



Fig. 193. Megali Chora, Panagia church. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 194. Monastiraki, Pandokratoras. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 195. Stratos, Agora. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 196. Skala, Metamorphosi Sotiros Monastery. Pottery found during excavation.



Fig. 197. Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 198. Trigardo. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 199. E Varassova, Ag. Dimitrios. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 200. Zalongo, Taxiarchis. Pottery found during survey.



Fig. 201. Agrinio, Papatrechas Private Collection, reliquary cross (courtesy of A. Paliouras).



Fig. 202. Drymos, basilica in Paliokklisi. Belt buckle found during excavation (photograph by E. Mastrokostas, courtesy of 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine antiquities of Aetoloacarnania and the 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Aetoloacarnania – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).

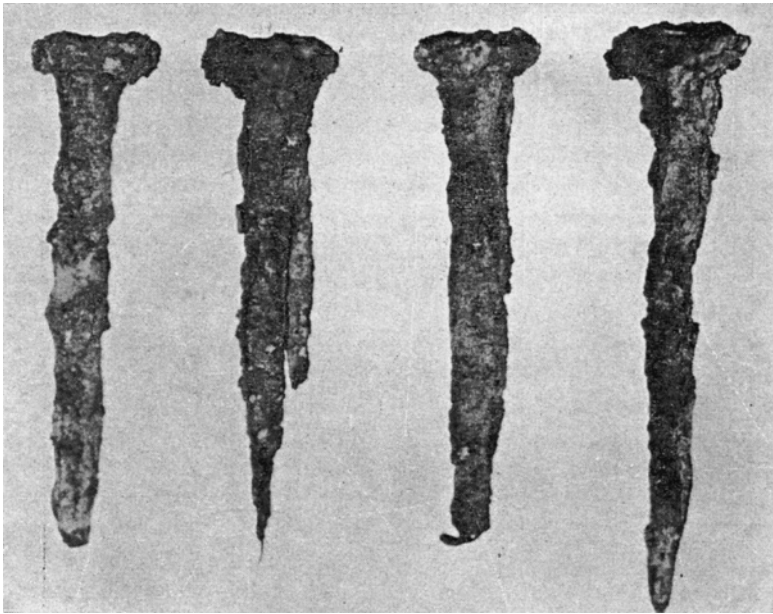


Fig. 203. Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Nails found during excavation (photograph by A. Paliouras, courtesy of the University of Ioannina).

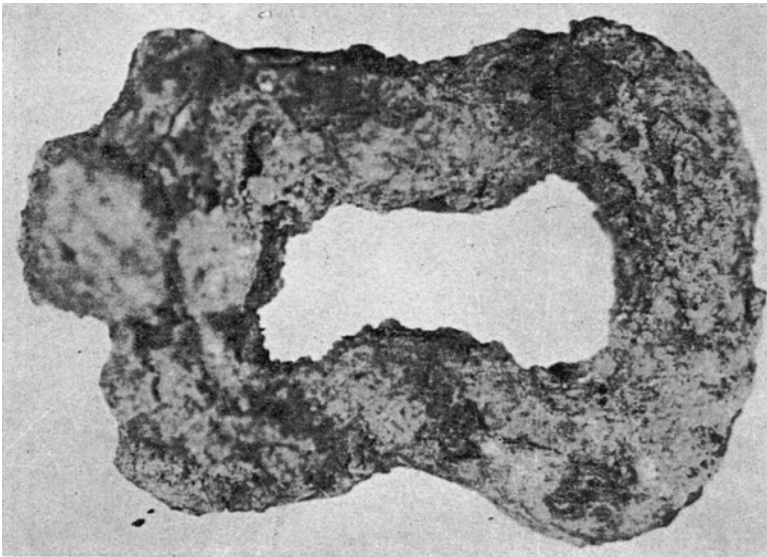


Fig. 204. Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill belt buckle found during excavation (photograph by A. Paliouras, courtesy of the University of Ioannina).

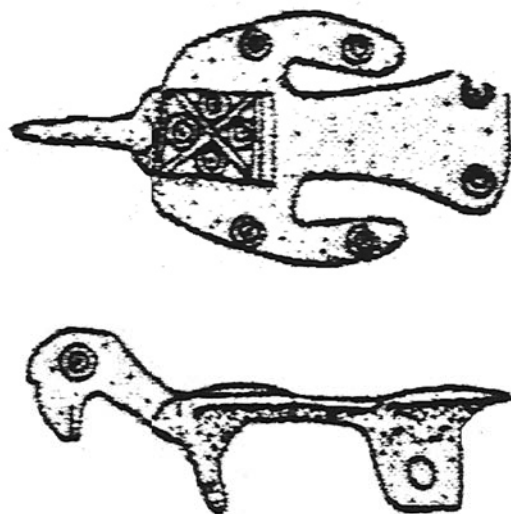


Fig. 205. Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Fibula found during survey (courtesy of the Danish Institute at Athens).

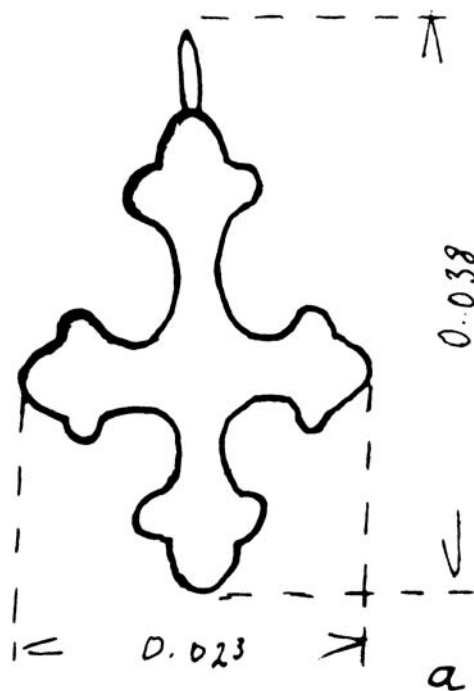


Fig. 206. Kefalos. Cross found during excavation (photograph by Ch. Barla, courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



Fig. 207. Coin weight from a Private Collection (Geneva 143)
(courtesy of the Lennox Gallery Ltd, London).



Fig. 208. Kruje, cemetery. Belt buckle found during excavation (photograph by
S. Anamali, courtesy of the Albanian Academy of Sciences).



Obverse



Reverse

Fig. 209. Kefalos. Coins and coin-weight found during excavation (photograph by Ch. Barla, courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

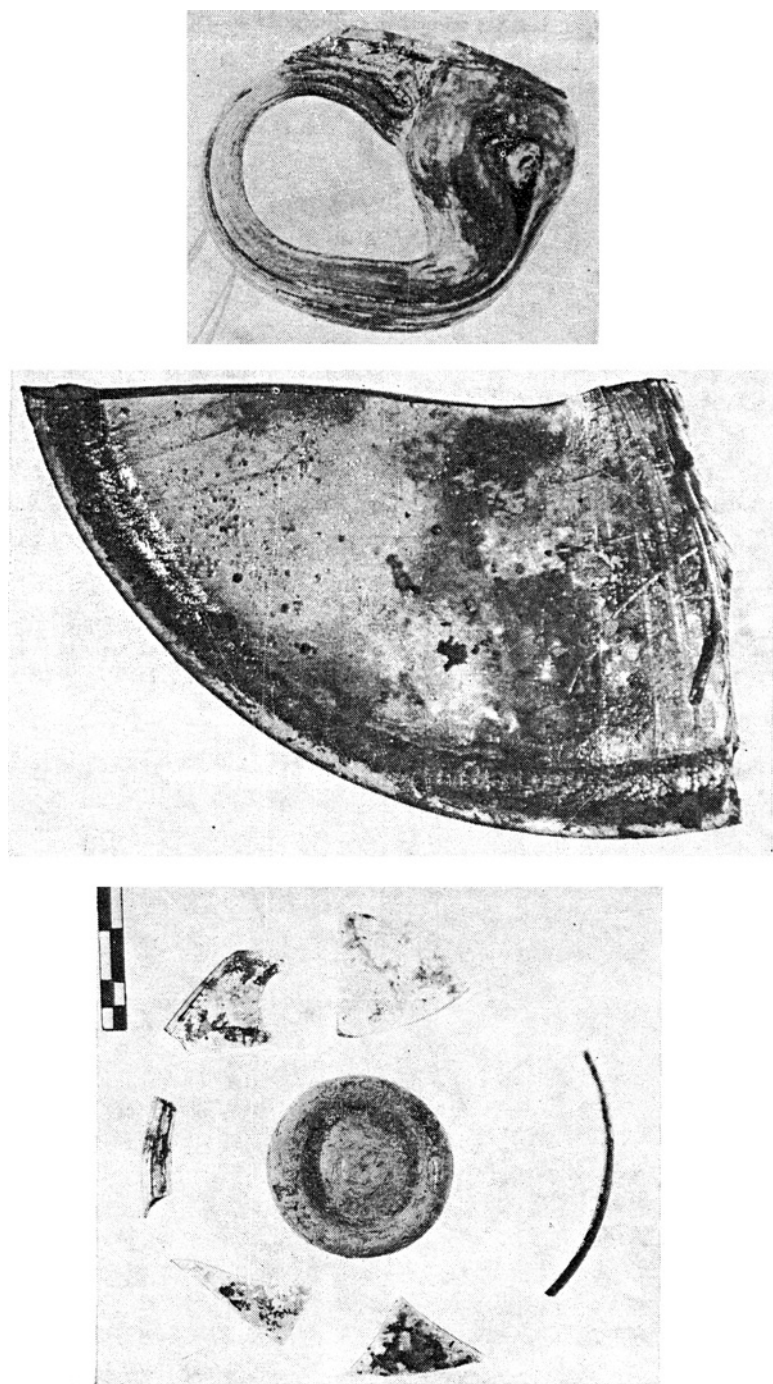


Fig. 210. Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Fragments of glass vessels (photography by A. Paliouras, courtesy of the University of Ioannina).



Fig. 211. S Varassova, Ag. Nikolaos. Fragments of glass vessels (courtesy of A. Paliouras).



Fig. 212. Arta, Ag. Mercurios, Byzantine building. Overstruck lead seal found during excavation (photograph by V. Papadopoulou, courtesy of the 18th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Arta and Preveza – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).



Fig. 213. Kato Vassiliki, Ag. Triada Hill. Coin hoard found during excavation (courtesy of A. Paliouras).



Fig. 214. Kefalos. Coins found during excavation (photograph by Ch. Barla, courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



29. α. Ανασκαφή. Θησαυρός βυζαντινών νομισμάτων 10ου αι. (εμπροσθότυπο)
β. Ανασκαφή. Θησαυρός βυζαντινών νομισμάτων (οπισθότυπο)



Fig. 215. Nafpaktos, Town Hall. Coins found during excavation (photograph by D. Konstantios, courtesy of the 22nd Ephorate of Byzantine antiquities of Aetoloacarnania – TAPA, Greek Ministry of Culture).



Fig. 216. Stratos, Agora. Coins found during excavation
(photograph by E.L. Schwandner, courtesy of the University of Ioannina).



Fig. 217. Stratiki, Paleochorvati, plan of buildings by F. Lang (courtesy of the Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio).



Fig. 218. Stratiki, the chronology of finds distribution recorded during the survey of the German archaeological Institute at Athens. Plan by F. Lang (courtesy of the Historical and Archaeological Society at Agrinio).



Fig. 219. Castle of Aetos. Tower in the S part of the enceinte.



Fig. 220. Kandila, Glosses, Castle and 'Byzantine Nerotrivio'. View of the dam and Byzantine building from the Castle (courtesy of J. Knauss).



Fig. 221. Katochi. S façade of the tower.



Fig. 222. Kato Vassiliki, view of the Ag. Triada Hill from Ag. Dimitrios in E Varassova.



a)



b)

Figs. 223. Kefalos. A) View of the island from the Panagia church in Panagia Peninsula, NW of Vonitsa. B) Satellite image of the island by Google Earth.



Fig. 224. Nafpaktos. Aerial photograph of the hill of the castle (courtesy of K. Oikonomou).

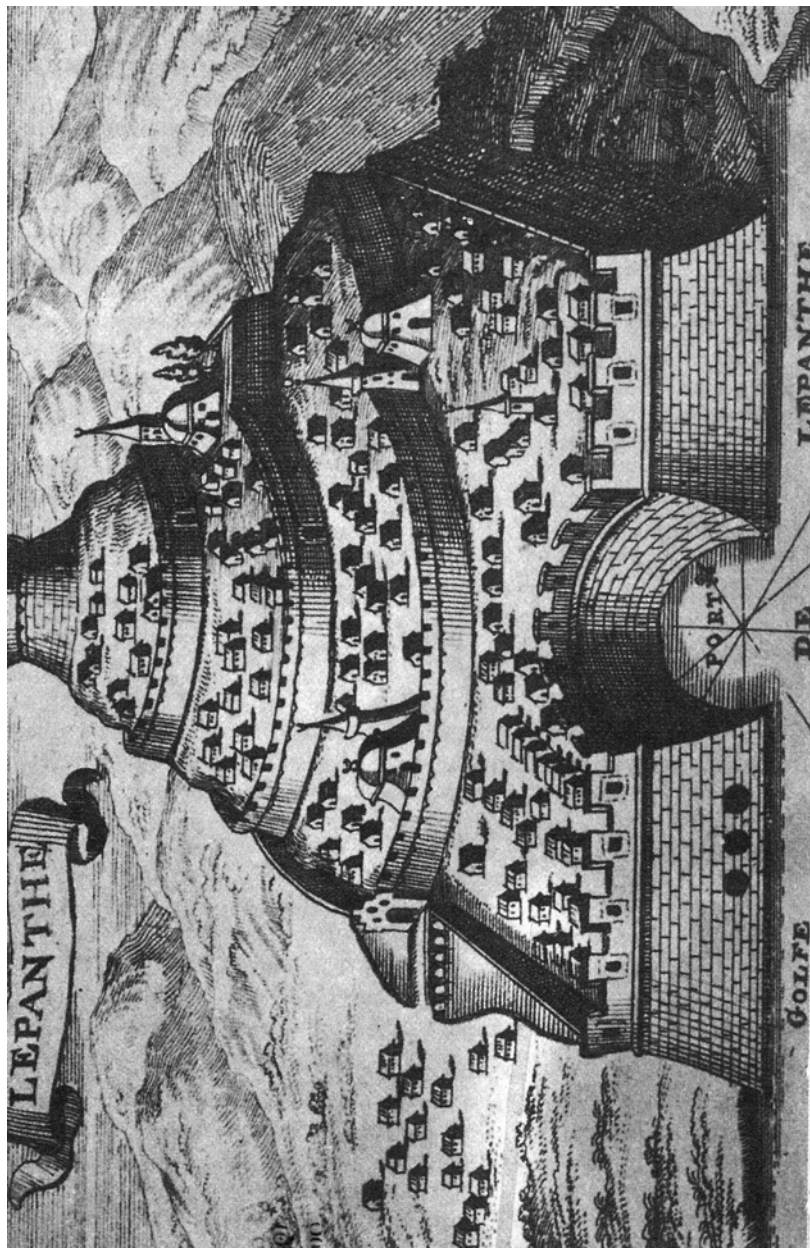


Fig. 225. Nafpaktos. The town in the 17th century (drawing of J. Spon and G. Wheeler, courtesy of A. Paliouras).



Fig. 226. Nea Kerassounda, Castle of Rogoi. Section of masonry in the N cross wall.



Fig. 227. Vonitsa, Castle, quayside, Koimisi Theotokou sto Limani (old church). Section of masonry.



Fig. 228. Ag. Ilias, tower. View from the S.



Fig. 229. Map of Trichonia by K. Koutras, early 20th century (reproduced by I. Nerantzis, courtesy of the Lambrakis Foundation).

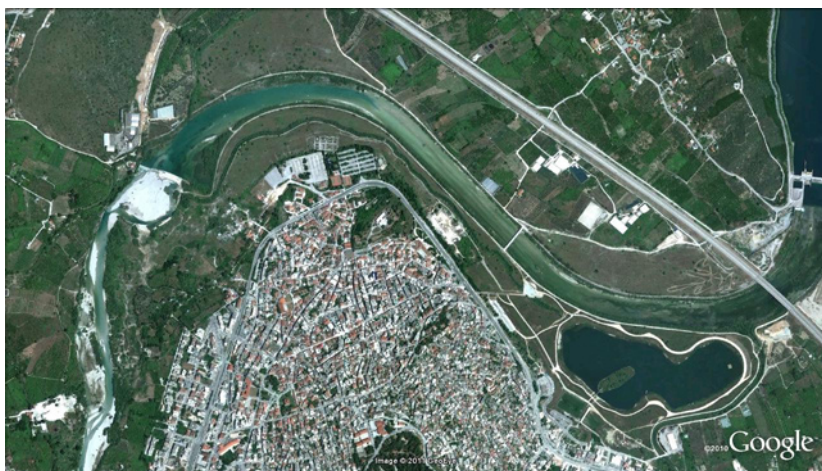
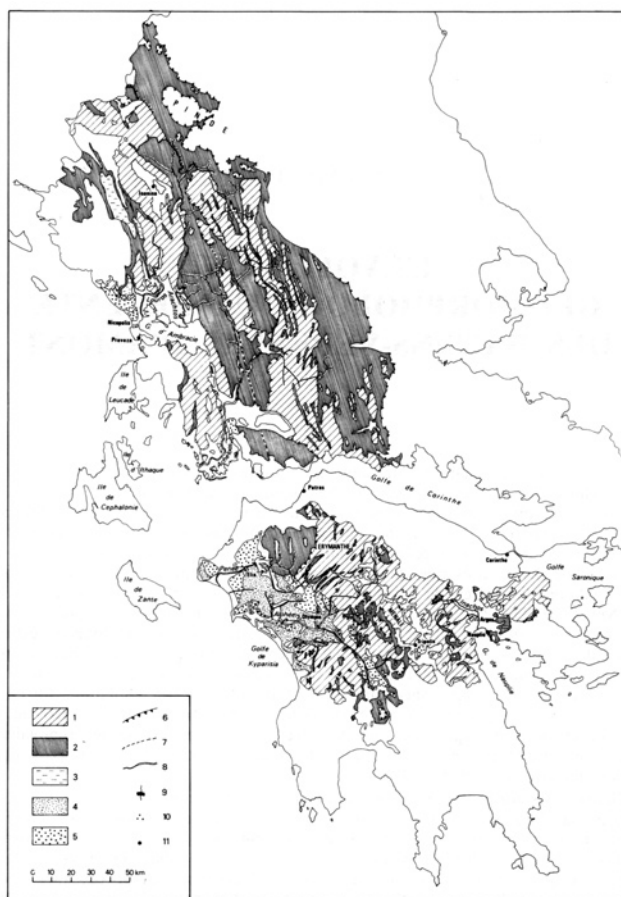


Fig. 230. Satellite image of the Castle of Arta (Google Earth).



Fig. 231. Satellite image of the Castle of Rogoi (Google Earth).



LÉGENDE

Bastions karstiques

1. Roches calcaires indifférenciées

Roches aisément mobilisables

2. Flysch indifférencié (zone ionienne, de Tripolitza-Gavrovo, zone du Pinde, zone pélagonienne)
3. Marnes burdigaliennes
4. Plio-Calabrien marno-sableux
5. Altérites (épaisseur métrique et décamétrique) (sols et sables rouges)
6. Front de chevauchement
7. Contact anormal probable
8. Cours d'eau pérenne
9. Barrage
10. Site archéologique
11. Villes

Map 1. The lithology of the drainage basins of the rivers of Western Greece and the Peloponnese (courtesy of E. Fouache and the École Française d'Athènes).

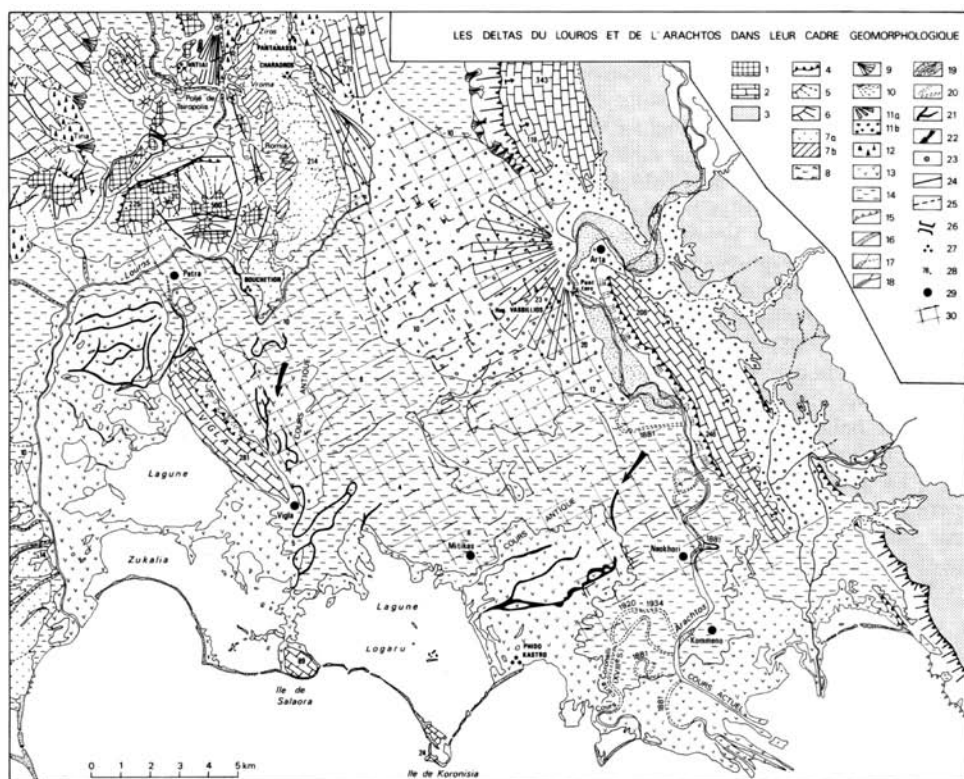
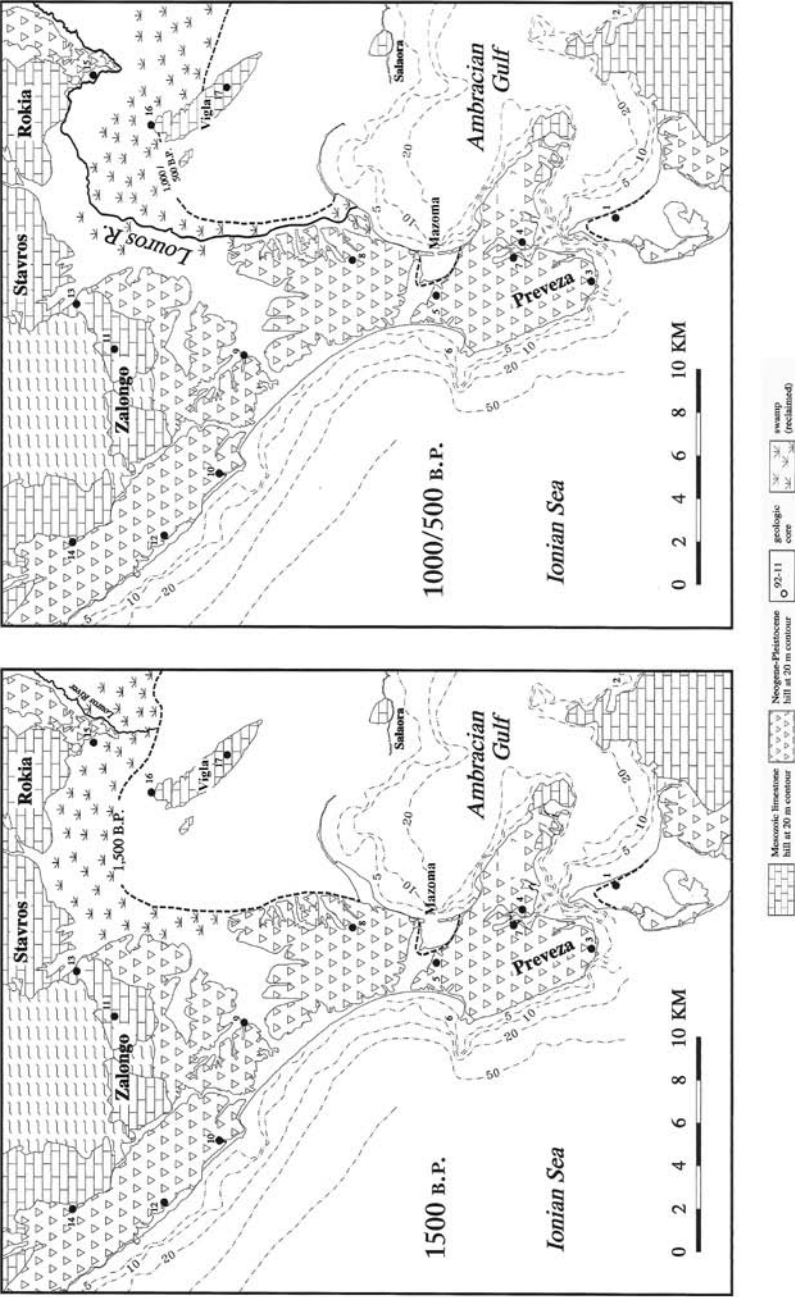


Fig. 11. — Les deltas du Louros et de l'Arachthos dans leur cadre géomorphologique.

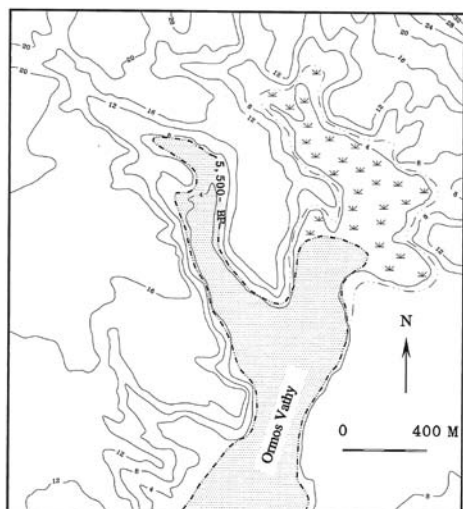
LÉGENDE

1. Surfaces structurales dans le calcaire du Pantokrator
2. Monts calcaires
3. Massifs de flysch à forte densité de bancs gréseux
4. Crêtes, barres et corniches résiduelles
5. Versants convexes dans les calcaires
6. Versants régularisés
7. Collines pliocènes
 - a. Conglomérats
 - b. Zones broyées
8. Versants de flysch très argileux
9. Cônes de déjection attribuables à la dernière période froide
10. Éboulis attribuables à la dernière période froide
11. a. Cônes holocènes et historiques
b. Alluvions grossières associées
12. Cône de déjection du Quaternaire moyen et ancien
13. Marécages
14. Remblaiement alluvial fin sablo-limoneux à limoneux
15. Falaise vive
16. Cordon littoral sableux
17. Écoulement saisonnier dans les talwegs
18. Écoulement pérenne
19. Banc de graviers et de galets dans le lit de l'Arachthos (zone de tressage)
20. Méandre recoupé, méandre abandonné
21. Ancien chenal
22. Cours antique probable
23. Exsurgence karstique
24. Faille attestée
25. Faille supposée
26. Canal de drainage du poljé de Tsiropolis
27. Vestiges archéologiques
28. Point coté
29. Principaux villages
30. Trame du cadastre romain (reconstitué par P. Doukellis) et linéaments matérialisés sur le terrain

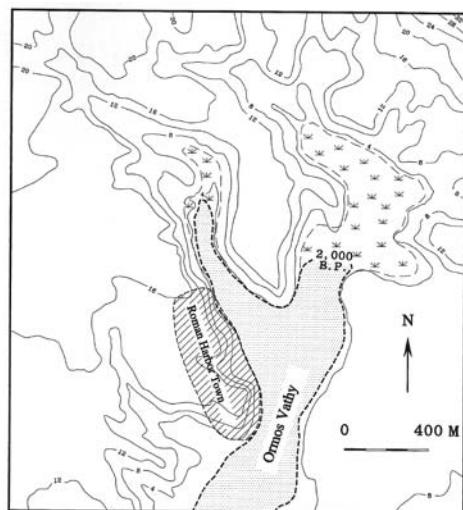
Map 2. The deltas of Louros and Arachthos Rivers in their geomorphological context (courtesy of E. Fouache and the École Française d'Athènes).



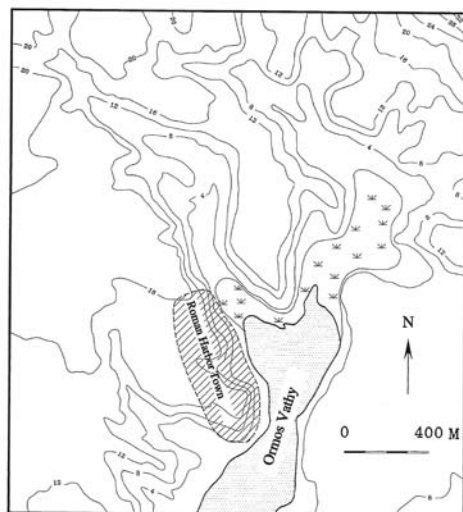
Map 3. Paleogeographic reconstructions of the Ambracian Gulf showing the shoreline changes from 1500 through 1000/500 B.P. Plan by J. Wiseman, K. Zachos (courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens).



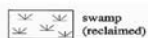
Neolithic Period (ca. 5500 B.P.)



Roman Period (ca. 2000 B.P.)



Modern Period



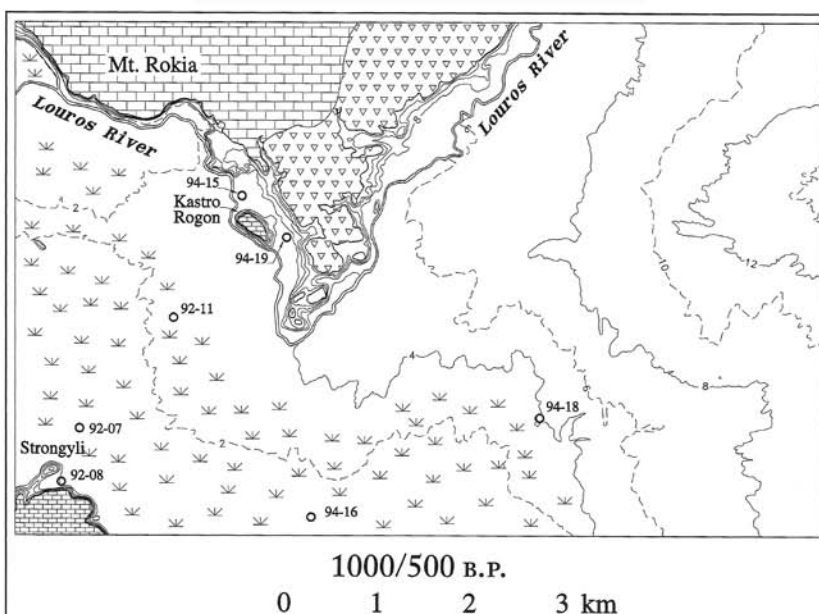
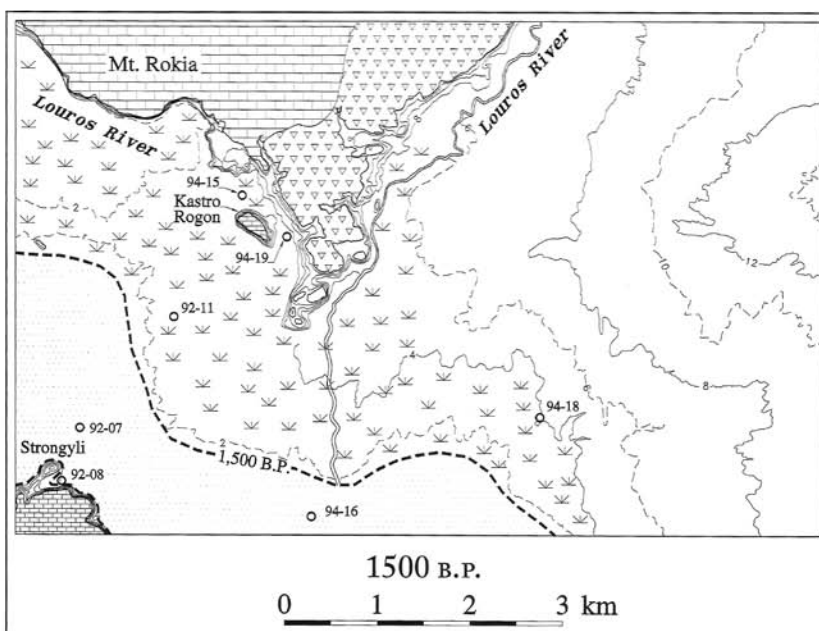
Map 4. Paleogeographic reconstructions of Vathy Bay indicating shoreline changes from the Roman through the modern period. Plan by J. Wiseman, K. Zachos (courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens).



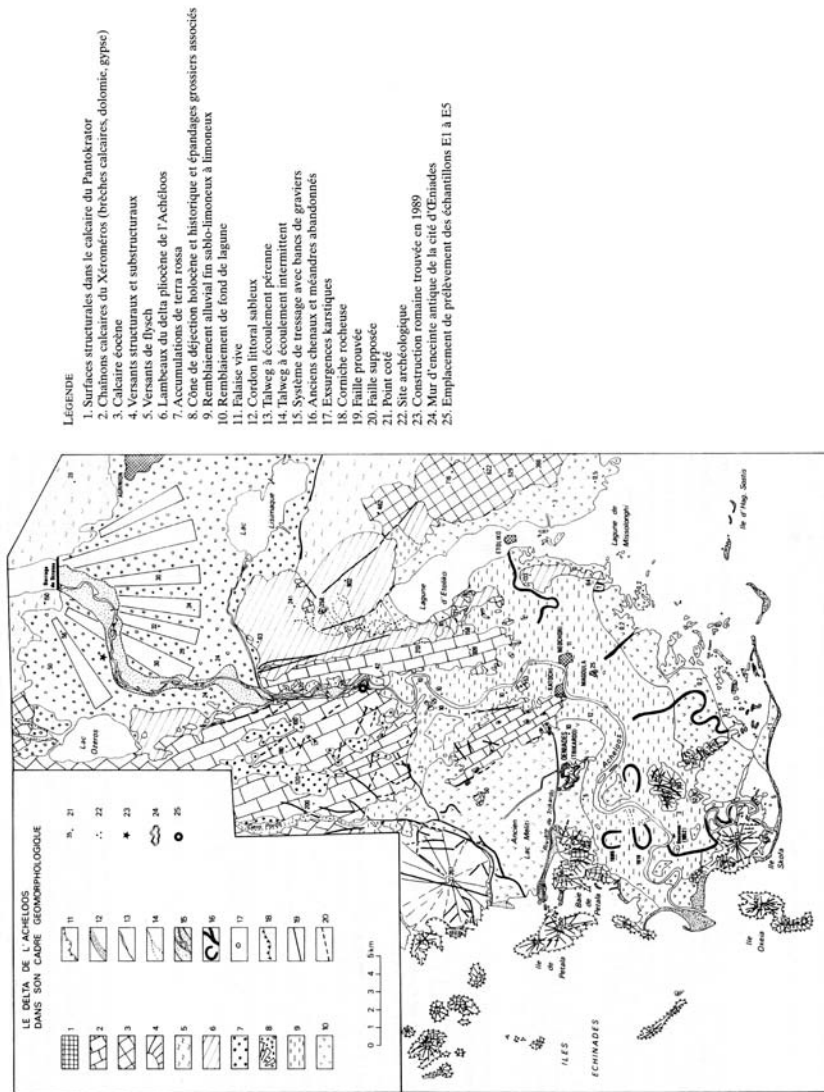
LÉGENDE

1. Surfaces structurales dans le calcaire du Pantokrator
2. Monts calcaires (principaux axes anticlinaux)
(calcaire de Vigla)
3. Marnes burdigaliennes
4. Crêts, barres et corniches résiduelles
5. Convexités de versants calcaires
6. Versants régularisés
7. Collines pliocènes :
a. Conglomérats
b. Zones broyées
8. Versants façonnés dans le flysch
9. Forte concentration de badlands
10. Forte concentration de glissements de terrain
11. Versants façonnés par des micro-ravines et ruisselle-
ments diffus
12. Cônes de déjection attribuables à la dernière pério-
de froide (Würm)
13. Éboulis attribuables à la dernière période froide
14. a. Cônes de déjection holocènes et historiques
b. Épandages grossiers associés
15. Remblaiement important de terra rossa
16. Cônes de déjection du Quaternaire moyen et ancien
17. Marécages
18. Remblaiement alluvial holocène et historique sablo-
limoneux à limoneux
19. Falaises vives
20. Cordon littoral sableux
21. Écoulement saisonnier dans les talwegs
22. Écoulement pérenne
23. Ancien chenal
24. Indices de défluviation (cours antique probable)
25. Exsurgence karstique
26. Failles : a. attestée ; b. supposée
27. Front de chevauchement :
a. avec abrupt très marqué
b. avec abrupt très peu marqué
28. Tracé de l'aqueduc de Nikopolis :
a. Canal visible sur de longues sections
b. Canal attesté par des vestiges ponctuels
c. Tracé probable
29. Canal de drainage
30. Barrage du Lousos
31. Vestiges archéologiques
32. Point coté

Map 5. The geomorphologic context of the area to the N of Nikopolis (courtesy of E. Fouache and the École Française d'Athènes).



Map 6. Paleogeographic reconstructions of the Kastro ton Rogon and vicinity showing the changing coastlines and environments from 1500 through 1000/500 B.P. Plan by J. Wiseman, K. Zachos (courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens).



Map 7. The delta of Acheloos River in its geomorphological context (courtesy of E. Fouache and the École Française d'Athènes).



Map 8. Sites in Southern Epiros, numbered according to the S/N in the Inventory, Part 5. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.



Map 9. Sites in Northern Aetoloacarnania and the area of the Ambracian Gulf, numbered according to the S/N in the Inventory, Part 5. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.



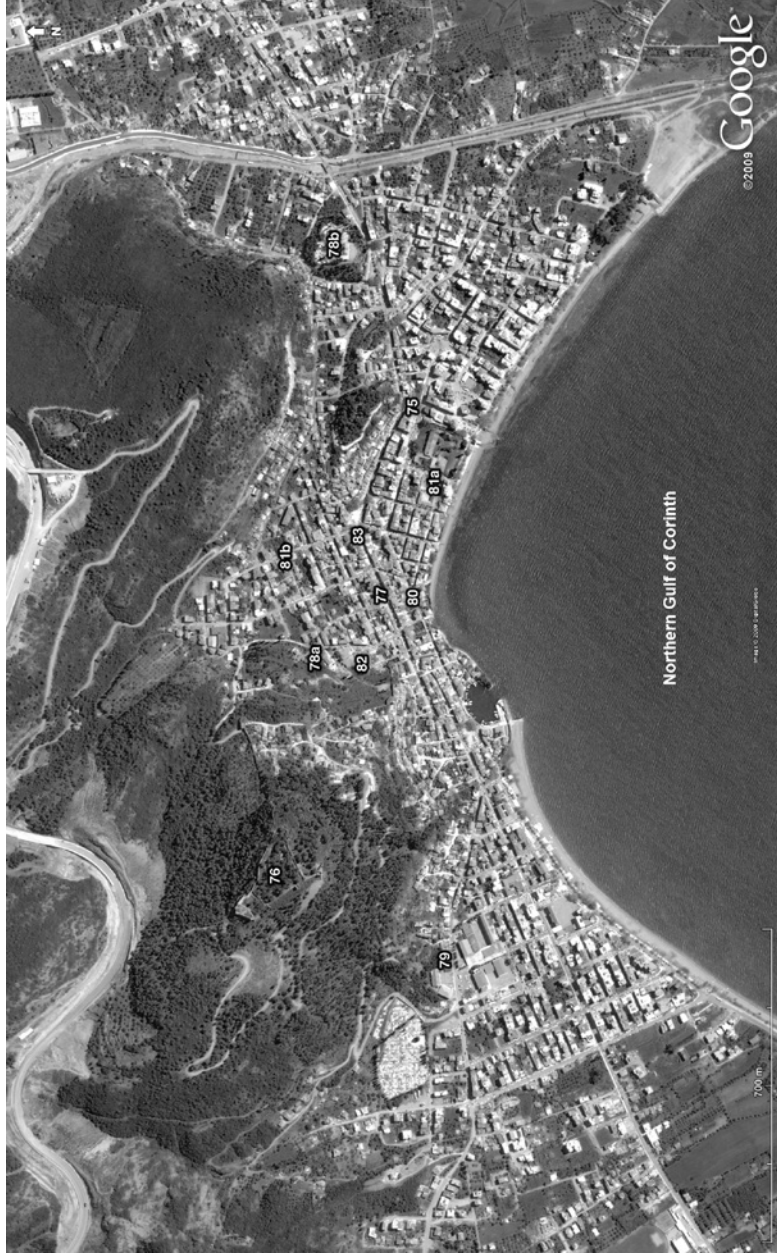
Map 10. Sites in Northern Aetoloacarnania and Lefkada, numbered according to the S/N in the Inventory, Part 5. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.



Map 11. Sites in central and southern Aetoloacarnania, numbered according to the S/N in the Inventory, Part 5. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.



Map 12. Sites in Arta, numbered according to the S/N in the Inventory, Part 5. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.



Map 13. Sites in Nafpaktos, numbered according to the S/N in the Inventory, Part 5. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.



Map 14. Map of Aetoloacarnania and Southern Epirus with diagonally lined areas denoting lands formed of alluvial deposits. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.



Map 15. Communication routes in Byzantine Southern Epirus. The background is courtesy of Google Earth.

